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# THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—*Correspondence between Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Rutland, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1781—1787.* (Privately printed.) London. 1842. pp. 174.

IT has been laid down as a rule by a great orator of ancient times, that writing well is the best and surest preparation for speaking well. *Stilus optimus et præstantissimus dicendi effector et magister* are the words of Cicero.\* On the other hand, it seems natural to suppose that a man able and ready with his tongue should be still more able and ready with his pen. If he can without premeditation pour forth acute arguments in eloquent language, surely the advantages of leisure will supply the same acuteness and the same eloquence in at least equal perfection.

Neither of these conclusions, however, is entirely borne out by experience. Burke, whose writings will delight and instruct the latest posterity, often delivered his harangues to empty benches or a yawning audience, and was known to his contemporaries by the nickname of ‘the Dinner-Bell.’

‘Too deep for his hearers, he went on refining;

And thought of convincing, while they thought of dining!’

Fox, so pre-eminent as a debater, appears with small distinction in his authorship. Nay more, even the high skill of the Reporters’ Gallery fails to give any just idea of the real merits of a speech as well or ill adapted to its hearers. Every one must have frequently felt surprise at his inability to discover—with the ‘Times’ or the ‘Chronicle’ in his hand—any good points in the speech which the night before has made the whole House ring with enthusiastic cheers; or, on the contrary, has wondered at the slight effect produced at the time, by what he afterwards reads with so much pleasure. We have heard a most eminent living statesman observe how very erroneous an idea, as to the comparative estimation of our public characters, would be formed by a foreigner who was unacquainted with our history, and who judged only from

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\* De Oratore, lib. i. c. 33.

Hansard's 'Debates.'\* Who, for instance, now remembers the name of Mr. Charles Marsh? Yet one of the most pointed and vigorous philippics which we have read in any language stands in the name of Mr. Marsh, under the date of the 1st of July, 1813.

It has, therefore, always been a subject of doubt and discussion, notwithstanding the oratorical eminence of Mr. Pitt, whether he likewise excelled in written composition. Up to this time the general impression, we believe, is, that he did not. This impression has, in part perhaps, proceeded from the example of his father, the great Lord Chatham, whose style in his correspondence appears by no means worthy of such a mind—swelling, empty, cumbrous—and, even to his own family, seeking metaphors and epithets instead of precision and clearness. Another cause of that impression may have been, that Mr. Pitt, whenever it was possible, preferred transacting business in personal interviews rather than in writing.

Of this usual course in Mr. Pitt a strong proof came under our own observation. Once, when the writer of this article was on a visit at Lowther Castle, the venerable Earl, who amidst advancing years never wearies in acts of courtesy and kindness to all around him, indulged his friend's curiosity with a large packet of letters addressed by Mr. Pitt to himself, and to his kinsman Sir James. These letters had been most properly preserved as autographs; but, with one or two remarkable exceptions, they were very short, and nearly in the following strain:—'Dear Lowther, Pray call on me in the course of the morning.'—'Dear Lowther, Let me see you at the Treasury as soon as you can.'—'Dear Lowther, When shall you be next in town, as I wish to speak to you?'—in short, referring almost every subject to conversation instead of correspondence.

But whatever doubts may have been entertained as to Mr. Pitt's abilities for writing, are now, as we conceive, set at rest by a fortunate discovery in the House of Rutland. It may be recollected, that the late Duke was appointed by Mr. Pitt, in 1784, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and died as such, in 1787, at the early age of thirty-three. The Duchess, his widow, survived till 1831. Not long since, as their eldest son, the present Duke, was arranging Her Grace's papers, he unexpectedly lighted upon a long series of confidential communications between Downing Street and Dublin Castle. In this case it was manifestly impos-

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\* We cannot mention Hansard's 'Debates' without noticing the valuable addition to them now in course of publication—Sir Henry Cavendish's Reports. These Reports (1768—1771) contain much curious matter—*inter alia*, upwards of one hundred new speeches of Burke;—they, in fact, go very far to fill up a hitherto hopeless gap in our Parliamentary history—and the publication, with its important appendices, does great honour to the skill and industry of the discoverer and editor, Mr. Wright.



sible for the Prime Minister to hold personal interviews with the Lord-Lieutenant: in this case, therefore, Mr. Pitt wrote, and wrote most fully and freely. The greater part of the letters are marked 'private,' 'most private,' 'secret,' 'most secret,' and are evidently composed, not merely as between official colleagues, but familiar friends. The value of these documents to illustrate the history of the times and the character of Mr. Pitt could not fail to be apparent, and although there might be some ground against their publication at present, the Duke of Rutland has in the most liberal manner consented that a certain number should be printed for the gratification of his friends.

Of the letters thus printed in the course of the present summer, we have had the honour to receive a copy, and we feel no hesitation in saying that—written though many of them were, in the very height of the session, or the utmost hurry of business—they appear to us models in that kind of composition. We can scarcely praise them more highly than by saying that they rival Lord Bolingbroke's celebrated diplomatic correspondence, of which, as we know from other sources, Mr. Pitt was a warm admirer. They never strain at any of those rhetorical ornaments which, when real business is concerned, become only obstructions, but are endowed with a natural grace and dignity—a happy choice of words, and a constant clearness of thought. Although scarce ever divided into paragraphs, they display neither confusion, nor yet abrupt transition of subjects, but flow on, as it were, in an even and continuous stream.

Of these merits, however, we shall now give our readers an opportunity of judging for themselves. Here, for example, is a confidential inquiry, which was addressed to the Duke of Rutland as to some faults imputed to his secretary, Mr. Orde,\* and which, as it seems to us, most justly combines a zeal for the public service with a tenderness for personal feelings:—

*' Mr. Pitt to the Duke of Rutland.*

*' [Secret.]*

*' Brighthelmstone, Oct. 28, 1785.*

*' My dear Duke,—I would not break in upon you in the course of your tour, if the business I wish to bring under your consideration was less pressing and important than it is. You will be so good to understand what I have to say upon it as being in the most entire confidence and secrecy, as indeed the subject itself sufficiently implies. Various accounts have reached me from persons connected with Ireland, too material to the interest of your government, and, consequently, to us both, to make it possible for me to delay communicating the substance immediately to you, and desiring such farther information and advice as you alone can*

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\* The Right Hon. Thomas Orde. He had been Secretary of the Treasury, in 1782. In 1797 he was created Lord Bolton, and died in 1807.

give. While all quarters agree in eulogiums, which do not surprise me, on every part of your own conduct, and on the prudence, spirit, and firmness of your government, the picture they give of the first instrument of your administration is very different. They state that Mr. Orde has incurred the imputation of irresolution and timidity, and a suspicion even of duplicity, still more prejudicial than his want of decision; and that if the management of the House of Commons, and the duties of secretary, are left in his hands, it will be impossible to answer what may be the consequences to Government even in the next session. This information you may imagine does not come directly to me; and I neither know how far it is to be depended upon, nor have any means myself of ascertaining it, but by stating it to you, who may be able to do so. I receive every such intimation with great allowance for a thousand prejudices or secret motives in which it may originate; but I still think it too serious to be wholly disregarded. From all I have had an opportunity of seeing, I give Mr. Orde credit for considerable abilities and industry, and for perfect good intention. I am, therefore, inclined to think such representations as I have mentioned at least greatly exaggerated. But I am sensible that his manners do not lead him to be direct and explicit in doing business, and that his temper is not decisive. This may make him not distinct enough in his dealings with men or personal objects, and content, without knowing as distinctly as he ought, on the other hand, what he has to trust to from them; and these circumstances will sometimes have the appearance, and generally the bad effect, of the qualities imputed to him. It is stated particularly, that when the commercial bill was brought forward he had neither taken sufficient pains to ascertain who were the friends of Government, nor to collect those who were certainly so, but had trusted to vague assurances and general expectations, which produced the consequences we saw. This I am more apt to believe, because I think, even now, after that session, he is not prepared to give any clear and satisfactory statement of the support on which Government may rely. I do not mention what passed on the commercial question as a thing to be lamented in the event: on the contrary, if the effect of more exertion in Mr. Orde had been to procure twenty or thirty more votes in the House of Commons, it would, as events have proved, perhaps have been a misfortune; but occasions might arise in which the same want of address or vigour might be fatal.

‘Upon the whole, if there is any reasonable ground for the suggestions I have mentioned, I think you will agree with me that it would be very desirable to open a retreat for Orde, and to endeavour to find some other person whom you would approve of to take his place. But, at the same time, this is not a resolution to be lightly taken, because, although the pledge for the continuance of the same system, and the main grounds of confidence, would still continue (where they have hitherto existed) in your own person, yet even the change of the secretary must interrupt and derange for a time the machine of government in a way which ought to be avoided, if there is no strong necessity for hazarding it. All, therefore, that occurs to me, under these circumstances, is, first, what I have now done, to state the whole to you, and to desire the most confidential

dential communication of your opinions and wishes concerning it. You may, perhaps, in your situation, find it difficult to obtain from the truest friends of Government their real sentiments on so delicate a point; you may have a difficulty in endeavouring to sound any of them; and I know not whether there are any whose integrity and good sense you would trust sufficiently to communicate with them on such points; but it is possible that you may find opportunities of doing so without committing yourself too far. At all events, you can compare what I have stated with the result of your own experience and observation of Mr. Orde's conduct, and you will be best able to judge whether there is any probability of its being founded. And, above all, you will have the goodness to tell me freely, whether, if (from such materials as we can collect) the opinion here should incline to remove Mr. Orde, you feel in your own mind any objection, provided you can pitch upon a proper person to succeed him; and be persuaded that the knowledge of your inclination in this respect will be decisive, both on my opinion and my wishes. The only other way by which I can be enabled to judge farther on this subject is by calling on Mr. Orde himself (as may naturally be done in the present circumstances) to state, more precisely than he has hitherto done, the strength and reliance of Government, and the prospect he has of carrying through the public service in the House of Commons. By this means, one material part of the consideration may, I think, be ascertained with a good deal of accuracy.

‘It may seem premature to proceed already to talk of the person to succeed before the preliminary point is ascertained. In mentioning it, however, I do not mean to anticipate your decision on the prudence of making the change (in which my own opinion is in no degree settled), but I wish, in order to avoid delay (whatever may be the final result), that the whole subject should be at once before you. I need hardly say, that, if the change should take place, any person whom you could select for this trust would be sure to be at once acquiesced in here. But from what has passed formerly I must doubt whether you have any one to name, Fitzherbert\* being, from his situation, so far out of the question. Only three names have occurred to me, which I mention to you that you may turn them in your mind. The first is W. Grenville;† I do not know that he would take it, and rather suppose that he would not. I think, too, that his near connexion with Lord Buckingham is itself perhaps a sufficient objection, though in temper and disposition he is much the reverse of his brother, and in good sense and habits of business very fit for such a situation. The second I have to name is Steele:‡ I know as little whether he would take it, having never hinted a syllable to him on the subject, and I could very ill spare him from his present situation at the Treasury; but if no other good arrangement could be found, I believe I should make the sacrifice, for such it would be. He has exceeding good abilities, great clearness and dis-

\* Alleyne Fitzherbert. He became Secretary for Ireland under the Duke of Rutland's successor, and in 1801 was created Lord St. Helen's.

† William Wyndham Grenville, afterwards Lord Grenville.

‡ The Right Hon. Thomas Steele, for many years Secretary of the Treasury.



cretion, the most manly disposition, the best temper, and most agreeable manners possible, and speaks well in public. The third person is Faulkener, whom I believe you know quite as well as I do. He has the reputation of uncommon cleverness, is very accomplished, and seems a man of spirit. I have had some opportunity of seeing him in business at the Privy Council, on occasions which tried his abilities, and have from thence been led to rate him very high. He is, however, reckoned to be of a bad temper; but you would not be exposed to the inconvenience of it, and I should hope he would have sense enough to control it in public. I have now unbosomed myself of everything, and need not repeat, that, as I have written without a shadow of reserve, all I have said is for yourself only. Have the goodness to return me an answer as speedily as you can, after revolving all this in your mind, as the season of the year requires that, one way or other, the business should be soon decided.

‘I have many other things to write to you upon, but this letter is too long already. I cannot conclude without telling you the pride and satisfaction I take in the credit and honour which, under all the difficulties and disappointments of the time, has resulted to yourself, and which will, I trust, be increased and confirmed in every hour of your government.

‘Believe me ever,

‘My dear Duke,

‘Most faithfully and affectionately yours,

‘W. PITT.

‘P.S.—I must just add (though foreign from the subject of this letter) that the situation of our finances here proves flourishing beyond almost what could be expected. We are in possession, from the existing taxes, of a surplus of about 800,000*l.* for sinking fund already, and it is advancing fast to a clear million.

‘I should have stated, that, if the change should take place, every management would be had for Orde’s feelings, and it might be made to appear an act of choice in him.’

No copy of the Duke’s reply to this letter is preserved among his papers, but it appears to have entirely acquitted Mr. Orde from blame, since Mr. Pitt, in his next communication (Nov. 13, 1785), thus rejoins:—

‘I am, be assured, infinitely happy at finding the suggestions I had thought myself obliged to communicate to you, to so great a degree contradicted. Every idea of Mr. Orde’s retirement will be totally laid aside in my mind.’

It may easily be supposed that—the scene being laid at Dublin—there is no lack of applications for place and promotion. These the Lord Lieutenant, as was his duty, transmits to the Prime Minister. In one communication (June 16, 1784) he observes:—‘You are so unused to receive letters which contain no application, that if it were for form’s sake only I must recommend’—and then follows the name of ‘*a friend*.’ Foremost among

among such as these come demands for Irish Marquises or English Baronies, from noblemen of large parliamentary interest at Dublin. But to such requests Mr. Pitt states a strong objection (July 19, 1786):—

‘I am certainly very anxious to forward any thing you think material for the ease and success of your government, and extremely inclined to concur in showing a marked attention to its steadfast supporters; but I have no difficulty in stating fairly to you, that a variety of circumstances have unavoidably led me to recommend a larger addition to the British peerage than I like, or than I think quite creditable, and that I am on that account very desirous not to increase it now farther than is absolutely necessary.’

It is remarkable that the large multiplication of honours which has been charged against Mr. Pitt’s administration took place at a subsequent period. We may therefore conclude that in advising or acceding to it, Mr. Pitt consulted rather the growing difficulties of the times than the natural dictates of his judgment.

We may remark, also—not merely as to the point of patronage or promotion, but as to every other subject treated in these pages—how pure appears the mind, how lofty the view of the Great Minister. There is never the least approach—not even on the congenial soil of Ireland—to *a job*. While he shows every anxiety to gratify his colleagues, or to serve his friends, all his determinations, all his expressions, bear the stamp of the noblest public spirit.

Among the few persons for whose employment Mr. Pitt himself expresses a wish in these pages, it is interesting to trace the name of one who has since attained such high renown in the public service, and who still survives in a green and honoured old age—the then Earl of Mornington, the present Marquess Wellesley. In a letter of August 9th, 1784 (Lord Mornington being then but twenty-four years of age) Mr. Pitt says:—

‘The immediate object I have in writing at this moment is to state to you some circumstances relative to Lord Mornington, and to beg you to let me know how far the ideas I have conceived on the subject correspond with yours. I find he considers himself as entitled, from the assurances he received both from you and me (either personally or through Lord Temple), before you went to Ireland, to expect the earliest mark of the favour of government in that country which its circumstances could admit of. He expresses a full disposition to have made every allowance for the exigencies of a new government, at so critical a time, but I think he seems to imagine that there was an appearance of his pretensions being postponed, either without sufficient grounds, or without their being so confidentially stated to him as he supposed he had a claim to. He seems at the same time to feel a real zeal for the interests and credit of your government, and a strong sense of the marks of  
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of your personal friendship. I am very anxious, for all our sakes, that there should be no misapprehension on the subject, both from a high opinion of him, and from feeling (as I am sure you will) a great desire that any thing like an engagement, or even a reasonable expectation, should not be disappointed.'

And on the 15th of August following the Duke of Rutland thus replies:—

'I can have no hesitation of saying that Lord Mornington shall have the first office which may fall worthy of his acceptance. His merits are very great, which I am sure I am one of the first men to allow. . . . . Lord Mornington, as I have always stated to him, stands first for whatever may offer. I have his interest much at heart, as well from private regard as from a conviction of his powers to render the public essential service.'

One of the most important and most difficult subjects which engaged the Duke's attention was that of Irish tithes, on which we find him (September 13th, 1786) refer to Mr. Pitt for direction:—

'The question of the tithes, with the commotions of the Whiteboys, will, I am apprehensive, form business for a very tedious session. A parliamentary investigation into the causes of their complaints will certainly take place, and is indeed become necessary. It is of the utmost consequence to prevent this question from falling into the hands of opposition, who would employ it to the most mischievous purposes, and who might raise a storm which it would not be easy to direct. This business is of extreme delicacy and complication. We have the most rooted prejudices to contend with. The episcopal part of the clergy consider any settlement as a direct attack on their most ancient rights, and as a commencement of the ruin of their establishment; whereas many individual clergymen, who foresee no prospect of receiving any property at all under the present system, are extremely desirous of a fair adjustment. The Established Church, with legions of Papists on one side and a violent Presbytery on the other, must be supported, however, decidedly, as the principle that combinations are to compel measures must be exterminated out of the country and from the public mind; at the same time the country must not be permitted to continue in a state little less than war, when a substantial grievance is alleged to be the cause. The majority of the laity, who are at all times ready to oppose tithes, are likewise strong advocates for some settlement. On the whole it forms a most involved and difficult question; on all hands it is agreed that it ought to be investigated: but then it is problematical whether any effectual remedy can be applied without endangering the Establishment, which must be guarded; and next, whether any arrangement could be suggested which the Church (who must be consulted) would agree to, adequate to the nature and extent of the evil complained of. In short, it involves a great political settlement worthy of the decision of your clear and incomparable judgment.'

The letter of Mr. Pitt in reply is perhaps the most remarkable  
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of this whole collection. It is dated Burton Pynsent, November 7th, 1786:—

‘I have thought very much since I received your letter respecting the general state of Ireland, on the subjects suggested in that and your official letters to Lord Sydney. The question which arises is a nice and difficult one. On the one hand, the discontent seems general and rooted, and both that circumstance and most of the accounts I hear seem to indicate that there is some real grievance at bottom, which must be removed before any durable tranquillity can be secured. On the other hand, it is certainly a delicate thing to meddle with the Church Establishment in the present situation of Ireland; and any thing like concession to the dangerous spirit which has shown itself is not without objection. But on the whole, being persuaded that Government ought not to be afraid of incurring the imputation of weakness, by yielding in reasonable points, and can never make its stand effectually till it gets upon right ground, I think the great object ought to be, to ascertain fairly the true causes of complaint, to hold out a sincere disposition to give just redress, and a firm determination to do no more, taking care in the interval to hold up vigorously the execution of the law *as it stands* (till altered by Parliament), and to punish severely (if the means can be found) any tumultuous attempt to violate it.

‘I certainly think the institution of tithe, especially if rigorously enforced, is a great obstacle to the improvement and prosperity of any country. Many circumstances in practice have made it less so here; but even here it is felt; and there are a variety of causes to make it sit much heavier on Ireland. I believe, too, that it is as much for the real interest of the Church as for that of the land to adopt, if practicable, some other mode of provision. If from any cause the Church falls into general odium, Government will be more likely to risk its own interests than to save those of the Church by any efforts in its favour. If, therefore, those who are at the head of the clergy will look at it soberly and dispassionately, they will see how incumbent it is upon them, in every point of view, to propose some temperate accommodation; and even the appearance of concession, which might be awkward in Government, could not be unbecoming if it originated with them. The thing to be aimed at, therefore, seems, as far as I can judge of it, to find out a way of removing the grievances arising out of a tithe, or, perhaps, to substitute some new provision in lieu of it; to have such a plan cautiously digested (which may require much time), and, above all, to make the Church itself the quarter to bring forward whatever is proposed. How far this is practicable must depend upon many circumstances, of which you can form a nearer and better judgment, particularly on the temper of the leading men among the clergy. I apprehend you may have a good deal of difficulty with the Archbishop of Cashel; \* the Primate † is, I imagine, a man to listen to

\* Dr. Charles Agar, afterwards translated to the Archbishopric of Dublin. In 1795 he was created Lord Somerton, and in 1806 Earl of Normanton.

† Dr. Richard Robinson, Archbishop of Armagh. He had been, in 1777, created Lord Rokeby.

temperate advice : but it is surely desirable that you should have as speedily as possible a full communication with both of them ; and if you feel the subject in the same light that I do, that, while you state to them the full determination of Government to give them all just and honourable support, you should impress them seriously with the apprehension of their risking every thing if they do not in time abandon ground that is ultimately untenable.

‘ To suggest the precise plan of commutation which might be adopted is more than I am equal to, and is premature ; but in general I have never seen any good reason why a fair valuation should not be made of the present amount of every living, and a rent in corn to that amount to be raised by a pound rate on the several tenements in the parish, nearly according to the proportion in which they now contribute to tithe. When I say a rent in corn, I do not actually mean paid in corn, but a rent in money regulated by the average value from time to time of whatever number of bushels is at present equal to the fair value of the living. This would effectually prevent the Church from suffering by the fluctuations in the value of money, and it is a mode which was adopted in all college leases, in consequence, I believe, of an act of Parliament in the time of Queen Elizabeth. I need not say that I throw out these ideas in personal confidence to yourself ; and I shall wish much to know what you think of them, and whether you can make any thing of your prelates, before any measure is officially suggested. It seems material that there should be the utmost secrecy till our line is decided upon, and it must be decided upon completely before Parliament meets.

‘ Yours faithfully and sincerely,  
‘ W. PITT.’

We have been greatly struck at observing how closely the proposal thus hastily thrown out resembles the plan on which the English Tithe Commutation Act was recently framed. What deep heart-burnings—what violent collisions—might have been spared had Mr. Pitt’s enlightened policy prevailed fifty years before !

Other questions of paramount importance that are discussed between the Duke and the Minister refer to the celebrated commercial propositions. We may trace in these letters their gradual growth and development in the mind of Mr. Pitt. He states his first impressions as follows :—

‘ *Mr. Pitt to the Duke of Rutland.*

‘ *[Private.]*

*Putney Heath, Oct. 7, 1784.*

‘ My dear Duke,—I have been intending every day for some time past to trouble you with a letter ; though in many respects I cannot write so fully as the important subjects in question require, till I receive materials of information which I expect from the result of Mr. Orde’s inquiries, and from the various questions I have persecuted him with. I am in hopes now that your situation is such as to allow a little more respite from the incessant



cessant calls of the day, and to furnish leisure for going forward in the great and complicated questions we have to settle before the meeting of Parliament. I have desultorily, at different times, stated in my letters to him the ideas floating in my mind, as the subjects in question carried me to them; and I have not troubled you with any repetition of them, because I knew you would be acquainted with them as far as they were worth it, and they certainly were neither distinct nor digested enough to deserve being written twice. I feel, however, notwithstanding the difficulty of deciding upon many of the delicate considerations which present themselves in the arduous business you have in your hands, that a plan must be concerted on all the points, and as far as possible adapted to all the contingencies that may happen, before the meeting of Parliament. The commercial points of discussion, though numerous and comprehensive, may certainly be ascertained and reduced to clear principles by diligent investigation. The internal question of Parliamentary reform, though simpler, is perhaps more difficult and hazardous; and the line of future permanent connexion between the two countries must be the result of both the preceding questions, and of such arrangements as must accompany a settlement of them. I am revolving these in every shape in my mind; and when I have had the information which I hope to receive in Mr. Orde's next packets, I trust I shall be able to send you the best result of my judgment, which I shall wish to submit to your private consideration, in order to learn confidentially the extent of your ideas on the whole plan to be pursued, before it is formally brought under the consideration of the Cabinet here. I own to you the line to which my mind at present inclines (open to whatever new observations or arguments may be suggested to me) is, *to give Ireland an almost unlimited communication of commercial advantages, if we can receive in return some security that her strength and riches will be our benefit, and that she will contribute from time to time in their increasing proportions to the common exigencies of the empire; and—having, by holding out this, removed, I trust, every temptation to Ireland to consider her interest as separate from England—to be ready, while we discountenance wild and unconstitutional attempts, which strike at the root of all authority, to give real efficacy and popularity to Government by acceding (if such a line can be found) to a prudent and temperate reform of Parliament, which may guard against or gradually cure real defects and mischiefs, may show a sufficient regard to the interests and even prejudices of individuals who are concerned, and may unite the Protestant interest in excluding the Catholics from any share in the representation or the government of the country.*

Neither on parliamentary reform, nor on the contribution to be expected from Ireland in return for commercial advantages, did the Duke of Rutland take altogether the same view as his friend in Downing Street. Mr. Pitt accordingly reverts to both questions. Of reform in parliament he writes (October 8, 1784):—

‘What I venture to suggest for your consideration is, whether it be possible for you to gain any authentic knowledge (without committing yourself)

yourself) of the extent of the numbers who are really zealous for reform, and of the ideas that would content them. By all I hear accidentally, the Protestant reformers are alarmed at the pretensions of the Catholics, and for that very reason would stop very short of the extreme speculative notions of universal suffrage. Could there be any way of your confidentially sounding Lord Charlemont without any danger from the consequences?’

And again (December 4, 1784) :—

‘Parliamentary reform, I am still sure, after considering all you have stated, *must* sooner or later be carried in *both countries*. If it is well done, the sooner the better. I will write to you, by as early an opportunity as I can, the full result of all my reflections on the subject. For God’s sake, do not persuade yourself, in the mean time, that the measure, if properly managed, and separated *from every ingredient of faction* (which I believe it may be), is inconsistent with either the dignity or the tranquillity and facility of government. On the contrary, I believe *they* ultimately depend upon it. And if such a settlement is practicable, it is the only system worth the hazard and trouble which belongs to every system that can be thought of. I write in great haste, and under a strong impression of these sentiments. You will perceive that this is merely a confidential and personal communication between you and myself, and therefore I need add no apology for stating so plainly what is floating in my mind on these subjects.’

To the contribution which was expected from Ireland in return for commercial advantages, Mr. Pitt applies himself in several letters before the meeting of parliament with great warmth and earnestness. The longest of these letters we shall here insert, without any apology for its length, since, notwithstanding the haste with which, as the postscript mentions, it was written, we think that the reader will agree with us when we call it a masterly argument :—

‘*Mr. Pitt to the Duke of Rutland.*

‘[Secret.]

‘*Downing Street, Jan. 6, 1785.*

‘My dear Duke,—You will receive by the messenger from Lord Sydney the official communication of the unanimous opinion of the cabinet on the subject of the important settlement to be proposed as final and conclusive between Great Britain and Ireland. The objects have been considered with all possible attention; and though minuter inquiry may still be necessary, with regard to some few points included in the propositions, we are so fully satisfied with the general principles on which they rest, that they are without hesitation transmitted to your Grace, as containing the substance of a system from which it appears wholly impossible for us to depart. I am confirmed by the opinion of Mr. Foster\* and Mr. Beresford, as well as Mr. Orde, that the complete

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\* The Right Hon. John Foster, afterwards Lord Oriel, was at the time Speaker of the Irish House of Commons.

liberty and equality in matters of trade which will by this plan be given to Ireland ought to give the fullest satisfaction on that subject; and if that opinion is enforced and supported by all the arguments it admits, and vigorous exertions used to circulate it, I trust your Grace will meet with less difficulty than has been imagined in obtaining from Ireland those measures on their part which are indispensable to accompany it, in order to make the advantage reciprocal, and of course to make the system either consistent or durable. I am not sanguine enough to suppose that any plan could at once be accepted with universal approbation. No great settlement of this extent was ever carried without meeting some, perhaps, strong objections, and without requiring much management and perseverance to accomplish it: but these will, I am sure, not be wanting on your part; and considering the strength of government in parliament, and all the circumstances of the country, it is impossible to believe that your friends and supporters should have really any hesitation, if they once understand, what they must know sooner or later, that the settlement between the two kingdoms, and of course the giving tranquillity to Ireland, and security to any interest they have at stake, must turn on this fundamental and essential point, *of reciprocity in the final compact to be now formed*. If the point is secured in parliament, *which I cannot allow myself to doubt*, I do not apprehend much additional clamour or discontent without doors. It will be difficult for malice and faction to find many topics calculated to catch the mind of the public, if the nature of the measure is fairly stated, and sufficiently explained in its true light.

‘ I am unwilling to trouble you at present very much at length, and have myself little time to spare; but yet I have the success of this whole arrangement so much at heart, from every personal and public feeling, knowing that your credit and my own are equally concerned with the interest of both countries, and the future prosperity of the empire, that you will, I am sure, forgive me, if I call your attention more particularly to what strikes me as the true state of *what* it is which we propose to give, and *what* we require in return. If it appears to you in the same light as it does to me, I trust you will feel the impossibility of our reconciling our minds to waive so essential an object. I assure you there is scarce a man whom I have here consulted who does not feel it at least as strongly as I do.

‘ The general tenor of our propositions not only gives a full equality to Ireland, but extends that principle to many points where it would be easy to have urged just exceptions, and in many other points possibly turns the scale in her favour, at a risk, perhaps a remote one, of considerable local disadvantages to many great interests of this country. I do not say that in practice I apprehend the effect on our trade and manufactures will be such as it will perhaps be industriously represented; but I am persuaded (whatever may be the event) that, by the additions now proposed to former concessions, we open to Ireland the chance of a competition with ourselves on terms of more than equality, and we give her advantages which make it impossible she should ever have anything to fear from the jealousy or restrictive policy of this country in future.

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Such an arrangement is defensible only on the idea of relinquishing local prejudices and partial advantages, in order to consult uniformly and without distinction the general benefit of the empire. This cannot be done but by making England and Ireland *one country* in effect, though for local concerns under distinct legislatures ; *one* in the communication of advantages, and of course in the participation of burdens. If their *unity* is broken, or rendered absolutely *precarious*, in either of these points, the system is defective, and there is an end of the whole.

‘ The two capital points are, the construction of the Navigation Act, and the system of duties on the importation into either country of the manufactures of the other. With regard to the Navigation Act, it has been claimed by the advocates for Ireland as a matter of justice, on the ground that the same act of parliament must bear the same construction in its operation on Ireland as on Great Britain. Even on the narrow ground of *mere construction*, it may well be argued as at least doubtful whether the provisos in the act of 14th and 15th C. II. (by which it was in effect adopted by authority of the Irish parliament) do not plainly do away that restriction on imports of colony produce from England to Ireland which is not done away by any proviso or otherwise with regard to the same importation from Ireland into England. On such a supposition it might be very consistent that the Act of Navigation should be enforced here (as it was by subsequent acts of parliament) in its original strictness, and in Ireland with those exceptions in favour of colony produce imported from hence which the provisos I allude to seem to have admitted ; and the practice of more than a hundred years has been conformable to this distinction. But this is on the mere *point of construction*. The question is, not merely what has been or ought to be the construction of the existing law, but what is really fair in the relative situation of the two countries. Here, I think, it is universally allowed, that, however just the claim of Ireland is not to have her own trade *fettered and restricted*, she can have no claim to any share beyond what we please to give her in the trade of our colonies. They belong (unless by favour or by compact we make it otherwise) *exclusively to this country*. The suffering Ireland to send anything to those colonies, or to bring anything *directly* from thence, is itself a *favour* ; and is a deviation, too, for the sake of favour to Ireland, from the general and almost uniform policy of all nations with regard to the trade of their colonies. But the present claim of Ireland has gone further : it is not merely to carry produce thither, or to bring it from thence, but it is to supply us, *through Ireland*, with the produce of *our own colonies*, in prejudice, as far as it goes, of the direct trade between those colonies and this country. Can it be said that Ireland has any right to have the liberty of thus *carrying for us*, because we have the liberty of carrying *for them*, unless the colonies with whom the trade subsists are as much *their colonies* as they are *ours* ? It may be true that the favour granted by former concessions in this respect is in some measure compensated by their securing in favour of our colonies a monopoly of their consumption ; though it may well be doubted whether

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on any possible supposition they could be supplied from the colonies of any other country on terms of similar indulgence. But the liberty to be now given stands on a separate ground, and is a *mere and absolute favour*, if ever there was anything that could be called so. It is a sacrifice, too, which cannot fail to be magnified here, even beyond its true value, as a departure from the principles of the Act of Navigation, which has been so long idolized in this country. But what I principally state this for is to prove the *liberal and conciliating spirit* which induces us to agree to the proposal. I do not wish to exaggerate its probable effects. I do not expect that in practice it will materially interfere with the trade of this country; but it is unquestionably true that, even though we should not immediately lose by it, yet Ireland will be considerably benefited, by opening so near a market, which will encourage her merchants to a freer speculation, and enable them to avail themselves more than they have hitherto done of the advantages they are already possessed of. Some persons here may, perhaps, even apprehend that the liberty of supplying our market may *gradually* enable them to lay in a stock for the supply of other markets also, which perhaps they could not do otherwise; and if that should be the effect, not only they will be gainers, but we shall be losers in the same proportion. On the whole, however, I am fully reconciled to the measure, because, even supposing it not to produce these effects, it must be remembered that it is a liberty which Ireland has strongly solicited, and on which she *appears to set a high value*. As such, it is the strongest proof of cordiality to grant it, in spite of prevailing and perhaps formidable prejudices; and in truth it establishes in favour of Ireland so intimate a connexion and so equal a *participation* with this country, even in those points where we have the fullest right to exclusive advantage, that it gives them an interest in the protection of our colonies and the support of our trade equal in proportion to our own.

‘ I come now to the system of duties between the two countries; and here, too, I think Ireland has not less reason to be satisfied and to be grateful. By lowering our duties to the standard of Ireland, we put her in possession of absolute equality, on the face of the arrangement; but I think in truth we put her in possession of something more. If, however, it were bare equality, we are departing, in order to effect it, from the policy of prohibiting duties so long established in this country. In doing so we are perhaps to encounter the prejudices of our manufacturing [interest] in every corner of the kingdom. We are admitting to this competition a country whose labour is cheap, and whose resources are unexhausted; ourselves burdened with accumulated taxes, which are felt in the price of every necessary of life, and of course enter into the cost of every article of manufacture. It is, indeed, stated on the other hand, that Ireland has neither the skill, the industry, nor the capital of this country; but it is difficult to assign any good reason why she should not gradually, with such strong encouragement, imitate and rival us in both the former, and in both more rapidly from time as she grows possessed of a large capital, which, with all the temptations for it, may perhaps to some degree be transferred to her from hence, but  
which



which will at all events be increased if her commerce receives any extension, and will as it increases necessarily extend that commerce still farther. But there is another important consideration which makes the system of duties more favourable to Ireland than she could expect on the ground of perfect equality. It is this: although the duties taken separately on the importation of each article will be the same in the two countries, it is to be remembered, that there are some articles which may pass from one to the other perfectly free; consequently, if the articles which in the actual state of the trade we are able to send to Ireland are those which pay *some* duty, if the articles which she principally sends to us are articles which *pay no duty*, can anything be plainer than that, although upon each article taken separately there is an appearance of impartiality and equality, the result of the whole is manifestly to a great degree *more favourable to Ireland than to this country?*

‘The case I have just stated will actually exist with regard to the woollen and linen trades. We send you a considerable quantity of woollen, *subject to some duty*; you send us linen to an immense amount, *subject to none*. This single circumstance of the linen would have been a fair and full answer (even without any reduction of duties on the import of other articles) to the clamour for protecting duties. The whole amount of the British manufacture which Ireland actually takes from England, under *a low duty*, and on which she has threatened prohibitory duties, does not amount to so much as the single article of linen, which we are content to take from you, *under no duty at all*. I have stated all this to show that this part of the arrangement is in the same spirit with the other. What is it, then, that can reconcile this country to such concessions, under these circumstances? It is perhaps true that with regard to some of the articles of manufacture there are particular considerations which make the danger to us less than it might be imagined. In the great article of the woollen, if we confine the raw material to ourselves, and let Ireland do the same, perhaps the produce of Ireland, and what she can import from other places, can never enable her to supplant us to a great extent in this article. This undoubtedly must be our policy, and it makes part of the resolutions proposed: it can never, in my opinion, be thought any exception to the general freedom of trade, nor do I believe any man could seriously entertain any expectation of the contrary line being adopted. If each country is at liberty to make the most of its own natural advantages, it could not be supposed that we should part with a material indispensable to our staple manufacture. If there is any other similar prohibition on the export of raw material now in force in Ireland, it would be equally fair that it should be continued; but, on the other hand, it is essential that no new one should be hereafter imposed in either country, as this part of the system should, like the rest, be finally settled, and not left open to future discussion. But this consideration affects only the particular article of woollen. The fundamental principle, and the only one on which the whole plan can be justified, is that I mentioned in the beginning of my letter—that for the future the two countries will be to the most essential purposes united. On this ground the wealth and prosperity

prosperity of the whole is the object ; from what local sources they arise is indifferent. We trust to various circumstances in believing that no branch of trade or manufacture will shift so suddenly as not to allow time, in every instance as it arises, for the industry of this country gradually to take another direction ; and confident that there will be markets sufficient to exercise the industry of both countries, to whatever pitch either can carry it, we are not afraid in this liberal view to encourage a competition which will ultimately prove for the common benefit of the empire, by giving to each country the possession of whatever branch of trade or article of manufacture it is best adapted to, and therefore likely to carry on with the most advantage. These are the ideas I entertain of what we give to Ireland, and of the principles on which it is given.

The unavoidable consequence of these principles brings me back to that which I set out with—the indispensable necessity of some fixed mode of contribution on the part of Ireland, in proportion to her growing means, to the general defence. That in fact she ought to contribute in that proportion I have never heard any man question as a principle. Indeed without that expectation the conduct of this country would be an example of rashness and folly not to be paralleled. But we are desirous to content ourselves with the strongest general pledge that can be obtained of the intention of Ireland, without requiring anything specific at present. I must fairly say that such a measure neither can nor ought to give satisfaction. In the first place, it is making everything take place immediately on our part, and leaving everything uncertain on that of Ireland, which would render the whole system so lame and imperfect as to be totally indefensible. It would reserve this essential point as a perpetual source of jealous discussion, and that even in time of peace, when, with no objects to encourage exertion, men will be much more disposed to object than to give liberally ; and we should have nothing but a vague and perhaps a fallacious hope, in answer to the clamours and apprehensions of all the descriptions of men who lose, or think they lose, by the arrangement. If it is indispensable, therefore, that the contribution should be in some degree ascertained at present, it is equally clear, on the other hand, that the quantum of it must not be fixed to any stated sum, which of necessity would either be too great at present, or in a little time hence too small. The only thing that seems reasonable is to appropriate a certain fund towards supporting the general expenses of the empire in time of peace, and leave it, as it must be left, to the zeal of Ireland to provide for extraordinary emergencies in time of war as they arise. The fund which seems the best, and indeed the only one that has been pointed out for this purpose, is the hereditary revenue. Though the effect will not be immediate, our object will be attained if the future surplus of this revenue beyond its present produce, estimated at the medium of the four or five last years, is applied in the manner we wish. Such a fund, from the nature of the articles of which it is composed, must have a direct relation to the wealth, the commerce, and the population of Ireland. It will increase with their extension, and cannot even begin to exist without it. Towards this country it will be more acceptable



acceptable than a much larger contribution in any other way, because, if in fact the commerce of Ireland should be increased at our expense by our manufactures and trade being transferred in any degree thither, the compensation will arise in the same proportion. It has this further inestimable advantage, from being fixed according to a standard which will apply to all the future circumstances of the two countries, that it will, from the very permanence of the principle, tend to unite them more closely and firmly to each other. In Ireland, it cannot escape consideration, that this is a contribution not given beforehand for uncertain expectations, but which can only follow the actual possession and enjoyment of the benefits in return for which it is given. If Ireland does not grow richer and more populous she will by this scheme contribute nothing. If she does grow richer by the participation of our trade, surely she ought to contribute, and the measure of that contribution cannot, with equal justice, be fixed in any other proportion. It can never be contended that the increase of the hereditary revenue ought to be left to Ireland as the means of gradually diminishing her other taxes, unless it can be argued that the whole of what Ireland now pays is a greater burden in proportion than the whole of what is paid by this country, and that therefore she ought, even if she grows richer, rather to diminish that burden on herself than give anything towards lightening ours. Indeed, if this were argued, it would be an argument, not against this particular mode of contributing, but against any contribution at all. For if Ireland were to contribute voluntarily from time to time, at the discretion of her Parliament, it would, if the contribution were real and effectual, equally prevent any diminution of her own burdens;—only the mode and the proportion would be neither so certain nor so satisfactory. It is to be remembered that the very increase supposed to arise in the hereditary revenue cannot arise without a similar increase in many articles of the additional taxes; consequently, from that circumstance alone, though they part with the future increase of their hereditary revenue, their income will be upon the whole increased, without imposing any additional burdens. On the whole, therefore, if Ireland allows that she ought ever in time of peace to contribute at all, on which it is impossible to frame a doubt, I can conceive no plausible objection to the particular mode proposed.

I recollect but two or three topics that have been suggested as likely to be urged by those who wish to create difficulties. The first, if it applies at all, applies as an argument against any contribution of any sort. *It is that the wealth of Ireland is brought by absentees to be spent in this country.* In the first place, the amount of this is indefinite, and the idea, I believe, greatly overrated. What this country gains by it I am sure is small. The way in which it must be supposed to injure Ireland is, by diminishing the capital in the country, and by obstructing civilization and improvement. If this is true, what follows? That the effect of this, as far as it operates to prevent the increase of trade and riches, will prevent also the existence or the increase of the fund on which the contribution is to depend. Therefore this argument, giving it its utmost weight, does not affect the particular



particular plan in question. Besides this, Ireland in its present state bears this evil, and under these circumstances supports her present burden. If she grows richer, will she not be able to support, out of that additional wealth, some addition of burden, at least, without any increase of hardship or difficulty? But if Ireland states the wealth we are supposed to draw from her by absentees on one hand, we may state what she draws from us by commerce on the other. Look at the trade between Great Britain and Ireland, and see how large a proportion of what we take from her is the produce of her soil or the manufactures of her inhabitants (which are the great sources of national riches). How small, comparatively, the proportion of similar articles which she takes from us. The consequence is obvious, that she is in this respect clearly more benefited than we are by the intercourse between us.

‘The other topic is, that it is impolitic and odious that this arrangement should have the appearance of a *bargain*, and such an idea will render it unpopular with the public. If a permanent system is to be settled by the authority of two distinct legislatures, I do not know what there is more odious in a bargain between them than in a treaty between two separate crowns. If the bargain is unfair, if the terms of it are not for mutual benefit, it is not calculated for the situation of two countries connected as Great Britain and Ireland ought to be. But it is of the essence of such a settlement (whatever name is to be given to it) that both *the advantage* and *the obligation* should be reciprocal; one cannot be so without the other. This reciprocity, whether it is or is not to be called a bargain, is an inherent and necessary part of the new system to be established between the two countries. In the relations of Great Britain with Ireland there can subsist but two possible principles of connexion. The one, that which is exploded, of total subordination in Ireland, and of restrictions on her commerce for the benefit of this country, which was by this means enabled to bear the whole burden of the empire; the other is, what is now proposed to be confirmed and completed, that of an equal participation of all commercial advantages, and some proportion of the charge of protecting the general interest. If Ireland is at all connected with this country, and to remain a member of the empire, she must make her option between these two principles, and she has wisely and justly made it for the latter. But if she does think this system for her advantage as well as ours, and if she sets any value either on the confirmation and security of what has been given her, or on the possession of what is now within her reach, she can attain neither without performing on her part what both reason and justice entitle us to expect.

‘The only remaining consideration is, for what service this contribution shall be granted, and in what manner it shall be applied. This seems a question of little difficulty. The great advantage that Ireland will derive is, from the equal participation of our trade, and of the benefits derived from our colonies. Nothing, therefore, is so natural as that she should contribute to the support of the navy, on which the protection of both depends. For the rest, it seems only necessary to provide some proper mode of ascertaining to the Parlia-

ment of Ireland that the surplus is annually paid over, to be applied together with other monies voted here for naval services, and to be accounted for, together with them, to the Parliament of this country. There can be but *one navy* for the empire at large, and it must be administered by the executive power in this country. The particulars of the administration of it cannot be under the control of anything but the Parliament of this country. This principle, on the fullest consideration, seems one which must be held sacred. Nothing else can also prevent the supreme executive power, and with it the force of the empire, being distracted into different channels, and its energy and effect being consequently lost. As the sum to be received in this manner from Ireland can never be more than a part (I fear a small one) of the whole naval expense, as its amount from time to time will be notorious, and as it will go in diminution of the supplies to be granted here, the Parliament of this country will have both the means and the inducement to watch its expenditure as narrowly as if it was granted by themselves. Ireland, therefore, will have the same security that we have against any misapplication, and she will have the less reason to be jealous on the subject, because we have a common interest with her, and to a still greater extent, in the service which it is intended to support; and if any deficiency arises from mismanagement it will (according to this arrangement) fall, not upon them, but upon us, to make it good.

‘ I have no more to add. I have troubled you with all this from an extreme anxiety to put you in possession of all that occurs to me on one of the most interesting subjects that can occupy our attention in the course of our lives. You will, I am sure, forgive my wearying you with so much detail. I release you from it, in the persuasion that you will feel how much depends upon this crisis for both countries, and in the certainty that your exertions, and those of your friends, will be proportioned to its importance. I will only add, that difficulties may be started at first, but I think they must vanish on discussion. At all events, believe me, my dear Duke, it is indispensable to us all, and to the public, that they should be overcome. By address and dexterity in the management of the business, and above all, by firmness and a resolution to succeed, I have no doubt that it will be found both possible and easy. I shall then have to congratulate you on your having the happiness to accomplish a scheme which may lay the foundation of lasting tranquillity and reviving prosperity to both countries.

‘ I am ever, with constant affection and attachment,

‘ My dear Duke,

‘ Your faithful and sincere friend,

‘ W. PITT.

‘ *Downing Street, Friday, Jan. 7, 1785,*

‘ *½ past 12, P.M.*

‘ I need hardly tell you that I am obliged to send you these sheets as they are, without the leisure either to copy or revise them.’

The commercial propositions, as is well known, did not prosper in the Irish parliament. On the 4th of July, 1785, the Duke of Devonshire reports—

‘ I have

‘ I have seen Mr. Grattan, but found him impracticable in a degree scarcely credible. I desired to be apprised of his objections, and stated my reliance on your disposition to modify, as far as candour could require, those parts which were deemed exceptionable in Ireland; but his ideas of objection were such as to render them impossible to be obviated. He said that he could admit nothing which intrenched on old settlements; that it seemed an attempt to resume in peace concessions granted in war; that rendering the fourth proposition conditional was of but little avail; that everything should be left to national faith, and nothing covenanted.’

But the final blow, it will be seen, was struck in the month of August.

*‘ The Duke of Rutland to Mr. Pitt.*

‘ MY DEAR PITT,

*‘ Dublin Castle, August 13, 1785.*

‘ I am most extremely concerned to inform you, that after a tedious debate, which continued till past nine in the morning, the House came to a division, when the numbers for admitting the bill were 127 to 108. You may well imagine that so small a majority as nineteen on so strong a question as the admission of the bill affords no great hopes as to the ultimate fate of the measure. It will be an effort of our united strength to get the bill printed, that at least it may remain as a monument of the liberality of Great Britain, and of my desires to promote a system which promises such essential advantage to the empire. All my influence must likewise be exerted on Monday to defeat a motion from Mr. Flood, to the purpose of declaring “the four propositions, as passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, as destructive of the liberties and constitution of Ireland.” Such a declaration is of a nature too hostile to be endured for a moment. The speech of Mr. Grattan was, I understand, a display of the most beautiful eloquence perhaps ever heard, but it was seditious and inflammatory to a degree hardly credible. The theory and positions laid down both in his speech and that of Mr. Flood amounted to nothing less than war with England. This was distinctly told him in so many words by Mr. Pole.\* The Attorney-General† supported me in the most honourable and manly manner, and has committed himself without reserve. Our only line left is to force, if possible, the bill to be read, and then to adjourn, that men may have time to return to their senses. It grieves me to think that a system which held out so much advantage to the empire, and which was so fair between the two countries, should meet a fate so contrary to its deserts; and I may say Ireland will have reason to repent her folly if she persists in a conduct so dangerous, so destructive of her true interest, and repugnant to every principle of connexion between herself and Great Britain. I have only to add, that I still do not absolutely despond; but, be the event what it may, no alteration shall take place in my determination: I will never think of quitting my station while I can render an iota of strength to your government, or to the great cause in which we are em-

\* Now Lord Maryborough.

† The Attorney-General for Ireland was then the Right Hon. John Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Chancellor and Earl of Clare.



barked. I will write more fully after Monday. I was up all last night, and am quite worn out.

‘ Believe me to be ever yours,  
‘ RUTLAND.’

We will add Mr. Pitt's reply :—

‘ Mr. Pitt to the Duke of Rutland.

‘ Putney Heath, Aug. 17, 1785.

‘ My dear Duke,—I confess myself not a little disappointed and hurt in the account brought me to-day by your letter and Mr. Orde's of the event of Friday. I had hoped that neither prejudice nor party could on such an occasion have made so many proselytes against the true interests of the country ; but the die seems in a great measure to be cast, at least for the present. Whatever it leads to, we have the satisfaction of having proposed a system which, I believe, will not be discredited even by its failure ; and we must wait times and seasons for carrying it into effect. I think you judge most wisely in making it your plan to give the interval of a long adjournment as soon as the bill has been read and printed. With so doubtful a majority, and with so much industry to raise a spirit of opposition without doors, this is not the moment for pressing farther. It will remain to be seen whether, by showing a firm and unalterable decision to abide by the system in its present shape, and by exerting every effort both to instruct and to influence the country at large into a just opinion of the advantages held out to them, a favourable change may be produced in the general current of opinion before the time comes for resuming the consideration of the bill. I am not at all sanguine in my expectations of your division on the intended motion on Monday last. Though an Opposition frequently loses its advantage by attempting to push it too far, yet, on such a question, and with the encouragement of so much success, I rather conclude that absurdity and faction will have gained a second triumph ; but I am very far from thinking it impossible that reflection and discussion may operate a great change before the time which your Parliament will probably meet after the adjournment. I very much wish you may at least have been just able to ward off Flood's motion, lest its standing on the journals should be an obstacle to farther proceedings at a happier moment. It is still almost incomprehensible to me who can have been the deserters who reduced our force so low, and I wait with great impatience for a more particular account.

‘ All I have to say, in the mean time, is very short : let us meet what has happened, or whatever may happen, with the coolness and determination of persons who may be defeated, but cannot be disgraced, and who know that those who obstruct them are greater sufferers than themselves. You have only to preserve the same spirit and temper you have shown throughout in the remainder of this difficult scene. Your own credit and fame will be safe, as well as that of your friends. I wish I could say the same of the country you have been labouring to serve. Our cause is on too firm a rock here to be materially shaken, even for a time, by this disappointment ; and when the experience of this fact has produced a little more wisdom in Ireland, I believe

believe the time will yet come when we shall see all our views realized in both countries, and for the advantage of both. It may be sooner or later, as accident, or perhaps (for some time) malice, may direct; but it will be right at last. We must spare no human exertion to bring forward the moment as early as possible; but we must be prepared also to wait for it on one uniform and resolute ground, be it ever so late. It will be no small consolation to you, in the doubtful state of this one important object, that every other part of the public scene affords the most encouraging and animating prospect; and you have, above all, the satisfaction of knowing that your government has made a more vigorous effort (whatever be its ultimate success) than I believe any other period of Irish history will produce, since the present train of government has been established. I write this as the first result of my feelings, and I write it to yourself alone.

‘ Believe me ever

‘ Your most affectionate and faithful friend,

‘ W. PITT.’

In the extracts we have given relative to the commercial propositions there is one passage which at first sight may have excited the reader's surprise—where Mr. Pitt so emphatically declares his resolution ‘to exclude the Catholics from any share in the representation or the government.’ Strong expressions from the same minister who, in 1801, resigned office on finding his Royal Master refuse to concede the Roman Catholic claims! The words of the letter may, we say, have excited surprise at first sight—but at first sight only; for on examination it will be found that the principles of Mr. Pitt, on both occasions, were perfectly uniform and constant. He held, that so long as Ireland was a separate kingdom, with a parliament of its own, so long the Roman Catholics, forming a majority of the population, could not, with safety to the Established Church and Constitution, be admitted to a share—since their share would then be a large preponderance—in the representation: but that if the two nations were blended and mingled together by a legislative union, then the Roman Catholics, becoming only a minority of the population of the whole empire, might without danger be admitted to equal privileges. Such are the principles laid down by Mr. Pitt himself in the letter to the King, which is dated January 31, 1801, and which, in 1827, was first made public by Lord Kenyon.\* We have no thoughts of here inflicting upon our readers any renewed discussion on the momentous question of the Roman Catholic claims; we are at present only concerned in showing that, whether Mr. Pitt's views upon this question be considered wise or unwise, salutary or pernicious, they were exactly the same in 1786 as in 1801, and were alike pursued with lofty

\* See Quart. Rev. vol. xxxvi. p. 290. Annual Register, 1827, vol. ii. p. 472.  
firmness.

firmness.\* For their sake he was equally ready in the first year to hazard popularity, and in the latter year to sacrifice power.

We cannot leave the subject of Ireland without doing justice to the character and conduct of the Duke of Rutland.\* Throughout this correspondence he appears to very great advantage, combining a frank and cordial spirit, and a delicate sense of honour, with good judgment, prudence, and vigilant attention to his duties. In reference to the very subject which we touched upon just now—the Irish Union—a prediction which he makes on the 16th of June, 1784, indicates surely no common degree of foresight and sagacity. He is speaking of the Irish volunteers:—

‘The volunteer corps were reviewed in the Phoenix Park about a fortnight since. Their numbers were much diminished from the former year, in spite of all the exertions made use of to alarm and irritate; so that I am in hopes this self-appointed army may fall to the ground without the interposition of government, which would prove a most fortunate circumstance. If some such event should not have effect, the period cannot be far distant when they must be spoken to in a peremptory and decisive manner. For the existence of a government is very precarious while an armed force, independent of and unconnected with the state, for the purpose of awing the legislature into all its wild and visionary schemes, is permitted to endure. The northern newspapers take notice of an intention in some of the corps to address the French king; and which they recommend as a very proper and spirited measure. No meeting for such a *laudable* purpose has yet taken place. I can scarcely believe it, though the madness of some of these armed legislators might go to anything. Were I to indulge a distant speculation, I should say that, without *an union*, Ireland will not be connected with Great Britain in twenty years longer.’

Irish subjects are not the only ones treated in this correspondence—there are also frequent and interesting touches of English politics. We will give from Mr. Pitt’s letters three extracts referring to these at three very different periods. The first when he and the Duke of Rutland were battling together in opposition, but with the prospect of power close before them; the second when Mr. Pitt, in power, had yet to struggle against an adverse and exasperated majority of the House of Commons; the third when Mr. Pitt, after appealing to the people, again met the House of Commons, and found himself as strong in parliamentary as in popular support.

The first is dated November 22, 1783:—

‘We are in the midst of contest, and, I think, approaching to a crisis.’

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\* We may be pardoned for recalling to our readers the amiable impression of His Grace’s private life and manners derived from the Memoirs of his venerated *protégé*, Mr. Grubb, who, on Mr. Burke’s recommendation, became domestic chaplain at Belvoir Castle in 1782, and owed all his subsequent preferments to the kindness of the Duke of Rutland.\*



The bill which Fox has brought in relative to India will be, one way or other, decisive for or against the coalition. It is, I really think, the boldest and most unconstitutional measure ever attempted, transferring at one stroke, in spite of all charters and compacts, the immense patronage and influence of the East to *Charles Fox, in or out of office*. I think it will with difficulty, if at all, find its way through our House, and can never succeed in yours. Ministry trust all on this one die, and will probably fail. They have hurried on the bill so fast that we are to have the second reading on Thursday next, Nov. 27th. I think we shall be strong on that day, but much stronger in the subsequent stages. If you have any member within fifty or a hundred miles of you, who cares for the constitution or the country, pray send him to the House of Commons as quick as you can. I trust you see that this bill will not easily reach the House of Lords; but I must tell you that Ministry flatter themselves with carrying it through before Christmas.'

The second is of March 23, 1784:—

'The interesting circumstances of the present moment, though they are a double reason for my writing to you, hardly leave me the time to do it. *Per tot discrimina rerum*, we are at length arrived within sight of a dissolution. The bill to continue the powers of regulating the intercourse with America to the 20th of June will pass the House of Lords to-day. That, and the Mutiny Bill, will receive the Royal Assent to-morrow, and the King will then make a short speech and dissolve the Parliament. Our calculations for the new elections are very favourable, and the spirit of the people seems still progressive in our favour. The new Parliament may meet about the 15th or 16th of May, and I hope we may so employ the interval as to have all the necessary business rapidly brought on, and make the session a short one.'

The 24th of the following May is the date of our third extract.—

'I cannot let the messenger go without congratulating you on the prospect confirmed to us by the opening of the session. Our first battle was previous to the address, on the subject of the return for Westminster. The enemy chose to put themselves on bad ground, by moving that two Members ought to have been returned, without first hearing the High-Bailiff to explain the reasons of his conduct. We beat them on this by 283 to 136. The High-Bailiff is to attend to-day, and it will depend upon the circumstances stated whether he will be ordered to proceed in the scrutiny, or immediately to make a double return, which will bring the question before a committee. In either case I have no doubt of Fox being thrown out, though in either there may be great delay, inconvenience, and expense, and the choice of the alternative is delicate. We afterwards proceeded to the address, in which nothing was objected to but the thanking the King expressly for the dissolution. Opposition argued everything weakly, and had the appearance of a vanquished party, which appeared still more in the division, when the numbers were 282 to 114. We can have little doubt that the progress of the session will furnish throughout a happy contrast to the last. We have indeed

indeed nothing to contend with but the heat of the weather and the delicacy of some of the subjects which must be brought forward.'

We close this volume with the earnest hope that it may not be the only one of its class to come before us. Every succeeding day, as it bears us further from the era of Pitt and Fox, removes more and more of the few who yet lingered amongst us, the contemporaries and friends of those illustrious men. Only last year we saw depart the sole surviving cabinet colleague of Pitt in his first administration; only last month the devoted widow of Fox. But Time should not all destroy; and while, on the one hand, it breaks the remaining links of living affection, so, on the other hand, it should cast aside the ties of official reserve—it should unlock the most secret scrutoire—it should draw forth the most hoarded papers. The words 'private' and 'most private' on the cover need be no longer spells to restrain us. We may now, without any breach of public duty—without any wound to personal feelings—explore the hidden thoughts, the inward workings of those two great minds which stood arrayed against each other during twenty-three stormy and eventful years. We may trace them in their boyhood, and inquire whether it was in part through careful training, or all by their endowments at birth, that each of them inherited his father's gift of genius—that rarest of all gifts to inherit from a parent—as if, according to the fine thought of Dante, the Great Giver had willed to show that it proceeds from himself alone:—

' Rade volte risurge per li rami  
L' umana probitade, e questo vuole  
Quei che la da, perche da lui si chiami.' \*

We may, perhaps, by the journal of some secretary or some trusted friend, pursue them in their country retirement, and their familiar conversation. We may walk by the side of Pitt along the avenue that he planted at Holwood, or sit with Fox beneath the wide-spreading cedar at St. Anne's. We may see the blotted notes from whence grew the elaborate oration still perused with delight; we may trace in some hasty sketch the germ of some great enactment by which we continue to be ruled. We may follow the rival statesmen in their far divergent paths through life, until their final resting-place, under the same stately roof, and within a few paces of each other: and thus, while such stores of information as the present volume supplies come gradually to light, both Pitt and Fox will no doubt become far better known to the present generation than they could be to the great mass of those amongst whom their own life was cast.

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\* *Purgat.*, lib. vii., verse 121.



- ART. II.—1. *Αισχύλου Χοηφόροι. The Choëphoræ of Æschylus, with Notes critical, explanatory, and philological.* By the Rev. T. W. Peile, M.A., &c London. 1840.
2. *Bibliotheca Græca, curantibus F. Jacobs et V. C. F. Rost. Æschyli Tragædiarum, Vol. I. Orestea: Sectio 2, Choëphoræ.* Edidit Dr. R. H. Klausen. Gothæ et Erfordiæ. 1835.
3. *Dissertations on the Eumenides of Æschylus; with the Greek Text and Critical Remarks.* From the German of C. O. Mueller. Cambridge. 1835
4. *Æschyli Tragædiæ.* Recensuit et illustravit Joannes Minckwitz. Vol. I. *Eumenides.* Lipsiæ. 1838.
5. *Die Æschylische Trilogie Prometheus, u. s. w., nebst Winken ueber die Trilogie des Æschylus ueberhaupt.* Von F. G. Welcker. Darmstadt. 1824.
6. *Nachtrag zur Trilogie, u. s. w.* Von F. G. Welcker. Frankfurt a. M. 1826.

WE cannot resume the subject of Æschylus and his Trilogies without adverting to the losses which this branch of scholarship has sustained since the publication of our 128th Number. Most of those whom we then alluded to have been already swept from the world. Bishop Butler of Lichfield has gone to his rest, after such severe and protracted sufferings as would have paralysed a less energetic mind. He has gone, full of labours and of honours, though not of years. And yet it is to be feared that he has gone with much of his merit unappreciated. If, however, it be reasonable to suppose that the education of the higher classes, and in particular of the clergy, is at least as important as that of the poor,—and if the silent but most practical reformation which has been at work in our public schools for many years past ever attracts the notice which it deserves,—then the time will come when men will feel an interest in tracing the steps of the improvement; and they will hardly fail to give honour due to that scholar who set the first example in remodelling our public education, and gave a stimulus which is now acting on almost all the public schools in the country.\*

On the other hand, John Wordsworth has sunk in the prime of life, exhausted by his labours ere their fruits had been given to the public. ‘Non res, sed spes erat:’ but how well-grounded and sure a hope, all who know Cambridge can say. We will not add anything of our own to the following sketch from the hand

\* It falls to our lot to speak of him only as the head of an important school: for his higher praise we must refer to his worthy pupil, chaplain, and friend, the Rev. R. W. Evans, in the preface to his *Bishopric of Souls*, a truly precious manual for the young clergyman.

of his brother, the distinguished master of Harrow School. (After the details of his childhood and boyhood, from his birth in 1805, the account proceeds :)—

‘ He became a Scholar of Trinity College in 1826, and a Fellow in 1830. He usually resided there till 1833, when he made a tour in France, Switzerland, and Italy. He spent a considerable time at Florence in making an accurate collation of the Medicean MS. of Æschylus; having, before his departure from England, contributed to the Philological Museum a series of critical observations on an edition of that poet. On his return from the continent, in 1834, he was appointed a classical lecturer in his own college; and the lectures which he then delivered will be long remembered by those who heard them, for the remarkable erudition which they displayed. He spared no labour in his philological researches, and he seemed unable to satisfy himself in them before he had exhausted the subject on which he was engaged. To the pursuit of these studies he brought great vigilance of observation, singular acuteness of discrimination, a sound judgment, a tenacious memory, and unwearied industry. He employed these faculties in his intellectual inquiries, and he recorded in his papers the results of his investigations with scrupulous and elaborate accuracy. . . . He proposed to publish not only the correspondence, but also some of the inedited works of Dr. Bentley, especially his *Homer*. He was employed at the same time in compiling a Classical Dictionary, which, if an opinion may be formed from the materials which he had amassed for that work, as well as from the portion which he had already executed, and from the plan which he had drawn out of the whole, would have proved a very useful and honourable monument of his indefatigable labour and comprehensive learning. But the work which, as a scholar, he most desired to execute, was an edition of Æschylus. During a period of several years he had directed his attention to that object; and if his life had been prolonged to the present time (Dec. 1841), some of the results of his industry would now, in all probability, have been before the world. For at his death, his observations on the works of that tragedian had reached such a state of maturity, that one of the plays illustrated by him will, it is hoped, ere long appear, to be followed at short intervals by others in succession. He was well conversant with the principal productions of modern literature, especially with the works of the English poets, and was a warm and judicious lover of the fine arts, particularly of painting and engraving. These intellectual endowments were based upon moral qualities of a graver kind. Serious in aspect, tall in person, thoughtful in demeanour, gentle and unobtrusive in manners, he bore in his appearance an air of earnestness. He was one of those who love much rather than many. He wished and strove for the advancement of others rather than his own; he judged no one with severity but himself. . He was devotedly attached to the academic institutions to which he belonged, and entertained a dutiful and reverent affection for the Church of England, of which he was a minister, and whose service, had his life been spared, he would have adorned by his learning and

and his humility. He died at Trinity Lodge on the 31st day of December, 1839.\*

From abroad the news of Klausen's death reached this country some time ago. Of his *Agamemnon* we formerly spoke; and we were waiting rather impatiently for the continuation of his edition. Meanwhile, he had removed from Bonn to Greifswald, an university in the extreme north of Germany, chiefly distinguished for the richness of its endowments. And he had published two comely octavos on *Æneas and the Penates*,—characters for whom we have the highest respect: yet even while we believed that the loss of time was not irretrievable, we grudged that he had digressed from what we thought so much more important.

Karl Otfried Mueller of Goettingen, though in more mature years, yet still prematurely, has also fallen a victim to his literary zeal. He had gone to Greece, to complete the researches necessary for the series of his great historical designs; and the ardour with which he applied himself to the examination of the inscriptions at Delphi under the scorching heat of a midsummer sun, produced apoplexy and immediate death; and he sleeps in his own beloved Athens, *inter silvas Academi*.† Næke too is gone. Dissen's death was mentioned before. But it is useless to extend the melancholy catalogue: the above names are the most connected with our present subject.

Hermann, however, still survives, standing out like some antediluvian peak among the *débris* of the deluge; and two years ago a jubilee was held at Leipzig to celebrate the fiftieth year of his doctorate, which seems pretty nearly to have coincided with that of our own distinguished countryman, Dr. Routh, president of Magdalen College. Many and various were the compliments which Germany racked its brains to pay to 'old Godfrey.' Since that time he dips his pen in a splendid silver inkstand, the offering of the printers whose presses he has kept at work for more than half a century. He smokes (eternally of course) from a pipe

\* Preface to 'Bentley's Correspondence,' (Lond. 1841) pp. xvi.—xix.

† This admirable scholar was born at Brigg in Silesia, 1797, where his father, we believe, was the pastor. His first schoolmaster was Lotheisen; and in 1813 he went to Breslau to study under Heindorf and Schneider. From thence he removed in 1815 to Berlin, where he placed himself under Boeckh and Buttmann; and in 1817 was appointed to the Magdalenum at Breslau. In 1819 he was raised, on the recommendation of Boeckh and Heeren, to the chair of archæology at Goettingen, where he continued, except for short intervals, until the end of his life. Of the long (yet incomplete) list of his works, given in the *Revue Analytique* of M. E. Miller (to which we are indebted for the above information) the most important are:—1. *The Dorians*, 1824: translated by Messrs. Tufnell and Lewis, in 2 vols. 8vo. 2. *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*, 1825. 3. *Die Etrusker*, 1828. 4. *Archæologie der Kunst*, 1830. 5. *Æschyli Eumenides*, 1833 (translated). 6. *History of Greek Literature*, written for, and publishing by, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 1840, &c.



of the same material. He snuffs from a gold box, the present of his sovereign; and as for congratulatory addresses, odes, idyls, &c., they were of course far beyond all reading or reckoning. It seemed as though the literature of universal Germany had vied in furnishing him with a collection of polyglot pipe-lighters. The most gratifying of the presents was doubtless the King of Saxony's handsome donation to enable his son to travel; and the most honourable of the addresses was that which emanated from the German philologists, the incorporated *accidence*, *syntax*, and *prosody* of Germany, assembled (as it were in one volume) after the manner of a British Association. Ritter F. Jacobs (if we remember right) held the pen in the name of all these wise men of *Gotha*; and among the choicest flowers of classical compliment dexterously insinuated a harmless yet pointed allusion to the edition of Æschylus, which has been in the *paulo post futurum* since the last century, by quoting 'unus qui nobis *cunctando* restitues rem.' We hope that Hermann will remember that other qualities besides *cunctatio* go to the making of a Fabius, lest impatient scholars *cap* Jacobs' quotation with 'Dilator, spe longus,' &c.

It is a practical question of considerable importance to all professors, editors, and sedentary reviewers, how Hermann has been preserved to such a green and vigorous old age. We have, in consequence, made every possible inquiry, and have to report that his friends attribute it in no slight degree to his study of some of Xenophon's minor treatises, viz. *de Re Equestri*, and *Magister Equitum*, if not also *de Venatione*. Many of our readers may remember a dissertation in the first volume of his *Opuscula*, '*de Verbis quibus Græci incessum equorum indicant.*' It is written not only *con scienza* but *con amore*; and we believe that he has never given up the practical study of the subject. Thus far indeed our own universities show that a vast number of our philological aspirants are adopting the same course—whether from the example of the great professor, or from an intuitive perception of the truth of the principle, we cannot pretend to say. But, if we are not misinformed, Hermann goes a step beyond them; like Achilles, whose spear could heal the wounds it inflicted, when Hermann has dirtied his horse, he can clean him again. If any of the said aspirants find in the day of trial that, notwithstanding all their devoted practice, they are 'plucked in Xenophon,' let them consider whether their failure may not be attributed to their having neglected this part of the charm.

Moreover, on this side of the channel, Mr. Peile is alive and lively:—at least the evidence of his vitality is before us in the substantial form of a second volume, announced as No. II. of the  
Trilogy,

Trilogy, and therefore, we hope, surely portending No. III. We say this in all sincerity, though we are sorry to observe that he looks upon us as his enemies. But mortal men will complain of criticism. We regret that we found it necessary to say some things (they were but few) which we cannot honestly retract because they displease Mr. Peile. Our objections to his plan, and in some instances to the taste in which he had executed it, were openly and fairly stated. But we spoke of him in the terms which his distinction as a scholar deserved; as one who could rub off these excrescences, if their real nature was exhibited. And therefore we alluded to them in such a tone as seemed likely to make him see them as they were:—certainly not cap-tiously or malignantly. And, however Mr. Peile may dislike it, it is from the above-named article that his publisher has drawn the recommendation with which he advertises Mr. Peile's Agamemnon. If Klausen's eccentricities had been curable by any influence of ours, we should have taken the same course with him; but we gave up his minor faults as beyond our *medica manus*. Mr. Peile's complaint against us is, in fact, that we did not treat him as incorrigible, or not worth amendment; and to this we plead guilty.

However, he is right, and we were wrong, after all;—he is incorrigible! Like a true knight-errant, he will maintain most stoutly those precise points which we consider most defenceless; in some things misunderstanding and misrepresenting us; in others setting us at defiance. Now this is an act of downright rebellion, deserving of exemplary punishment. But even re-viewers have their melting moods; and this is one of ours; and there is a *bonhomie* about Mr. Peile which we not only respect, but heartily like; so we shall not enter into further controversy with him—not from fear of damaging 'our knight's smart surcoat,' though he endeavours to give check to 'our knight' with his bishop: for, surcoats apart, his thinness of skin makes him less formidable as an antagonist than he would otherwise be; but because, having once for all made our protest against certain principles, it would be unedifying and uninteresting, if not unfriendly, to continue a war which must dwindle into petty criticism. He must not, therefore, think that we are insensible to the value of his labours if we express our regret at his perversity in multiplying his commentary as his text diminishes; and with the remark that he does not appear to have used Mueller's criticism on Klausen's *Choëphoræ*, or Hermann's *hypercriticism* \* on that, we shake hands with Mr. Peile, and, while we take our

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\* For the Germans allow *Review upon Review*, which, of course, seems to us as thoroughly false heraldry as colour upon colour.

way, we wish him good speed on his, and all prosperity in his new sphere of usefulness at Repton.\*

We have now to consider, in pursuance of our subject, *the poetry of the chorus* down to the times of the three great tragedians of Athens; for it is thus alone that we shall have a clue sufficient to guide us to a thorough understanding of Æschylus. This is usually traced, upon Horace's authority, simply up to Thespis. But, as Van Heusde remarks,† it was a matter of hoar antiquity in Horace's time; and every one knows what miserable antiquarians the Romans were. He chooses rather to take us at once to Plato, who, instead of a mere chronology of facts (and this erroneous) attending its outward cultivation, gives us the more philosophical account of the history of the thing itself. Mueller has pointed out‡ that Horace, while he thinks that he is giving the history of tragedy, is actually describing comedy; *i. e.* τραγωδία, not κωμωδία: the very words prove it, *peruncti facibus ora*. Plato enters into the general question of dramatic poetry, as consisting of *imitation*—that is, *expression or representation*—in short, *acting*; the object being not to tell all concerning the characters (which is history), but to set them forth as really bustling about. Even epic poetry aims at this; and the poet withdraws as soon as his characters are introduced, leaving them to speak for themselves. But the introduction of a chorus makes a striking difference; and this is traced as early as the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, where the choir of Delian virgins is spoken of as singing, first of Apollo, then of Leto and Artemis, and, after that, the lays of men and women of old time,—skilful to put on the very voice and language of all, until each one could fancy that himself was speaking (v. 158—164). Nay, even this is not the primitive chorus: it is the shadow of one higher still, to which we are carried onwards, where the Muses sing, and the Hours and Graces weave the dance, with Aphrodité at their head; Apollo himself, lyre in hand, ruling all their tones and movements, and delighting the heart of his parents, who look on (v. 194—206). Such is the poetic ideal of the Greek chorus, in so far as it comprehends the bodying forth (*μίμησις*) of the deeds of the old heroic time, by the harmonious combination of all the means which the various arts of music, dancing, and poetry can furnish.

\* We must remark, in parting, the very creditable manner in which the volume of Mr. Peile's Chosphoræ has been brought out at the Durham University Press.

† In his *Encyclopædia*, or *Socratic School*. We quote from the German translation, having unluckily mislaid our Low Dutch spectacles.

‡ In his *History of Greek Literature*, to which it will be convenient to refer once for all, as a work of the highest utility. The translation, we believe, is from the pen of his friend, Mr. G. C. Lewis.



Apollo and the Muses are, according to Plato, sent down to earth to humanise the assemblies of men, and inspire them with the spirit of their own harmonies. But they have another god-joined in their mission—Dionysus, the god of all exuberant impulse and excitement, of intoxication and enthusiasm—in short, the god of the Dionysia, and so of tragedy. This brings to view the peculiar vein of choral poetry which Athens furnishes. Everywhere else there were, as well as at Athens, the choirs, processions, and absurdities; but at Athens only, and there only at the Dionysia, was *tragedy* the result. By what steps this took place we cannot now imagine. Horace mentions the novelties on which he rests the claims of Æschylus to be thought the second inventor of tragedy: but these are but the outward decorations, which make him rather a machinist and property-man than a poet.\* Far greater in the reality than in these adjuncts was the space between Thespis and Æschylus; especially if we are to adopt the common opinion, that the tragedy of Thespis was merely a monologue, or succession of monologues, in the intervals between the choral hymns. But this can scarcely be correct. If it were, Thespis is no more the inventor of tragedy than Hesiod;—not nearly so much so as Homer. But there can be little doubt that there was a *dialogue* in the tragedies of Thespis. Why, indeed, the name of ὑποκριτής, if there was nothing in the chorus for the actor to respond to? We may also be sure that, with Thespis, as since, one man in his time played many parts, so that he might actually represent a very simple plot: especially as on the Greek stage so much is done, even in later days, by messengers. Unless there was the dialogue, the distinction of *dramatic* poetry could not hold good with respect to Thespis: there could be no *action*. But if Thespis brought the chorus and the actor together by the bond of a plot in which both took part during the intervals of the hymns, he did make a great step, and his name is deservedly, though for the most part undiscerningly, honoured as the inventor of tragedy; for an *invention* it was to combine the two elements into a third whole; and of *this* Thespis was probably the author.

Yet, even granting this, let us look on Æschylus, and remember what a vast difference there is between the merit of Thespis, taken at the utmost, and his. The year in which the new invention is said to have been first brought before the public is

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\* 'Post hunc personæ pallæque repertor honestæ  
Æschylus, et modicis instruxit pulpita tignis,  
Et docuit magnumque loqui nitique cothurno.'—*A. P.*, v. 278.

If we weigh the whole of the description it will, we think, be evident that even the *magnum loqui* does not refer (as one at first would suspect) to his *poetry*, but simply to some of those mechanical contrivances by which the masks were made to increase the power of the voice, as the *cothurnus* did the altitude of the figure.

B.C. 536. Æschylus was born eleven years later : and the boy who stared at some of the performances of Thespis might have listened in maturer years to most of the poetry of Æschylus :—nay, might, before his death, have witnessed the exhibition of the ‘Oresteia.’ The relation of our own Shakspeare to the drama before him is analogous, but not equal to this !

But, in speaking of this chorus, we are treading on smothered fires ; for this is one of the chosen spots for learned men to quarrel upon. The ground is narrow indeed ; but men fight the better for being closely cooped up. It is admitted that the tragic chorus grew out of the dithyrambic or cyclic chorus which danced round the altar ; and this consisted of fifty members. But the point at issue is no less than this,—did the tragic chorus itself consist of twelve or fifteen (these may be taken as one opinion), or of *fifty* ? Startling as the difference is, it is a disputed point. Not that any one supposes the chorus of each particular tragedy to have been so numerous ; but that, according to Mueller—(Hermann alleges that he borrowed it from some other scholar)—this chorus was portioned out among the four dramas of the tetralogy. This is ingenious and striking : it certainly recommends itself by furnishing a link to connect the two choruses, the cyclic and the tragic ; and by the explanation which it affords of that strange blunder of a grammarian about *fifty Furies* being brought upon the stage in the ‘Eumenides.’ As a mere conjecture it is very tempting. But Mueller proceeds to produce arguments and evidence in support of his view : and we are bound to say that we think he has completely failed in this ; his *reasons* seem futile, and his *facts* desperately uncertain. That there is room for wide speculation is clear from the fact that such a doubt can be entertained : and, certainly, it may have been as Mueller has suggested ; but, as certainly, from none of the reasons which he alleges. Unluckily, the comparative statements of the expenses of the several χορηγίαι will not help us here,\* as might have been hoped. It is much to be regretted that on this particular head our information is so scanty.

Nor are we satisfied by Mueller’s demonstration that twelve was the choral number for the ‘Agamemnon.’ In the first place, his theory is not established by the admission of this number, though it falls at once to the ground if we find that there were fifteen ; and, secondly, his own arguments in support of the number *twelve* seem to us partly to prove nothing, and partly to go against him. For instance, he refers to the passages where the

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\* A tragic chorus cost the client of Lysias 3000 drachmæ (about 120*l.* ; see Professor Hassey’s *Ancient Weights and Measures*, c. iii.) ; a cyclic chorus (at the lesser Panathenæa), 300 : but if this proves anything, it proves too much.



chorus takes part in the dialogue, arguing, very fairly, that if any one predominant number can be traced there, it will probably be connected with the number of the chorus. What then is found in the 'Agamemnon?' At v. 268, we have *seven*\* speeches of the chorus, consisting each of one line. Again, at v. 538, in conversation with the herald, there are *seven* similar speeches. At v. 1198, we have (if we admit, as seems necessary, Hermann's transposition) *seven* speeches, one of four lines, the rest of one each; and at v. 1242, *six*, one of four, each of the others of one line. So that upon these we are even with him. But, *en revanche*, at v. 1235, there is a speech of four lines for the coryphæus, and *seven*, of one line each, for the rest of the chorus; and at the end of the play the chorus has *seven* single trochaic lines. All this indeed does not *prove* that there were seven pairs of choreutæ, who relieved the coryphæus by taking their share in the minor parts of the dialogue: but it seems to have been anything rather than accidental, and makes such a distribution, *à priori*, the most probable of all. Is there counter-evidence, then, sufficient to rebut this presumption? Mueller cites the scene where the chorus discuss the propriety of assisting Agamemnon at the moment when his cries are heard from within: and he maintains that they resolve themselves into a council of twelve, one of whom puts the question, and again speaks to ratify the decision when all the rest have voted upon it. But, not to dwell on the formal pedantry of such a proceeding (which Hermann is fully justified in ridiculing), we find in this passage fourteen speeches; and it is somewhat more than questionable whether we should be justified in excluding the first because it is of one line only, instead of two, and in assigning the second and fourteenth to the same person, simply to make it fit the framework on which Mueller has determined to stretch it? We hold, on the contrary, that this passage remarkably coincides with those mentioned above, wherein the number *seven* (here doubled) prevailed.† As to the lyric portion of the play, in which the chorus and Cassandra take part, it is so complicated a question that we must again refer to Hermann, who seems to us to have effectually disposed of

\* Rejecting Mueller's conjectural interpolation: which, by the bye, if admitted, would not contribute to support his argument.

† So in the *Persæ*, v. 232, *seq.*, we find *seven* single trochaic lines; then a speech of three trochaics, followed by six commatic strains. As to six voices distinguishable in the evocation and in the concluding ode, we must confess that this is a refinement beyond our comprehension: and even granting that twelve was the number of a Greek *γῆρουσία* in the heroic ages, we do not see why this should be inflicted on the Persians of the time of Æschylus, instead of their own national number *seven* (each having an attendant): see in the book of Esther, ch. i. 14, the names of 'the seven princes of Persia and Media, which saw the king's face, and which sat the first in the kingdom;' and compare Ezra, c. vii. 14.

Mueller's theory. This is but a specimen of the controversies which have been mooted between them: but, in pity to our readers, we will not plunge deeper into the discussion. Mueller's 'Eumenides' is accessible in an English translation, though not such a good one as we could wish:\* and there is an unpretending but very neat little edition, edited by *Minckwitz*, which may advantageously be used along with it; as the editor is a sworn follower of Hermann, and gives the sum of that part of his critique which treats of the text of the play.

But our business at present is not with the editors, but with the drama itself. In the structure of this it is manifest that there was a progressive change from Thespis onwards; a change much greater than that in the external adjuncts by which it was accompanied, and, as it were, typified. In this view the one thing to be considered is the chorus: this was at first, as has been already seen, the whole. Afterwards it became only a part—yet still bearing a twofold character; for it was both the chorus of the god and an actor in the play. But here an utter revolution was wrought in the interval between Thespis and Æschylus; and the old saw of οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον is all that antiquity has handed down to us to throw light upon it. This revolution took place in the time of Chœrilus and Phrynichus, and was effected by Pratinas, who invented the satyric drama. It is singular that we should know so little of so great a change; one which altogether withdrew the ludicrous element from the tragedy, and compounded with the versatile Athenians by giving one piece of the wine-god's unmixed inspiration without a drop of allaying Tiber in it. Chœrilus (B.C. 523—483) was celebrated for his satyric dramas: indeed, the comic poet dates from the epoch ὅτ' ἦν βασιλεὺς Χοιρίλος ἐν σατύροις. Phrynichus (B.C. 511—476) wrote a tragedy on the taking of Miletus, which therefore must have been entirely without the Dionysiac element: there could be nothing πρὸς Διόνυσον here. Pratinas therefore must have introduced the satyric drama before this time; but we have no date recorded; we only know that he was a competitor of Æschylus and Chœrilus in the 70th Ol. (B.C. 500—497).

To Pratinas and his invention we must not digress, having work

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\* We must give a couple of examples to confirm what is said above. At p. 221, Mueller quotes from Plato, 'eine ueberaus geistreiche Stelle,' which is rendered in the most patronising way, 'an exceedingly clever passage!' And at p. 249, we are referred to Pratinas, in the celebrated fragment on the subject of the *hyporchesis*, with as much confidence as if the translator had known what 'the fragment' was, or what 'the hyporchesis' might be: the German original speaks of a '*hyporchematic* fragment'—that is, of course, a fragment of a *hyporchema*: on which the following writers may be referred to—Athenæus, p. 15, D, E; 628 D-F; Lucian, de Saltat. s. 16; Ilgen de *Saltat.*, p. 34, note 31; Schneider ad Pind. Fragm. pp. 26-28.

enough on our hands in the consideration of the effects of this invention on the character of tragedy: and, returning now to *this*, we find it, as it were, racked off the lees—completely and necessarily changed in its subjects and its tone. The chorus indeed is still there; but no longer the same chorus—no longer the representative of the festival and its god: it now appears as a body of persons connected indeed, but usually not very intimately connected (and hence the especial use of it), with the actors in the dialogue. Tracing it for a moment onward through its later vicissitudes, it may be remarked that in Æschylus the chorus holds the key to the plot throughout. In Sophocles it has lost this, and rather seems to look on and comment: its strains have now lost the depth of meaning which Æschylus infused into them. In Euripides, *the play* has well nigh pushed the chorus from its stool altogether; and its beautiful seductive lyrics have as little connexion with the piece in which they happen to be placed, as any modern song which has been forwarded to an opera-singer with a *douceur*, to be interpolated in everything which is brought out during the season. In the colloquial part the later character of the chorus is outwardly more like what it was earlier—with the same sort of mixture of shrewdness and simplicity which makes Polonius such a bore: but it is not too much to say that there is a meaning in this in the older drama, which is wanting in the new. As the chorus (in its own department) is not to give vent to the impressions or fancies of an individual or class of men, but to pour forth strains which are inspired, and are to be received as coming from the god, there ought not to be, and there is not, any peculiarity of character—anything to excite an individual interest in the members of the chorus. We are intended to lose sight of them, and to receive their strains apart from all such associations: and, *consequently* (as it appears to us), they are carefully made such persons as may be lost sight of. This divestment of character is indeed often carried to an extreme: but it has at least the effect of dissociating the solemn strains which we hear, from the human *ὑποφῆται* who pour them forth.

It must always be remembered that though the chorus lost its immediate and exclusive connexion with the god's service, yet tragedy did not lose its consecration. It was no mere invention of man for his own amusement, adopted and worked upon by various artists for good and evil, to be an instrument for carrying out their views upon the souls of men. It was an act—aye, the most solemn act—of their religious service. The *Sacri Vates* wrote for their own god's festival, under his inspiration; and they were, like the magnetic rings of which Plato tell us in his *Ion*, the *conductors* from heaven to earth of a power and influence not  
their



their own: and as it was primarily to the chorus that this sacred character of tragedy attached, so with the chorus too it necessarily sank.

But if, even in its palmy days in Greece, not to say those which have followed, tragedy varied so much, how are we to pick and choose what shall be our standard of it? The best way will be, if possible, to begin with a definition. And it fortunately is possible, as we have one at hand, from the most approved maker, the Stagyræite himself. This, doubtless, will make all clear! Alas! nothing less! But it will do that which is next best; it will narrow the ground of our inquiry, and bring us to issue on a point. Aristotle defines tragedy to be, *μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας, μέγεθος ἐχούσης, δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περβαίνουσα τὴν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν*. The question is, what does Aristotle mean? It is easy to understand that the subject-matter of tragedy is such as to strike us with feelings of pity and terror: on these feelings the poet has to work, that he may produce his effect. So far so good; but, again, what is the effect intended? 'To accomplish the purification of these and the like passions' (pity and terror). But how is tragedy, or any fictitious composition whatsoever, to effect this? In short, how are 'passions' to be 'purged,' and what becomes of them when they are so? Truly a right pithy and pertinent question; and one which it is hard to answer equally pithily. We have, however, no lack of answers. For instance, let us take Lessing, a poet and critic of no slight eminence. He seems to think that tragedy is to convert the raw material, as it were, of these feelings into virtuous habits, by bringing their excess or defect into that mean, in which moralists place true excellence.\* But here is a difficulty; for as some men labour from excess, and others from defect, it seems to follow that, if all are to be brought to the mean, this remedy must have a sort of double operation, hardly known in the pharmacopœia,—to be taken in all cases, and to act homœopathically or allopathically, *pro re natâ*. Again, supposing all this to be successfully achieved, the practical result would be, it would appear, to generate pure apathy in the real trials of life. And some critics have even persuaded themselves that this is the actual end to be sought for by the contemplation of ills greater than those of real human life. On the other hand, Plato (to whom there is probably a covert controversial allusion in Aristotle's definition, as there is so frequently in his writings) complains of this kind of poetry (*μιμητική*), and accuses it of watering and cherishing those passions which we ought to mortify, and making them our masters instead of our becoming theirs.†

\* Werke, vol. xiii. pp. 151-184.

† Republic, b. x. § 7, p. 606.



After all, there is something which partly reconciles the two opinions. Dramatic skill is the most powerful of all agents to excite intellectually persons of a susceptible temperament. In such, undoubtedly, it stirs the passions into a violent state of emotion; and, perhaps, for the time, due self-control is lost. Here, then, these impulses or passions are turned aside from their true object, which is, to serve under proper discipline as the main-springs of action. But then, the work of fiction, having brought us into this condition, abandons us in it; nothing comes of it; and we are left to get out of our luns as we best can, instead of being carried forward, as we ought, to something practical, under the guidance of good principle. In fact, we are placed in the unpleasant situation of having our sympathies baulked and wasted on the fictitious case, without our having gained any lesson for a possible one of the same description in real life. And what must be the consequence of this? These feelings, having been once and again summoned from the depths of our soul for nothing but to show themselves and retire, refuse to come when they are called the third time. Bishop Butler tells us (in his *Analogy*) that going over *the theory* of virtue in one's thoughts and drawing fine pictures of it, is so far from necessarily conducting to form a virtuous habit, that it may harden the mind in a contrary course, and make it gradually more insensible to all moral considerations. It is manifest that the *mere* excitement of the natural feelings by a composition which leads to nothing practical, and does nothing to modify them, will come under the same head with the 'passive impressions' of Bishop Butler. The tendency will be to blunt them; and every time that the experiment is tried, it diminishes their power of moving the mind at all, and so generates the 'passive habit' of callousness. But this is not a 'purifying' of the passions, unless in that sense of the word in which Garrick 'purified' a manuscript play from half its faults, by the expedient of blotting out every other line.

Let us, for the time, adopt the common view of what is requisite for a tragedy:—a chief character, not perfect, lest his misery should cause horror and disgust, but yet, comparatively speaking, undeserving of evil, is to be led on—if blindfold, so much the better—to the brink and over the precipice of ruin. This is the popular notion of the proper *catastrophe* of a tragedy. It must, indeed, be acknowledged that many of the Greek stage do not answer to this description, being merely *mythical plays* (with which we may compare Shakspeare's *historical plays*), or, as Herder\* does not hesitate to call them, *melodramas*. But this, with-

\* Literatur und Kunst, vol. xvii. p. 207.

out doubt, is what is looked upon as *the* genuine tragedy. If we analyse that one which is always considered the most perfect specimen of a single Greek tragedy, the *King Œdipus* of Sophocles, we find in him a hot-tempered, jealous, spoilt-child of fortune (ἐμαυτὸν παῖδα τῆς Τύχης νέμων· τῆς γὰρ πέφυκα μητρὸς, v. 1080), involved in calamity; and if his evils had borne any fair proportion to his infirmities, there would have been, indeed, a satisfactory moral lesson; but, then, what would have become of the tragedy? As the case stands, though his petulance is the means of his coming to the sense of his wretchedness a little more speedily, yet it is remarkable that the catastrophe is brought about rather by his good than his bad qualities; that is to say, that it is his devotion to a praiseworthy object, which brings to light the full truth and the horror of that position, in which he has been involved by a destiny working externally and mechanically upon him. If we try to connect the plot with any moral lesson, we are led singularly astray; for here is a culprit guilty of one thing, accused of another, and punished for a third. However awfully Destiny is developed in this play, it works only *upon*, not *through*, the human character; and therefore the human lesson is comparatively wanting. Solger, indeed (in the preface to his translation of Sophocles), maintains that this is human life in its fullest beauty, inasmuch as the Gods and Fate do not appear fighting, but they work. This is a point which we are not concerned to argue; nor shall we inquire too jealously whether Æschylus is inferior in this. But the difference of *effect* must be pointed out which exists between these two plans, in the formation of the spectator's or the student's character. And this is the true end of all poetry, of all intellectual effort whatsoever. For if beauty of any kind be the sole or highest aim of the poet, the highest beauty is not and cannot be attainable by him. Not only is poetry what Aristotle calls it, worthier and more philosophical than history; but it is, in reality, as much above philosophy as this is above history; though each, as it rises, loses itself in the other; witness the philosophy of Thucydides, and the poetry of Plato. For, how is it that they act? History takes and arranges the facts of life. To combine them, and subject them to the intellect, is the province of philosophy; and it is then that they come into the region of poetry, to be illuminated by her light from heaven. The first is the brute matter of the body; the second the animal life; the last the human soul divine. Poetry is humanity mirrored in the soul of the inspired poet. It is the highest and fullest truth, and therefore, from its very nature, of necessity the most beautiful and glorious: beautiful with a heavenly, not a sensual beauty, such as Britomart's was, when Arthegal,

‘ long gazing thereupon,  
At last fell humbly down upon his knee,  
And of his wonder made religion,  
Weening some heavenly goddess he did see.’

It must, indeed, ‘ charm at once and tame the heart ;’ charming necessarily, but at the same time unconsciously : if consciously, if as an end, if with an effort, then it may be beautiful, it may be beguiling, it may be enrapturing ;—but the appeal is to the lower part of our nature ; it is of earth, not of heaven. The goddess is not there ; and in her substitute, fair in form, and winning in motion (perhaps even more so, as being less severe in beauty) as she may be, we are embracing only the earthly nymph or the cloud of air. It is the fate of Ixion ; and his wheel is always coming round and round. On these grounds our tragedy may be pronounced defective. And not tragedy alone, but any fictitious composition which *only* excites the feelings, whether in the way of ministering as a stimulant to listlessness, ‘ furnishing a languid mind with fantastic shows and indolent emotions,’ or by thoroughly rousing and stirring up the soul through the passions,—if it then ceases from its work, and neither teaches a moral lesson nor leads to a practical result.

The greatest tragic poet of recent times, in his ‘ Essay on Tragic Art,’ has a passage which, in great part, serves singularly to confirm our views ; though it leads him (strangely, as we must think) to a conclusion very different from that which we have presumed to draw :—

‘ Whatever convenience there may be in having destiny to solve our perplexities, the notion of a blind subjection to it is degrading to man ; and this leaves something to be wished for, even in the finest specimens of the Greek stage ; for by this final appeal to destiny, while our reason demands reason, they in effect leave the perplexities absolutely unsolved. But at the highest point of the development of our moral nature this, too, is reconciled, and there is nothing any longer left to jar. Here even our quarrel with destiny is at an end, vanishing in a feeling, or rather a full consciousness, how all things are working together, providentially and propitiously, to one end. We then not only feel at one within ourselves, but are sensible of the exquisite adaptation of all the parts in one great whole ; and the seeming irregularity which hurt us in the isolated case only serves as a spur to make us look, for the vindication of the particular fact, into the general law, which will turn the seeming discord into perfect harmony. To this height Greek art never raised itself, from the deficiency of their national religion and philosophy.’ \*

If this be taken simply as based on an induction of most single plays (such as the *King Œdipus* before named), it is both true

\* Schiller, *Ueber die tragische Kunst*, Werke, vol. xvii. p. 333, seq. ; 1828.



and very important: and with that limitation we must assent to the position that in this respect the religion and philosophy of Greece were a fetter to the poet. *Speaking as heathens*, it must be confessed that the calamities of Œdipus, and the utter want of connexion between them and the parts of his character which stand in need of discipline, are not to be reconciled with a right order of things. For surely in *heathen* poetry there is an absolute necessity for poetical justice and a visible adjustment of the balance of good and evil, by the restoration of virtue and right to their privileges in this world; though this is not called for where a religion of better promises comes in to support the soul. How bitterly this void was felt may be seen in the dreary pictures which Homer, and after him the other Greek poets, give us of all that attends the decline of life! Not to refer only to the chilling words of Achilles in the nether world,—

Μὴ δὴ μοι θάνατόν γε παραύδα, παῖδιμ' Ὀδυσσεῦ·  
βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητεύεμεν ἄλλω  
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ὃ μὴ βίωτος πολὺς εἴη,  
ἧ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθίμενοισι ἀνάσσειν,—

there is precisely the same spirit in the living picture of Laertes in the *Odyssey*, and in that which Achilles draws of his father Peleus in the *Iliad*. As soon as their way of life has fallen into the sere, they are, as a matter of course, set aside; and the remainder of their existence is a ghastly spectral life in death, haunting the scenes of their old pride and prowess. This is man, hanging on to earth, clinging the more closely to it as he feels it slipping from his grasp, because he knows or will know nothing beyond, which can fill its hollowness. Afterwards philosophy tried to do better things; but a miserable comforter was she; and rather exposed, by analysing, the nature of *heathen* consolations, than supplied the aching void in the weary heart.—No, Virtue's triumph and Vice's punishment must in *heathen* poetry be *visible*, or we lose that moral lesson, which to the Christian is more perfect when kept clear of all the transitory rewards and punishments of this life. Bearing on this point there are some admirable remarks of Scott (Preface to *Ivanhoe*) in answer to those who would have wished him to reward the lofty character of Rebecca with worldly prosperity:—

\* A character of a highly virtuous and lofty stamp is degraded rather than exalted by an attempt to reward virtue with temporal prosperity. Such is not the recompense which Providence has deemed worthy of suffering merit; and it is a dangerous and fatal doctrine to teach young persons, that rectitude of conduct and of principle are either naturally allied with or adequately rewarded by the gratification of our passions or attainment of our wishes. In a word, if a virtuous and self-denied character

character is dismissed with temporal wealth, greatness, &c., the reader will be apt to say, Virtue has had its reward.'

Will it then be said that this very truth, that virtue has not always its reward nor vice its punishment in this world, does away with our objection to the want of a moral lesson in the catastrophe of a *modern, i.e. a Christian* tragedy? We apprehend that it cannot be justly said, for two reasons. The deficiency has not been the result of any alteration made to suit our different position as Christians, but has been received as handed down by the tradition of our heathen forerunners, with whom it could have no such significance. But a more important ground is, that modern tragedies are no more *Christian* than ancient ones. The religious view is never brought out:—the *religious*, at least *Christian*, virtues are not heroic:—Christian sufferings are not tragic:—the Christian character is not adorned by such bravery as the world loves, such magnanimity as the world can appreciate, or such human passion as creates a deep interest with the world. The Christian hero humbles himself, is as nothing in his own eyes, prefers all to himself. His sufferings do not raise him in human eyes. 'A spectacle' indeed he may be to men and angels; but how different a spectacle! Angels minister to him: but before men he fights with beasts. His greatness is such as men cannot see—could not comprehend or believe if they did see it.

Thus, in the light in which we stand, it is much to be feared that tragedy has a tendency to *heathenise* our minds; whereas to heathens the antique poet, when he knew his vocation, was the messenger and authoritative teacher of morality and religion, and from him the nations were fain to glean scattered fragments of the truth.

But if we place Schiller's objection side by side with the definition of Aristotle, it vanishes: it is an objection only to a description of tragedy which does not come up to the definition. We have yet to seek, and this is our next object, whether there be not something in which the idea of the ancient philosopher will be fully embodied so as to annihilate the modern poet's objection to the Greek drama. As to his assertion of the superiority of *modern* tragedy, we may content ourselves with protesting against it in passing. The present inquiry shall be strictly limited to the consideration of Greek tragedy, as in the highest sense a work of art, working on the most definite principles; and we are not without hopes of imparting to the reader something of our own conviction that Æschylus stands unrivalled as a consummate artist.

This must be done, however, not by considering single plays, which may have been, and which in many cases we know to have been only parts of a whole, but by examining the groups into which the

the poet formed them; for it is with the Greek drama as with the Greek sculpture, in which every torso or separate limb of a single figure bears indeed the impress of the master mind; but that mind is not rightly appreciated until we study the full group of the tympanum:—nay, until the temple too be taken into consideration, and the frame-work of earth and sky in which it stands.

It is now necessary to go back to the period at which the Satyric Drama was established, and the ludicrous element thus removed from tragedy. It is recorded that at this time the competitors were bound to exhibit a *tetralogy*, consisting of three tragedies (a trilogy), and a satyric drama. All the details of this arrangement are quite unknown, so that it is a fair subject for speculation; and as a speculation the remark may be hazarded, that this proportion of *three to one* is a strange and startling one for the ἀπρὸς διόνυσον to bear to the worship of Bacchus in the compact or composition made between the poetry of the drama and the *religio temporis*. It seems, *à priori*, much more probable that the tragic portion was originally looked upon as one whole, and the satyric portion as another. This view would suggest the theory of *one* tragedy in *three* acts or parts, rather than of three tragedies; and as it is not difficult to trace a progressive system of encroachment on the worship of the god by the chartered libertines of poetry, this account of the first step would help to make their gradual success more intelligible, and to explain how it happens that so little is heard of the revolution until it is found to be quietly, but fully accomplished; when the satyric drama is so far from being any longer sole possessor of the field, that it does not even share it with one corral, but is driven up as it were into a corner, struggling hard to keep one quarter of its ancient kingdom;—nay, even rudely jostled at times from this its last stronghold; as is known to have been the case in the tetralogy to which *The Alcestis* of Euripides belonged.\*

To come to the plays extant,—of Æschylus there is none of which it has not been conjectured that it formed part of a trilogy

\* It had often been remarked that *the Alcestis* was scarcely to be called a tragedy; and especially that Hercules sustains exactly that character in it which made him so popular in the satyric dramas; we are now enabled to say positively (from a fragment of the *Didascalie*) that this play stood *fourth* in a tetralogy, and consequently did duty for a satyric play:—διύτερος Εὐριπίδης Κρήσσαις, Ἀλκμαίωνι τῷ διὰ Ψωφίδος, Τηλίου, Ἀλκμαίωνι τῷ διὰ Ψωφίδος, Τηλίου, Ἀλκμαίωνι τῷ διὰ Ψωφίδος, Τηλίου. The other tetralogies positively known are,—

(Æschylus) Phineus, Persæ, Glaucus Potnieus, (Prometheus Πυγμαλίων).  
 (Æschylus) Agamemnon, Choëphoræ, Eumenides, (Proteus)—*The Oresteia*.  
 (Æschylus) Edoni, Bassarides, Νεανίσκοι, (Lycurgus)—*The Lycurgia*.  
 (Euripides) Medea, Philoctetes, Dictys, (Theristæ).  
 (Euripides) Alexander, Palamedes, Troades, (Sisyphus).  
 (Xenocles) CEdipus, Lycaon, Bacchæ (Athamas).  
 (Philocles) *The Pandionis*.



on some connected subject; but how closely connected and artificially worked up we cannot tell, and dare not guess; for we must confess that our mind is always thrown into an attitude of suspicion by the extreme plausibility with which Welcker plays at thimble-rig with these luckless trilogies. In every book that he publishes (and he writes unceasingly) they alter their form: the plays are never at rest, but are now here, now there, back and forwards, in and out of their respective groups; like the single eye of the mythical *Trilogy* of the Phorcides, which was transferred from one to another as it was wanted for the day; or that more anciently recorded trilogy still, which was

Πρόσθε λέων, ὀπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα.

But one trilogy has come down to us entire; and this, therefore, is safe ground upon which to try conclusions.

Of Sophocles there remain no trilogies:—indeed the grammarians record that he was author of the innovation of exhibiting *single plays*. This, however, can scarcely mean (as it was understood formerly) that he brought forward only one drama at one time. For we have the distinct record of his satyric plays, as well as of the trilogies and tetralogies with which his contemporaries and juniors contended against him for the prize. Now it is contrary to reason to suppose that he could have been allowed to contend with one play, against those who exhibited four; Welcker's explanation must therefore here be adopted, and *single plays* be understood simply to mean *unconnected*. Sophocles then was the author of the next step in the revolution, wherein there was no longer one story handled tragically and another embodied in a satyric play, but the three parts of the trilogy became wholly disunited, except by the external accident of their juxtaposition. This was not done, it must be inferred, by others until Sophocles had set the example; but doubtless it may be taken for granted, on the one hand, that Sophocles had written upon the old model—that is, in connected trilogies—before he arrived at sufficient eminence to make such an innovation: and, on the other, that Æschylus, before the end of his career, may have availed himself of this new licence, as he adopted other alterations which are ascribed to Sophocles. But we may rejoice that he did not entirely abandon the original law,—as we should have then been without the specimen of the trilogy which has come down to us; since this, as formerly stated, was produced almost at the close of the poet's life. Another tetralogy of Æschylus is mentioned under one collective name, and consequently, as may be surmised, consisting of a connected plot;—and of this it may further be remarked that the

• satyric

satyric drama is also in union with the three tragedies. This is the *Lycurgia*; and the subject of it being taken from the Bacchic mythology, makes the introduction of the satyrs easy and natural. In the case of the Oresteia there seems to have been no such *quadruple alliance*, in spite of Schoell's theory, which we formerly propounded with such gravity as we were capable of. It is true that the Oresteia is sometimes called a *tetralogy*; but this would not unnaturally happen even if the *afterpiece* was not on the same subject with the three tragedies: and the scholiast on the *Ranæ* of Aristophanes, who gives it this name, tells us at the same time that Aristarchus called it a *trilogy*, which the critic could not have done if the plot had extended through all the four. To illustrate this by a modern analogy;—one series of the 'Tales of my Landlord' contained 'Old Mortality' in *three* volumes and the 'Black Dwarf' in *one*. This being so, though there is no connexion between the stories, there would be nothing surprising in hearing the whole *tetralogy* (so to speak), called loosely 'Old Mortality;' whereas, if the fourth volume had been a continuation of the three first, no one could have called these a *trilogy*.

The scholiast on the *Birds* of Aristophanes mentions a group of tragedies on the story of Pandion, a *Pandionid*, by Philocles; and among the tragedies of Euripides we find that the *Alexander*, *Palamedes*, and *Troades* were exhibited together: in which, if we may judge from the names, the plot was continuous. Here the satyric drama was the *Sisyphus*.

For the other trilogies—indeed for all the other plays which we find named—it is an easy task to divine some theme of a common plan or interest; because the few poor fragments that remain can scarcely contradict one; or, if they do, they can be lopped and cropped—a new name put upon one,—a leg cut off another,—a Taliacotian nose grafted upon a third,—until all are made to correspond in some measure to one's notions of the names intended for them: and if a first experiment is unsuccessful, it is but to shift the labels and begin again. 'Tis as easy as writing nonsense verses. But when we find that, after all this labour, the unity claimed for most of them is but a oneness of *moral*, thrice illustrated by three unconnected stories, what inducement is there for us to go further? Such performances are not trilogies; they are *acted charades*; and if Athenian cleverness could have discovered that the *Phineus*, *Persæ*, and *Glaucus* had no meaning but 'Greece triumphant over Barbary,'—they would have hooted the conundrum off the stage. How different from *this* is the unity in which the Oresteia came, as one perfect whole, from the head of the poet!

To this we now return; and in tracing it we must start with a view

view of that destiny, which was doubly working for evil—in public and in private—on the family of the Pelopidæ. The drama opens upon us at the point where these two independent, but equally hostile influences converge.

In their public character the princes of 'Pelops' line' were exalted above all their contemporaries: and all made them but the more obnoxious to that jealousy of heaven—*φθονερόν γὰρ τὸ θεῖον*—which always attended on more than mortal fortune, ready to avenge the more heavily the slightest false step of those who were so highly favoured. The taking of Troy, which was the climax of their glory, was also the crisis of their fate; for Troy too was 'divine;' Troy was a fated city, both in its glories and its sins; and the reckoning which it paid ~~was~~ proportionally fearful. But the reckoning *was* paid, and the victors now stood within the same danger. Raised on the ruins of the heaven-built city, her scourge could hardly fail to fall on them: all that had affronted heaven in Troy now redounded on their heads: and, besides, there was a long account of actual wickedness to settle, for violence and bloodshed in the siege, horrors and godlessness in the sack of the town. Nor was there wanting a cry to heaven against the sons of Atreus, from their own home, among their own people. All Greece had suffered the ills of the expedition, which had served only to avenge the quarrel of the one, and to enhance the renown of the other. Abroad, the flower of Greece was 'wede away;' and at home, in the absence of their lawful monarchs, the people were ground down by anarchy or tyranny.

And there were other horrors, more private, yet not less fearful. The line of Pelops was, from their very origin, under a curse, mysteriously bound up, as by a principle of compensation, with all their greatness. It is traced to the slaughter of Myrtilus in one generation: in another it bursts forth in the quarrel of Atreus and Thyestes, the incest of Thyestes with Aeropé, and the horrible revenge of Atreus. But the revenge was incomplete: according to the eastern proverb—

'Tyrants kill  
Whom they will:  
*But never tyrant killed his heir.'*

And the youngest, an infant child, is rescued, to grow up the born enemy, the *Goël*, or (may it not be said?) the personified 'Erinnys' of the house of Atreus. It is in this capacity that he appears; and—notwithstanding the allusions of the chorus to the 'enseamed bed,' and Cassandra's revelations of the wolf stealing into the lion's lair—Ægisthus, with all his vileness, is yet but one of the instruments through which evil is punished by evil. His

• adultery



adultery is kept comparatively in the background. We hear nothing of the story of the guardian minstrel; how his holy strains preserved Clytæmnestra from evil; and how the faithful man was borne to a lonely island, and her fall soon followed.\* Their adultery is not the one grand crime bringing all others in its train; it is only one link in the chain of horrors, one thread in the endless inextricable web (ἄπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον) which involves, not Agamemnon only, but them all. It is the hereditary curse which is working itself out in each generation through the evil passions of man's heart, and visiting alternately each branch of the family by the agency of the other.

And if this be so with Ægisthus, still more emphatically is it so with Clytæmnestra. Probably very few, even of those who have read the Agamemnon most carefully, are conscious of the art with which this, the more degrading portion of her wickedness, is kept out of sight; because all come to the study of Æschylus with the details of the mythology in their minds: they are admitted into the mansion of the Pelopidæ up the back-stairs by Dr. Lempriere (the scandalous chronicler of the ancients), instead of coming with the triumphal procession of Agamemnon to the palace-gates. But let us recommend to our readers to glance over the play, with the special view of remarking the extreme delicacy with which this is shaded. One or two figurative hints of the chorus, one or two oracular metaphors of Cassandra, are all that prepare us for the bold and unembarrassed language of Clytæmnestra herself, after the deed of death is done, and the load of dissimulation off her mind: by which time the special sin of her connexion with Ægisthus is, as it were, merged in the unity of her awful character. In fact the strongest evidence against her, until this time, is to be drawn from her extreme and anxious self-exculpations. *Methinks, the lady doth protest too much*: and her whole appearance is, as it is intended to be, that of a person talking at random to conceal her thoughts, or occasionally venting them obscurely, as if in demi-soliloquy.† And then, what an array of crimes we have, brought up against King Agamemnon, and with what skill marshalled! His very entrance, accompanied by the captive Cassandra, carries his wife back to all the infidelities of his absence, while she forsooth, poor bird, was pining in her widowed nest at home. And in truth it does remind one vividly of the naïvete of the Homeric King of Men, who tells us that Chryseis was no whit inferior to his wedded wife; and that, therefore, he naturally preferred her:—

\* Od. iii. 267, seq.

† Cf. v. 349, etc.

— καὶ

\* ——— καὶ γὰρ ῥα Κλυταίμνηστρας προβέβουλα,  
κουριδίης ἡλόχου· ἐπεὶ οὐ ἔθεν ἔστι χερεῖων,  
\* οὐ δέμας, οὐδὲ φνὴν, οὐτ' ἄρ φρένας, οὔτε τι ἔργα.\*

Again, the *slaughter* (for in Æschylus we hear nothing of Iphigenia in *Tauris*) of his eldest child as the victim of his brother's uxoriousness and his own ambition, is, not unnaturally, much and variously dwelt upon; until at last the picture of the murdered maiden welcoming to the banks of Acheron the father who had sacrificed her (v. 1503), makes the student feel the triumph of the poet in having, for a moment, trimmed the balance between the parties; though there is nothing in the perplexity thus produced which can permanently pervert the judgment.

Again, let the Queen's inflated language, and the insidious pomp of Agamemnon's reception, be noticed. Here is no deviation from nature; rather, under her circumstances, it is the highest nature;—but the effect is, for the time, to throw a shade of caricature over all his greatness and his person. All is forced to such an excess as to provoke reaction. She has become bold in length of time to tell her love-tale in the public ear; and an invidious one it is of a disconsolate, deserted wife, weeping to hear story after story of her husband's death, until his body had been (said to be) thrice over drilled with eylet-wounds like a net, and himself—had he been three gentlemen at once—buried thrice deep! Forgotten and woeful matron, she had done nothing but weave herself halters, and her maidens had had their time fully occupied in cutting her down: nay, her dear Orestes had been taken from her, from some vague anticipation of his being hanged or deposed, we are not sure which. And as for tears, they must not be surprised that she sheds none; *she has none left*; the very fount of them is dry! But her eyes are sore, (if this will do as well) with weeping by unsnuffed candles (so we presume to translate τὰς ἀμφὶ σοῦ κλαίουσα λαμπηρουχίας ἀτημελήτους αἰέν); and the very 'buzzing night-flies' had kept her awake instead of 'hushing her to her slumbers.' But now, it is all past: Agamemnon is come! And now that he is come, what shall she say, what shall she call him? A house-dog—a cable—a pillar—an only child—a friendly shore—a fair day—a running stream! His very *foot* is a glorious foot, for it spurned Troy over; and it must not tread upon the earth.\* All this  
Agamemnon

\* The reader can hardly have forgotten the parody on this in the Knights of Aristophanes (v. 783 seq.):

ἔσι ταῖσι πίτραι; οὐ φροντίζει σκληρῶς σε καθήμενον οὕτως,  
οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐγὼ ῥαψάμενός σοι τοῦτ' εἶρω· ἀλλ' ἱκαναίρου,  
κατὰ καθίζου μαλακῶς, ἵνα μὴ τρίβης τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.

Agamemnon takes meekly; protesting indeed against the splendour of his reception, as well as the length of her speech,—which latter he compares to the siege of Troy; but giving way at last, for the sake of a quiet life.

It may doubtless be said that this is ludicrous; so, in itself, it undoubtedly is: but how true to nature, and how wonderfully contrived to further the poet's purpose! Let us take Macbeth: if, at least, we may be forgiven for venturing, against certain modern authorities, to retain our belief that there is a family likeness between Lady Macbeth and Clytæmnestra. *She*, indeed, is more sparing of her rhetoric; but in her speech of welcome to Duncan there is the same frigid elaborateness: with both of them alike all is

‘In every point twice done, and then done double.’

In the same taste is that earlier speech of Clytæmnestra, wherein the description of the courier flame, which announced the capture of Troy, is worked up with the most marvellous union of real excitement and perturbation, with cold and inflated bombast. In a modern work, which has fallen into our hands in the course of our professional labours as ‘the scavengers of literature,’ we have found it authoritatively remarked, that ‘it is the orthodox custom of translators to render the dialogue of Greek plays in blank verse; but in this instance the whole animation and rapidity of the original would be utterly lost in the stiff construction and protracted rhythm of blank verse!’ Alas for Shakspeare then! Alas for Æschylus, who—though the whole range of ‘rapid’ and ‘animated’ choral metres was before him—chose so unaccountably to clothe this speech in a metre adopted, as Aristotle tells us, because it was *the most proselike*, the most like common discourse, of all! Alas for the lyrical translator, who has to soften down into ‘animated and rapid’ phraseology such expressions as ‘old-womanish heather’ (*γραιῖα ἐρείκη*), ‘a huge beard of flame’ (*φλογὸς μέγαν πάγωνα*), and the like, and especially that glorious description of the last beacon, *οὐκ ἄπαππον Ἰδαίου πυρός*—‘which,’ to translate accurately,

‘is not un-grandfather’d by Ida’s fire!’

Are we disparaging Æschylus by showing that among the fervid thoughts of this speech there are such frigid tropes intermingled? Quite the reverse; because we believe it to be natural, *and that he knew it*, to one in Clytæmnestra’s situation to use

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‘Here’s a present you’ll prize: come, arise, Sir, arise!  
Then sit you down softly upon her:  
Since Salamis’ shock, what a shame the hard rock  
Should be chafing the seat—of your Honour!’

such



such language, instead of the gay prettinesses of our modern Midas, who turns everything that he touches to—tinsel.\* To estimate her character, we must compare her language before and after the deed was done. *Afterwards* there is no elaboration, no disguise, no frigidity. Every word burns,—burns with hell-fire. Public and private ills have converged on the heads of the Atridæ; or rather—for the historical account of the shipwreck is ably applied to withdraw Menelaus—on the one head of Agamemnon. And she stands forth as the *Até* within the family, as Ægisthus from without; and this, rather than their illicit love (which, in fact, flows from it), is the bond of their unhallowed union.

This forms one means by which a catastrophe is prepared. But a still more important agent is the Chorus; and this is so employed by Æschylus as to need a more careful analysis. It was not (says the fine old Platonist, Philip van Heusde) merely by the outward improvements in his art, which we learn from Horace and the archæologers, that Æschylus did his work. It was by the masterpieces of his tragedy, the deep impression which they made on the spectator, filling him now with pity, now with terror, but always with elevating emotions. And this he attained, not by action and language, but most chiefly by the influence of the chorus. The tragedian was also probably the first lyric poet of Greece; and thus by the chorus in the pauses of his dramas his aim was to work up the souls of his hearers to the pitch of the tragedy which they were hearing, and to inspire them with a capacity for the feelings which were to be called forth. It is to this chorus that we chiefly trace the higher spirit which possesses us when we study the Greek tragedy:—

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\* We cannot resist the temptation to give one more specimen of *Æschylus puppy-fied*. It is characterised as 'one of those soft passages so rare in Æschylus (!), nor less exquisite than rare:—

‘ Ah! soon alive, to miss and mourn,  
The form beyond the ocean borne,  
Shall start the lonely king!  
And thought shall fill the lost one's room,  
And darkly through the palace gloom  
Shall stalk a ghostly thing.’

(I. e., as a note tells us, Menelaus, as lean as a ghost!)

‘ Her statues meet, as round they rise,  
The leaden stare of sightless eyes:  
Where is their ancient beauty gone?  
Why loathe his looks the breathing stone?  
Alas! The foulness of disgrace  
Hath swept the Venus from her face!’

With some difficulty we have discovered that this is meant to be a translation from Agam., vv. 414-419 (*πρότερόν δ' ὑπὸ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις*—*πᾶσι* 'Ἀφροδίτα'),

‘ Ille bonis faveatque, et concilietur amicis ;  
 Et regat iratos, et amet peccare timentes :  
 Ille dapes laudet mensæ brevis, ille salubrem  
 Justitiam, legesque, et apertis otia portis :  
 Ille tegat commissa, Deosque precetur, et oret  
 Ut redeat miseris, abeat Fortuna superbis.’

HOR. A. P., 196, seq.

It is remarked by Schlegel, that the Greek chorus is *the idealised spectator*, giving the fair comments of man's judgment in the abstract upon the acts or sentiments of the characters, and so, by the *impersonal* character of its moralising, gently leading the audience to do the like. But this is not a sufficient description of the chorus in Æschylus. With him it is no mere external critic upon the plot; it is the plot itself. The dialogue of the Agamemnon could be dispensed with as easily as the lyric portion of it. The chorus is no critical looker-on; it is *the poet soliloquising at his work*, and giving vent, as in involuntary strains, to the mysterious imaginations which crowd upon his soul, while he strives to embody them in their more definite, but thus less spiritual form. Without the chorus we could no more attain to the fulness of the poet's meaning than we could attune ourselves to the harmonies in which he clothes it. The chorus is altogether rapt out of the region of *reflection*. It is inspired.

It will be worth while to trace the clue of their strains through the earlier part of the play, from their entrance, summoned by Clytæmnestra to hear the news of the triumph which has been telegraphed from Troy. This carries them back ten years, to the time when the Atridæ departed, shouting for vengeance on Troy, like vultures wheeling over their empty nest,

‘ Right sorrowfully mourning their bereaved cares.’

Well! things must be as they may; and destiny and wrath will have their course; but ‘our way of life is in the sere (φυλλὰς δὲ ἤδη κατακαρφομένης), we linger on, unmeaning as a dream at mid-day.’

Yet old as they are, the spirit of song survives; and now the fated time suggests the strain,—how omens met the avengers on their way. And this was the rede of the prophet: time will come when Troy shall fall before the host; but a hostile influence darkens the future: the goddess of the wild-wood tribes is at the throne of Zeus to ask the fulfilment of the sign, prosperous in the main, yet deeply dashed with ill (δεξιά μὲν, κατὰ δεξιὰ δέ). Heaven forefend that she demand a horrid sacrifice—horrid in itself, and source of future horror, treachery, and domestic vengeance. Sing woe, sing woe, and well away! (αἶλινον, αἶλινον τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω) . . . A weight is on their soul, and who shall relieve

relieve them? The ancient powers of heaven are gone by; only Zeus remains; and *he* has ordained that by suffering shall mortals be taught to bow beneath the rod. Thus was his hand on Agamemnon, what time the host pined away to watch day after day the refluxing waters of Euripus. But the remedy was worse than all; the monarch smote the earth and cried, 'A sorry choice! It is hard to disobey! and how hard to shed a virgin daughter's blood! and yet I owe a duty to my comrades; and must they not demand it?' Then he bowed to the yoke of fate, and steeled himself to dare the worst; for in the first guilt madness lies, and hardens man to recklessness; and so he set at nought his daughter's prayer and appeals to a father's name; muffling the curses which might fall from that melodious tongue, which had so often charmed the guests of his palace-hall; for there she stood as if in act to speak, fair as some pictured form, darting her glances round in pitiful appeal. . . . We saw not, dare not tell the rest; but this is sure, that prophecy will work its way, and those that *will* not learn, *shall* learn by suffering. But away with inquiries into the future. Enough that it *will* come, surely and speedily!

After hearing what the queen has to tell them of the conquest, and her rambling strain of moralising upon it, they again take up their parable, their theme being the sin of Troy and the certainty of judgment. But mark whither this leads them!

Zeus has bent his bow against the guilty. Ay, though men are found to say that the gods reckon not of evil deeds, it was his doing: he shows himself in vengeance to the sons of an overweening race. Ours be the lowlier lot which knows no ill; for there is no redemption for the high and wealthy ones who spurn the altar of right. They are driven on to inevitable ill: the light within has ceased to be of heaven, but blazes lurid forth, hurrying them downwards; and no one hears their prayer, but mischief hunts the man who for a toy, a bird of gay plumage, transgresses. And even such a bird was Helen! Lightly she glided from her home, leaving a legacy behind her, the clash of arms and the battle stir, —bearing with her a dowry, ruin to Troy. . . . And *he*, the dishonoured, the unrepenting! Silent is he: he cannot deem her gone: her form will haunt him yet in every hall where she has reigned as queen: all else in them is a blank; for the desire of his eyes is gone, and what is loveliness to him? In dreams he snatches an empty joy, and lo the vision is gone with the slumber! . . . But private sorrows are not all. There is a cry of mourning through universal Greece. Men ask for their children, and what have they? Ashes and an urn! And when they tell of this man's courage and that man's death, there comes the



the murmur, that it was all for one frail wife! Far off sleep the beautiful; but whispers deepen into curses here at home,—curses which fall not to the ground; for blood will have blood; and glory overmuch is not for good, but calls heaven's lightning down. Ours be no such fortune, but rather the unenvied lot, unharmed, unharmed!

Up to this point, at which the chorus seems to be interrupted by a shout of the citizens without, welcoming the arrival of the herald, we can clearly trace *the idea* of the drama in the lovely ode, which, for critical purposes, we have so rudely anatomised. The chorus endeavour to wake the song of triumph over Troy; but they are impressed with an undefinable though surely foreboding of evil, which always returns, however they may try to shake it off; and so *offensa resultat imago*, the echo of their song comes back upon them. Every topic of triumph, by alluding to Trojan misfortunes, suggests the danger of the Greeks. Nemesis, who waits on overmuch fortune, and overweening recklessness of right, bears heavily on those who have sacked a heaven-built city, and destroyed a sacred kingdom. There is blood crying to heaven. There is the muttered curse of those that dare not cry aloud. And there is a sure avenger for them that have no helper! And so they see but little difference between the misery of victor and vanquished, master and captive; and they pray to be delivered from both alike. These are intimations of evil to come, clear enough to him who hears or reads; naturally more clear to him than to the chorus themselves, who are possessed, rapt into futurity while they utter them; and who, when their dark hour passes, are too much mixed up with the events to rise to the pitch of their own inspiration, or judge of the fulness of their prophecy. But it must be borne in mind that, even to the hearer or reader, the warning does not stand so startlingly as we have represented it. It is all there, but invested in mystery by the art of the poet, which has been taxed to clothe the skeleton which is given above, in a wondrous form of beauty and glory.

At this conjuncture the herald enters with a thanksgiving for his safe return. He tells of the army's sufferings and triumph; but this is not all. His most important announcement is, that *the end has begun*. The storm which has been hanging over the Greeks has burst; and the shipwreck of the returning warriors is the earnest of all that the chorus has foretold. In this tempest they lose sight of Menelaus. Probably, indeed, thus much is historical; but it is not introduced here merely as an historical fact. As he does not appear again in the trilogy, some scholars conjecture that this allusion was meant to connect the trilogy with

the fourth drama, the *Proteus*. But this is not necessary to explain it. It is, as has been before hinted, a sufficient reason for his disappearance, that he was one of the *two* sons of Atreus (or Pleisthenes), on whom vengeance has been accumulating; and that by his being spirited away and lost sight of, the full weight of destiny is concentrated on the one head of the devoted Agamemnon.

The return of the herald follows the signal of the beacons, and is again followed by the appearance of Agamemnon, with little more than two choral odes intervening. Here is a problem for the sticklers for the unity of time. Afterwards, in the *Eumenides*, the scene shifts from Delphi to Athens, if not also from one part of Athens to another. So that the unities of time and place may equally be dispensed with. The technical canons, of which one has heard so much from the French school of expositors of Hellenic art, are not binding upon Æschylus. Indeed, these so-called Greek, or rather *Gallo-Grecian*, unities are but a modern forgery, foisting upon Aristotle a doctrine of which he never dreamt, and for oneness of conception, for the living whole of creative poetry, substituting a dead, mechanical union of parts filling up an arbitrary outline:—one indeed, but one as a *volume*, not as a *work* is one. Like other falsehoods, they are built upon a truth; and that is, that unity is excellence, and consistency indispensable. Hence, the more perfectly a tragedy combined all in detail, the more *in that point* it would approach perfection. Of this excellence no one was a more consummate master than Æschylus. The whole Trilogy is a proof of this: for it is *one* in a sense in which no other dramatic poem extant can be called so. But, in the detail, all minutiae must be duly subordinated to the grand whole; and one essential point in the definition was, that the subject-matter must be of weight and importance (*πρᾶξις μέγεθος ἔχουσα*), involving therefore various interests, events, and characters, and often spreading over a considerable time, in proportion to that greatness which gives it its fitness for tragic handling. The *niceties*, therefore, which go by the name of the unities of time and place, will frequently interfere with the development of the plot, in exact proportion to its tragic grandeur:—that is, when ‘the plot is a good plot,’ artfully devised and complicated, there will be far more difficulty in accommodating everything to these niceties than where there is little plot or none at all. When such difficulties occur, the minor consideration should give way. In scenes of a purely domestic character, it would be comparatively easy to adhere strictly to place and punctually to time; and hence in the later comedy we usually find this done; because here the intricacies of the plot extend no further

further than the concerns of two neighbouring families. But it is otherwise in such dramas as we are treating of.

And here let not the real question be mistaken: for mistaken it will be, if we are to inquire whether Æschylus leaves time enough to let the spectator or reader think that Agamemnon may have returned. This is an absurdity. We know that we are (as the case may be) witnessing or reading a *play*, with full purpose to give ourselves up to the illusion, if it be not rudely dispelled by some awkwardness in the artist:—we dream until we are forcibly awakened. The real question then is, whether the want of unity is such as to dispel the illusion, and to bring us back to the work-day world and the *measurement* of time. If we measure the choral odes, as Sterne's critic did the soliloquy, by the stop-watch, the Agamemnon cannot stand such a test as this. But, under such circumstances, what is there that *can* stand, which will be worth standing room? Let all the sticklers for the unities lay their heads together, and whence will they exhume, or when will they manufacture, a play in which the manager's or poet's clock will keep time with the clocks at the outside of the theatre, or with the watches of the audience? There never was a play in which some scenes did not require an *indefinite* interval to elapse between them. Let this be of minutes, or hours, or days, the stop-watch critic is answered; and with reasonable beings the matter is sooner or later brought to this issue. If the poet does not carry the spectator with him so completely as to make him lose count of time, he has failed; and no observation of the unities can make up for his failure. In the matters of real life, while we stand on the earth and are acted upon by its influence, what matters it to us, practically speaking, that we are spinning along at the rate of millions of miles in a minute? Do we stand the less steadily? Does our full belief in the physical truth interfere with the impressions which we receive from our senses? And so it is that, if we are rapt into the sphere of the poet, and whirled along with him whither his orbit leads us, we can no more measure or take account of such minute points as these, than we can measure how far we have travelled through space since we sat down to our intellectual treat. We are entitled to demand that the poet should do thus much for us: and it is sufficiently done, if there is any such interruption occupying the theatre for a time, as will serve to dissolve the continuity of the action. If, during such a pause, a new train of thought be successfully interpolated, then the laws of mind make the interval for all practical purposes an *indefinite* one.

Hence it follows that the objection touching the chorus, as  
having



having only so many lines to sing, while Agamemnon has so many leagues to sail, is a mere quibble. Modern playwrights find no difficulty in the matter:—a curtain drops, or a scene changes. This at once breaks the sequence of our ideas, and, with or without the aid of the orchestra, we are wafted over minutes or years, as the case may be. The ‘chorus’ or ‘grex’ coming in to apologise, like a showman interpreting his puppets, as we frequently find it in the Elizabethan dramatists, betrays a rude state of the art. It is true that the mystery of the scene-shifter was not so much studied by the ancients as by the moderns; but there was the entire change of performance to serve the same purpose. The chorus, with its solemn evolutions—the lyre—the song—the dance—carried the spectators at once into a new world; and if they had any feeling for what was going on, and could discharge from their minds the dialogue of the past scene, so far as to enter into that which was before them, they had at once lost count of time sufficiently to surrender themselves to the poet, and to justify his experiment by its success.

It cannot be denied that this is a hazardous experiment; so hazardous indeed, that whole crowds of most respectable playwrights will best consult their reputation by not trying it. But it is not the less true that one who dares not run this hazard will scarcely make good his title to the name of poet; and in cases like that one which has led us to the present digression, where the irregularity in a point of detail is directly subservient to the grouping and unity of the whole, there is nothing to defend or apologise for; but rather everything to praise, as the direct means towards an all-important excellence. But this reminds us that our digression is, in its way, a serious violation of the unities; and also that time and paper and the reader’s patience will all fail us, if we go on as we have begun, doing the choral songs into prose. Nor is it necessary for our purpose; since enough has been said to show *the idea* of the chorus, which is carried on still further in the following strains: until at last, when Agamemnon has returned, and all adverse destiny seems overruled, the chorus complain wonderingly, that some mysterious influence makes their highest notes of triumph die away into a funereal strain; and pray, yet dare not hope, that their soul’s prophecy may prove false.

All now is wound up to the pitch where some catastrophe is expected; and ere it comes, we have it shadowed forth in dim oracular grandeur by the swan-song of Cassandra,—who is the very impersonation of Destiny—which must give warning, or it would not be known as such; yet must warn fruitlessly, or it would cease to be destiny. Yet still, with all this preparation, how startlingly does

does the apparition of Clytæmnestra and her fearless avowal come upon us! Agamemnon's death, and all connected with it, now stand out in due proportion; so balanced, indeed, that the chorus is almost at a loss to decide,—for a moment imposed upon by the sophistry of evil passions (v. 1560, seq.) until Ægisthus comes in, and his hateful presence decides them. But are matters to stay here? Can it be supposed that Clytæmnestra has really, as she endeavours to flatter herself, laid the spirit of domestic strife, and shed the last blood that is to flow? A modern plot would go no further. But the mind is revolted at this. Whatever plausibilities there were against Agamemnon are annihilated by the monstrous character of *her* crime; and the scale of *Destiny* is clearly turning. At this conjuncture there are two or three seemingly trifling incidents artfully thrown in. Ægisthus speaks of his being expelled while in his infancy, to be brought back by Justice in his manhood; and the prophecy of Cassandra and the speech of the chorus carry us on to the return of another child, similarly spirited away. In the more modern scheme, this would all have been lost; and more than this, for the development of Clytæmnestra's character would have been lost too, unless the moral of the play had been the triumph of evil: but the Greeks had too fine a sense of harmony to end with such a discord as this; and the whole conclusion of the play supplies the links which unite it to that which follows: all is subservient to the grand design; and, wonderful as the *Agamemnon* is in itself, it is only to be appreciated—indeed it is only to be rightly understood—in connexion with what ensues. One can scarcely read the play without being taught, by this one lesson, to confess how imperfectly those remains of antiquity can be appreciated, which have come down to us in any degree imperfect; and how much of their excellence may consist in portions which one would now scarcely miss if they were absent. Suppose that of the Orestean trilogy the *Agamemnon* only had been extant, as the *Prometheus*, or the *Seven against Thebes* are of their trilogies: we should still have had all the delineation of character, all the mastery over feeling and passion, all the power of language, and the essential poetry, lyric and dramatic, of the piece; in short, all the *materials* for the whole: and though we might have complained of something apparently inartificial, we should probably have discovered nothing to remind us of any want on our own parts, or to suggest that our criticisms might arise from ignorance of the poet's *real* design. And yet, certainly, such would be the case; the critic of the *Agamemnon*, as an isolated play, would undoubtedly lay his finger on those little points which are introduced to give connexion

nexion to the whole trilogy, with the assurance that here was a deficiency, and the satisfaction of thinking that it was on the poet's side and not on his own.\*

Whatever our expectations of a catastrophe may have been, the nature of that which takes place, and the proclamation of Clytæmnestra by herself as the Até of the family in human shape (φανταζόμενος δὲ γυναικὶ νεκροῦ τοῦδ' ὁ παλαιὸς δριμύς ἀλαστωρ, κ. τ. ε., v. 1498), is of such a nature that we are left full of horror and perplexity morally revolting—if this were all. The emotions are indeed stirred up; but it is to all appearance only a witch's caldron, 'Double, double, toil and trouble.' No problem in human nature is solved, nor anything done, so far, towards 'purifying the passions,' modifying, disciplining, or in any way turning them to use. So that the moral effects of the single play, as above noticed, would have been bad. But there are the links which join it to the Choëphoræ, sufficient to suggest the turn which the plot is about to take, and to satisfy us that the action is tending towards a real end. In the Choëphoræ we find the adulterous pair in full-blown outward prosperity; but the avenger is at the door—Orestes has been distinctly called to the duty of vengeance by the gods; his commission is to *slay the slayers*; and this is confirmed by Clytæmnestra's dream of evil augury. Still the same care is taken, as in the former plays, to convey, though indistinctly, an assurance that the end is not near: there are marked indications throughout that Orestes finds himself ill at ease. His whole conduct discloses it—vaguely, of course, but it does disclose it—and communicates to us his own inward apprehensions. He is, as it were, dragged into the arena, and worked up by the Chorus, by Electra, and finally by the oracular voice of the (probably) unseen Pylades, the representative of the Delphic oracle,† until he does the deed; and when it is done, he still remembers that she was his mother; his disquiet shows itself in his laboured attempts at self-justification; until finally we see that 'this way madness lies,' and the dread goddesses of wrath, the Erinnyes, appear. We say deliberately *appear*: for not even Hermann can persuade us that they are invisible. It is to no purpose to argue that the Chorus does not see them: the question is not whether they appear to Orestes *alone* or not; but whether they *really* and externally appear to him, or are the phantoms of his crazed brain. If they *really* appear to him—that is, if they are *there* in actual, though not bodily presence, then the spectators must have cognisance of them. We appeal to the

\* This may suggest to us that, if we seek, we shall probably find a meaning in many things which seem to us ἀπεροδιόνυσα in the other plays.

† See Mueller.



closet-scene in Hamlet, where the spectators see the apparition of the ghost, and hear his voice, while the Queen remarks—

‘ This is the very coinage of your brain :  
This bodiless creation ecstasy  
Is very cunning in.’

Æschylus is now preparing the way for the next play, in which no one doubts their appearance; and, besides, Æschylus was a devout believer in the existence, a devout worshipper of the divinity of these Beings:— which, by the bye, gives him an incalculable advantage in these plays over Shakspeare with his witches in Macbeth. To the chorus, who, in the dialogue, are, as it were, the impersonation of *very* common sense,\* and who thus see only with the natural eye, these goddesses are of course invisible. But the spectator's eye is supposed to be purged, and his ear open (φρὴν ὁμμασιν λαμπρύνεται) to admit things unseen and unheard except to the *initiated*. And when such is supposed to be the character of the chorus, as it is in the sub-choir of Areopagites in the Eumenides, they are visible to these also. But if a ring of the populace of Attica were represented as grouped round Mars' Hill, we would venture to say that they saw nothing of the *Nameless Goddesses*.

Here ends the second regular tragedy, technically so called; and in both there has been excited interest, perplexity, and unsatisfied emotion: this has been first on one side, and then on the other; and it has accumulated in the second play; for we have now the gods taking their sides, and embroiling the fray. And the link of the appearance of the Furies brings us to the third drama, which is, strictly speaking, not a tragedy at all, according to our idea of one; but it is exactly by this peculiarity that it becomes a perfect finish to those which are so.

The victim has, at the commencement of the third play, been chased to Delphi; but he finds there a respite; the *religio loci* overpowers his pursuers, and they fall into a slumber.† Meanwhile, under the direction of his protector Apollo, Orestes escapes to Athens, where Athena institutes the court of Mars' Hill, presiding herself, while Apollo appears in the double capacity of witness and advocate for Orestes; and avows that the deed was done at his bidding, and consequently by the authority of Zeus himself—for

οὐπώποτ' εἶπον μαντικοῖσιν ἐν θρόνοισι  
ὃ μὴ 'κέλευσε Ζεὺς Ὀλυμπίων πατήρ.

\* See the remarkable passage in Aristotle's Problems, xix. 48.

† In vindicating the *personality* of the Furies, we need not shut our eyes to the moral cloaked under this allegory.

Thus,

Thus, finally, the difficulty is solved, which must otherwise have arisen afresh on every new act of mutual vengeance. The divine law is at length expounded, the confusion of right and wrong unravelled, and the perplexity removed, which had grown out of the conflicting elements of the plot. Orestes is at last acquitted and cleansed from the stains of blood; yet not without such penance as atones for the violence done to natural feeling by his revenge. Without this penance,—without the difficulty in appeasing the Furies,—the lesson would not be perfect. But, as the case stands, the process of purification and the restoration of peace among the actors in the drama, is a type of the true *καθαρσις παθημάτων*, which, according to the definition of Aristotle, is wrought by the trilogy taken as a whole. In the first play the feelings are moved in pity for Agamemnon and horror of Clytemnestra; and this gives our sympathies to Orestes in the second; but yet not wholly so; for whatever were the deserts of the mother, she was *the mother* still.\* Thus the emotions are stirred up in conflict, and are thrown into the highest state of commotion and ferment, so that we are further than ever from seeing the end. But the end is at hand: this very conflict and fermentation is the moving of the chaos, from which a new state of order is to be evolved. And as a just analogy is a sound and sober argument, let us take this metaphor which has come in our way, and examine it. What is the result of fermentation but to throw off impurities, and then, but not until then, to restore tranquillity; not the same, but a very different tranquillity from that turbid state of stagnation which went before? It tranquillises, but by clarifying. And thus, to come back again to Aristotle, the passions or feelings are *purified*, that is, clarified and reconciled, and so chastened and soothed into calmness in the third play: the perplexity which man could not unravel is unravelled, and the ways of Heaven justified to man. Our pity and terror, after having been worked up into a ferment, are not left to become flat without purification (as in the King Œdipus), but are brought into a new and better state, the soul having been enlightened on those high subjects of which it might otherwise have known nothing. Thus tranquillity returns; but how different! No longer the slumber of sluggish ignorance, which is apathy; but the holy calm of high knowledge and deep faith, the *reasonable* service of a disciplined and enlightened mind. And thus the muse becomes not a mere handmaid to the excitement of morbid emotion, but a powerful agent in the formation of high moral and religious character.

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\* Εἰ γὰρ δικάως ἴπαθ' ἑν τι, δικάως πίπτονθ' ἄλλ' ἴσως οὐχ ὑπο σοῦ.—Aristot. Rhetor., ii. 23,3.

It has appeared that the terms of the Aristotelic definition, as given above, do not apply to a *tragedy*, strictly so called; but that, on the other hand, they apply with remarkable exactness to the one extant specimen of *the entire group*, of which one tragedy only formed a part. The trilogy and the definition stand to each other in the relation of lock and key. And this entitles us to conclude not only that the trilogy, which, and which alone, so strikingly fulfils the conditions of the definition, is as it were an authentic example to illustrate its real meaning; but further, that this which the great critic has embodied was the strictly true theory of the tragic drama, however far dramatists may have wandered from it in practice.

Nor is it difficult to account for their wandering. For, not to rest on the scarcity of plots which would admit of such handling, and the multiplied difficulties in handling them so as that there should be one consistent whole, containing a beginning, a middle, and an end—while at the same time each of these component parts should be so organised and complete as to form a whole by itself, (which is yet a consideration of most practical and serious importance)—there are other reasons. The progress of dramatic poetry indicates a tendency to bring down the heroes from their stilts, to reduce their tumid bulk (as Euripides is ludicrously made to say in the ‘Frogs’), by vegetable diet and antiphlogistic treatment—to prune and fine down everything to the standard of life. And closely connected with this tendency (lying indeed, perhaps, at the root of it) is a disinclination to look so deep into the causes and secret springs of events, as is necessary for an elaborate and complicated plot; for in the observation of contemporary events these are in general not traceable; whereas the study of character lies more on the surface, and consequently becomes popular. The depth of Æschylus’ plots, the intensity of mind demanded by him of his hearers, was fitted for those who fought at Marathon: but to *young Athens*, a generation of punier thewes and sinews, and enervated by an education in the schools of the Sophists, it was oppressive. As the American Indians would say, *his medicine was too great for them*. They could with difficulty swallow his words; far less could they embrace the whole scope of his design;—only they had a faint vision of its meaning, and a suspicion that it was *aristocratic*; a cry, we know, nearly as dangerous at Athens as in revolutionary France. Later poets took the hint, and as Athens would not become heroic, they yielded to the jealousy of their day (*δημοκρατικὸν αὐτ’ ἔδρων*) and dwarfed and stunted their conceptions to meet it: content to hold a mirror up to nature, and reflect men as they were seen and could be understood, rather than to draw the curtain from before the wizard’s glass,



glass, and body forth forms of beauty and power which had no prototype among the lookers-on. In those dramas in which

ἡ γυνή τέ μοι, χῶ δούλος οὐδὲν ἥττον,  
χῶ δεσπότης, χῆ παρθένος, χῆ γράυς

all availed themselves of the full Athenian liberty of speech, there must have been a necessary tendency to reduce the tone of the man to that of the slave, the girl, and the old woman;\* just as, when four horses draw one carriage, the speed of the slowest must regulate the team.

In short, the scheme of the trilogy was too gigantic—too Æschylean—to continue popular: it taxed the powers of the poet too heavily; and it ensured him too ungrateful a return for his labour. But in the treatment of Æschylus—like the bow of Ulysses in the hands of its rightful lord—we see what it could be, and was. With the Orestean trilogy before us we can form an idea, not insufficient, of the capabilities of the Greek tragedy. Are we then to conclude that the poet who conceived and executed this work, left it as a solitary specimen of his skill, as if by way of empty challenge to his rivals?

Μὴ τεχνησάμενος μηδ' ἄλλο τι τεχνήσαιο,  
ὅς κείνον τελαμῶνα ἐῖς ἐγκάθθετο τέχνη.

The supposition is in itself all but inadmissible; and it is fully refuted, if by nothing else, by the record of the *Lycurgia*. But we have no time to go beyond the extant plays: among them, however, it will be well, by way of conclusion to our investigation, to inquire whether we detect any traces of connexion with others which are lost. *The Persians* we give up in despair, for reasons formerly mentioned. But the *Danaides* (Fragm. 37, 38, 39, Dind.) may be reasonably reckoned as belonging to the *Suppliants*: and as one of the fragments quotes some words from a hymeneal chant, and another sets forth the universal sway of love, it may be concluded that the subject was their fatal marriage with the sons of Ægyptus, and the splendid falsehood of Hypermnestra; and that it was probably wound up by Aphrodité vindicating her. This would make it the concluding play: and as we have no account of any *dilogies*, or pairs of tragedies connected together, with a third at large by way of outrigger (like the *σειραῖος ἵππος* in the ancient chariots), it is not an improbable conjecture that the *Ægyptians*, of which nothing but the name remains, made up the trilogy: but whether the *Ægyptians* or the *Suppliants* came

\* Of course it may be objected, that this is an argument only from the exaggerations and falsehoods of the old comedy: but the old comedy was a lie with a great truth at the bottom of it: and we are not ashamed to say that we place full confidence in the general likeness, the character, as preserved in the caricature of Aristophanes.

first, it is not for us to say: we leave this point to be settled by Welcker, who has written two books on these subjects, and advocated both sides;\* only remarking that Hermann and Gruppe place *the Suppliants* first.

As to *the Seven against Thebes*, doctors do agree with an unanimity which is quite wonderful, that it is the second play of a connected trilogy; arguing from the *looks and eyes* in it, the references to things which have gone before, and the preparation for something to come after. Of the former description is the reference by Eteocles to his ominous dream about the division of the heritage (v. 710 seq.) which would, probably, have been more explicit if it had not been mentioned before; to which Hermann adds (vv. 571-575) the abuse heaped upon Tydeus, which contains so many particular allusions that it must refer to something also before mentioned. Of the latter, we have the prohibition to bury the corpse of Polynices, at the end of the play, and the announcement by Antigone and the semi-chorus which takes her part, of their determination to bury it. Again, Hermann remarks that, in *the Seven*, only Eteocles and Polynices are dead, and the city, so far, safe: so that the event, with the fate of the six remaining chiefs, is yet to be told: and this latter point, according to Plutarch, was the subject of *the Eleusinians* (Fragm. 48), which he (and upon second thoughts Welcker also) places third in his trilogy: but here we suffer from the *embarras des richesses*: here are two separate plots furnished us for the third play, which are undoubtedly incompatible with each other. Let any one read over *The Antigone* of Sophocles, and *The Suppliants* of Euripides—for these, making allowance for difference of handling, furnish the two plots in question—and judge whether it would be possible to combine, in one Greek tragedy, the burial of Polynices and its results at *Thebes*, and the obsequies of the allied chiefs at *Eleusis*. Doubtless either one or the other plot might have formed a sequel to that of *the Seven*; but the subject of *the Seven* is actually so handled as to exclude any sequel which does not strictly pertain to the family of Œdipus: the farewell speeches at the end of this play cannot be reconciled with the supposition that the next is to turn on the fortunes of the *Six Chiefs*, or on anything except the burial of Polynices.

Lastly, we come to the *Prometheus*; and, looking at Dindorf's edition, we find the *Prometheus Bound* extant, and the names and fragments of a *Prometheus Freed*, and a *Prometheus πυρφόρος* (*fire-bringer*), or *πυρραεύς* (*fire-lighter*). A satyric play, called *Prometheus πυρραεύς*, belonged to the same tetralogy with the

\* Die Æschyl. Trilogie, p. 390; Die Griechischen Tragödien, vol. i. p. 48. Hei-  
Opusc. vol. ii. p. 319, seq.; Gruppe, Ariadne, p. 72, seq.

Persians; so that we have no right to take this into consideration: to this must be referred *Fragm.* 175, where the making of a torch is described, and 176, wherein a satyr, ignorant as yet of the properties of fire, is represented as in danger of singeing his beard by embracing it. But if we examine the authorities, we shall not find that the editor is at all justified in identifying the *πυρφόρος* with the *πυρκαεύς*. The names are both mentioned by different authors, and different fragments quoted from them—of which those which are referred to the *πυρκαεύς* have a decidedly satyric complexion, which cannot be said of anything that we know of the *πυρφόρος*. But, says Dindorf, '*Πυρκαεύς* parum aptum Prometheo nomen: aptissimum *πυρφόρος*.' What? was there nothing in connexion with Prometheus of the nature of a *πυρκαϊά*? \* Have we never heard of a Feast of Lamps, a torch-race in honour of Prometheus, as god of fire and the arts therewith connected, in conjunction with Hephaestus and Athena? † This name is assuredly not at variance with the worship of Prometheus—not with the old Attic national religion—not, finally, with the fragment which describes the making of an oakum torch. But it is wholly at variance with the other name:—for the *πυρφόρος* θεός, Τῖτάν Προμηθεύς, was and could be none else than the Giver of Fire; and little as we know of this play, the fragment which Gellius quotes, with the remark that it was almost word for word the same with a passage in the *Iro* of Euripides, may therefore fairly be presumed to be tragic (*Fragm.* 174). To the same play we may probably refer *Fragment* 362, which alludes to Pandora. But it is at least questionable whether *Fragment* 289, which expresses some one's dread of dying a silly night-moth's death, should not rather be connected with *Fragment* 176, as belonging to the *πυρκαεύς*.

Enough has been said to disprove the supposed identity between the two. And if there ever was a case in which it was justifiable to assume positively the existence of a connected trilogy, where only one play is extant, it is this—where the three names,

\* Cf. Eur. *Phoen.*, v. 1121.

δεξιᾷ δὲ λαμπάδα  
Τῖτάν Προμηθεύς ἔφερεν, ὡς σφόντων πάλιν.

Sophocles wrote a tragedy, called *Nauplius* *πυρκαεύς*, of which the plot was, that Nauplius, during the storm which the Greeks encountered on the southern coast of Eubœa, revenged the death of his son Palamedes by lighting torches as signals to draw their vessels on the fatal headland of Caphareus. Senec., *Agam.* 566,—

Clarum manu  
Lumen nefandâ vertice e summo efferens,  
In saxa duxit perfidâ classem face.

Hygin. cxvi. 'Tanquam auxilium eis afferret, facem ardentem eo loco extulit, quo saxa acuta, et locus periculosissimus erat.'—See *Griechische Tragedien*, i. p. 184, seq.

† See Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, Art. *Λαμπάδα*.



*The Fire-bringer*, *The Bound*, and *The Freed*, combine to tell the whole tale of the Titan's fortunes, as we have them narrated in the mythological writers. The names themselves are sufficient to show (as soon as we have rid ourselves of the fancy that *The Fire-bringer* was a satyric play) that they form a harmonious whole; the theme of the first being the theft of fire by Prometheus; that of the second the living death to which he was doomed; and the third representing his reconciliation with Zeus, and his liberation.

The chorus of the extant play (v. 555) say that now in his misfortunes they have quite another strain to sing from that which they once sang in honour of his nuptials with their sister Hesione. This seems to make it certain that the same ocean nymphs formed the chorus in the first and second plays, and that the first contained—and, if so, probably ended with—his marriage to Hesione. And again, the whole plot of the extant play implies that the noble theft of fire was the subject of the foregoing one. Indeed, under any other supposition we shall be at a loss to explain the slight way in which this is mentioned, and assumed as known, in the second play. The gift of fire was emphatically *the* merit (or demerit) of Prometheus; by the ancients all the arts are traced to the possession of this *πάντεχρον πῦρ*; yet there is not much stress laid upon it, and very little description given of it. All this points to a former play, in which the subject had been more elaborately treated and prominently set forth—whereas less notice, it may be, had been taken of the other secondary gifts which are detailed along with that of fire in the *Prometheus Bound*.

We will now conclude with a brief analysis of *the argument* for the trilogy, which Welcker has drawn out from these and other data, in the work called '*The Trilogy Prometheus*,' named fifth at the head of this article; of course without pledging ourselves to all his details (some of which he has indeed since recanted), but certainly considering it an able, and, in its most important features, a highly probable piece of constructive criticism.

The first play, according to this theory, opens at the very forge of Hephaestus, the Lemnian volcano Moschylus; from whence Prometheus steals the spark, and afterwards parleys with the fire-god on the tyranny of Zeus, the state of the human race, the arts *in esse* and *in posse*, and, in short, things in general; while

‘ the smith stands with his hammer, thus,

The whilst his iron does on the anvil cool,

Swallowing’

the speculations of the crafty Titan; who, after having thus gained his object, returns to solemnise his nuptials; and with this pageant the first play, *Prometheus the Fire-Bringer*, concludes—so as to form

form the highest contrast with his position at the opening of the second, or *Prometheus Bound*.

If we are persuaded to believe that this second refers us back to such a first play as has been sketched out, it carries us forward with far more certainty to the third, *Prometheus Freed*. The coming events have so thrown their shadows before that there is no mistaking them. Prometheus has registered his vow to keep the fateful secret of which he is the depository, until he is set at liberty. Again, the introduction of Io has elicited the prophecy (v. 871), that one of her descendants shall release him. We are to suppose, then, that after a long series of years (thirty thousand, according to Schol. Prom. V., v. 94), Prometheus is brought back from Tartarus, with the eagle preying on his liver. Time and suffering have now bowed the Titan's heart: while his constancy has wearied out the inveteracy of his tormentor. All, therefore, is ripe for a compromise. Hercules appears to shoot the eagle. The Titans are present in full chorus to console their brother. Prometheus and Hercules hold high converse, during which the wanderings and labours of the hero (as those of Io in the extant play) are prophesied. Chiron, who, though immortal, had been incurably wounded by one of the poisoned arrows of Hercules, offers to satisfy Destiny by surrendering his helpless eternity of suffering, and becoming the substitute of Prometheus in the nether world. Zeus sets Prometheus at liberty, on the condition (for he, too, had sworn an oath) that he always wears, as nominal bonds and symbols of captivity, a wreath of the *agnus castus*,\* and an iron ring made from the metal of his fetters. The secret is then revealed, that a son more mighty than his father is to be born of Thetis, whom Zeus is at that time wooing. On this she is condemned to marry Peleus; and at their nuptial feast, where all the gods are present, Prometheus sits, the reconciled friend and honoured guest of Zeus,

‘Extenuata gerens veteris vestigia pœnæ,  
Quam quondam, silici restrictus membra catenâ,  
Persolvit, pendens e verticibus præruptis.’†

\* *Æschyl.* Fragm. 219,—

Τῷ δὲ ξίνῳ γε στίφανος, ἀρχαῖον στίφος,  
δισμῶν ἄριστος, ἐκ Προμηθεύς λύγρου,

as must be read for *λύγρου*, according to the certain correction of Heyne: compare Fragm. 190, and Athenæus, pp. 671, seq.

† Catullus, Epithalamium Pelei et Thetidos (lxiv. 296).

ART. III. — *The Coltness Collections, M.DC.VIII. — M.DCCC.XL.; Printed for the Maitland Club, Edinburgh. 4to. 1842. pp. 437.*

THE example of the Bannatyne Club, instituted at Edinburgh in 1823 for the printing of MSS. illustrative of Scottish history and antiquities, was followed speedily by some gentlemen of Glasgow and the neighbouring counties, who formed the Maitland Club on an exactly similar scale of expense, but undertook especially the preservation of documents connected with their own part of the country. The two clubs print their books in the same shape—handsome quartos; and they have from the beginning acted on the principle of submitting to each other a specimen of every work about to be sent to the press, and allowing additional copies to be thrown off for the members of the sister association, if these desire to have them. Each club has now put forth several scores of volumes; and though we are far from thinking that all the MSS. patronised by either deserved to be printed at length, or even in abridgment, there is no doubt that out of their two collections a highly curious library of Scottish antiquarian miscellanies may already be arranged on the shelves of any judicious subscriber. Their influence was soon felt on this side of the Tweed; and both here in London, and in several of the English counties, institutions of much the same character have met with ready support. As far as we know, the Southern clubs of recent origin affect less of luxury in the style of their imprints. The *Camden*, for example, produces quartos of much smaller size, and gives more matter (and good matter too) at a far less annual cost. And the *Grainger*, whose peculiar object is the engraving of historical and family portraits (with brief biographical accompaniments), deserves to be more particularly recommended for the extreme moderation of its demands on the purses of its members. We are of opinion that the Scotch clubs ought to have adopted from the first the plan of a double series of books—presenting works of general importance in one form, and things of inferior or more limited interest in another. By and bye, if they continue to go on and prosper, the accumulation of these bulky quartos will become alarming, even in a good-sized country house.

It is to be observed, that, though the annual subscription even for these Scotch clubs is not heavy, they seem to expect that every member shall sooner or later print some one book at his own expense, and present it to the Society. The slenderest volume thus given in either of these collections could not have been printed for less than 50*l.* The majority must have cost 100*l.* each at the least; and not a few have been produced at a much higher



higher expense. The Duke of Buccleuch, for example, presented, as his contribution to the Bannatyne, the large and valuable Chartulary of Melrose, at a cost of more than a thousand guineas to himself; and the Earl of Glasgow, not contented with printing the Chartulary of Paisley at about the same rate for the Maitland, is at this moment conducting through the press the MSS. *Analecta* of Wodrow (the ecclesiastical historian) in a series of four or five quartos, the aggregate expenses of which cannot come short of another 1000*l*. It is no wonder that such munificence should be imitated, according to private gentlemen's more moderate resources; and if the result is that among these already numerous volumes we find a considerable proportion to consist of documents which neither club might have been likely to print as a club, but which were recommended to individual care by feelings of family pride or tenderness, we are not among those who complain of that result.

The 'Coltness Collections' form a volume of the class now alluded to. It is edited by Mr. Dennieston, of Dennieston, a gentleman connected by marriage with the family of Stewart of Coltness, in Lanarkshire, now extinct in the male line.

The contents are miscellaneous enough, as may be guessed from the dates on the title-page; but taken together they seem to us to form a singularly curious specimen of family history. Indeed we doubt if there be a book of the kind that throws more light on the details of Scottish life in past times—we should hardly except the 'Memorie of the Somervilles'—and we know of none by half so striking for its illustration of the changes that have taken place in the economical and social condition of Scotland since the period of the Union.

The first article in the miscellany is a fragment of a regular 'Genealogy' of this branch of the Stewarts, drawn up by a Sir Archibald Stewart, who died in 1773 at the age of ninety, and appears to have had for materials a vast variety of ancient family papers, among others a detailed 'Narrative' penned by an ancestor who died in 1608—of which 'Narrative' the original MS. has not been discovered. Mr. Dennieston gives only the later chapters of Sir Archibald's genealogical performance; alleging for the omission of the earlier part a reason which we humbly think ought not to have had much weight at this time of day—namely, that the 'Narrative' from which Sir Archibald drew with unquestioning faith, had sundry statements as to the primeval splendour of the tree, which would not bear the cross-examining of modern peerage-lawyers. We venture to say that, however slow to admit any statements from such a source as evidences of fact in the tracing of a remote pedigree, every

every intelligent peerage-lawyer would have been delighted to have as much as could have been afforded from either Sir Archibald's or his great-grandfather's papers—and would have studied such relics, however abounding in dreamy flatteries, without the least disposition to judge harshly of the penman. Men of the calibre of Mr. Riddell, or Sir F. Palgrave, or Sir Harris Nicolas, have not dimmed their eyes over

‘ . . . . all such reading as was never read,’

without learning to smile gently and charitably upon the unconscious exaggerations and romantic embellishments of such worthy persons as were here in question. They know that the seemingly wildest stories found in such repositories had grown into shape by slow degrees among good, simple, sequestered people, whose historical and geographical attainments were scanty, and full of all manner of confusion; who had not the least idea of applying critical acumen to any subject with which no immediate issue as to pounds, shillings, and pence was connected; who were probably shrewd and practical enough as to the narrow path of their direct personal interests in the world—but knew too little of anything besides that to be able to keep reason and imagination each to its proper working—for whom all beyond their own hard beat was an intellectual desert, the natural soil of the *mirage*. Moreover, it is not now the fashionable canon that, because a tradition contains in it some palpable absurdity, it cannot contain anything worthy of attention even as to matter of fact. However dates and names may be perplexed and transmuted, there is very often reality in the outline of the transactions; and finally, even when the transaction can be proved to be quite fabulous, we must remember that the story was believed; wherefore the circumstances of it must be framed upon actual manners, and the imaginary motives and impulses such as found a ready response among existing men. As our philosophical poet says of the Roman legends dissipated in the laboratory of Niebuhr:—

‘ Complacent fictions were they; yet the same  
Involved a history of no doubtful sense,  
History that proves by inward evidence  
From what a precious source of truth it came.  
Ne’er could the boldest eulogist have dared  
Such deeds to paint, such characters to frame,  
But for coeval sympathy prepared  
To greet with instant faith their loftiest claim.’ \*

It seems to us extremely doubtful whether the ‘*Memorie of the Somervilles*’ could bear close sifting as to many of its ‘facts,’

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\* Wordsworth's ‘*Poems, chiefly of Early and Late Years.*’ 1842. p. 116.

but its details of manners are hardly on that account less valuable than Pitscottie's. We are sorry, therefore, that the present editor shrunk from printing this family story entire as he found it. The chapters omitted belong, however, to the Stewarts of Aler-ton (or Alanton) before the knightly branch of Coltness sprung from their tree; and of that branch we have here a sufficiently full account.

Before we come to it we must give a single extract as to the parent stem. The genealogist, treating of Sir Walter Stewart of Alertoun, the elder brother of the first laird of Coltness, mentions that he had a fifth son, who 'in his younger years was called *the Captain of Alertoun*, from this incident,' viz:—

' Oliver Cromwell, Captain-General of the English sectarian army, after taking Edinburgh Castle, was making a progress through the west of Scotland, and came down towards the river Clyde, near Lanrick, and was on his march back against King Charles II.'s army, then with the King at Stirling; and, being informed of a near way through Aughtermuir, came with some general officers to reconaiter, and had a guide along. Sir Walter, being a royallist and covenanter, had absconded. As he passed, he called in at Alertoun for a further guide, but no men were to be found, save one valetudinary gentleman, Sir Walter's son. He found the road not practicable for carriages, and upon his returne he called in at Sir Walter's house. There was none to entertain them but the lady and children, and her sickly son. The good woman was as much for the King and Royall family as her husband, yet offered the generall the civilities of her house, and a glace of canary was presented. The generall observed the formes of these times (I have it from good authority), and he asked a blessing in a long pathetick grace before the cupe went round; he drunk his good wishes for the family, and asked for Sir Walter, and was pleased to say his mother was a Stewart's daughter, and he had a relation to the name. All passed easy, and our James, being a lad of ten years, came so near as to handle the hilt of one of the swords, upon which Oliver stroked his head, saying, "You are my little captain;" and this was all the commission our Captain of Alertoun ever had. The general called for some of his own wines for himself and other officers, and would have the lady try his wine, and was so humain, when he saw the young gentleman maiger and indisposed, he said, changing the climate might do good, and the south of France, Montpellier, was the place. Amidst all this humanity and politeness, he omitted not in person to returne thanks to God in a pointed grace after his repast, and after this hasted on his returne to joyn the army. The lady had been a strenuous royalist, and her [eldest] son a captain in command at Dunbar; yet, upon this interview with the generall, she abaited much of her zeall. She said she was sure Cromwell was one who feared God, and had that fear in him, and ~~the~~ true interest of religion at heart. A story of this kind is no idle digression; it has some small connection with the family concerns, and shows some little of the genious of these distracted times. Our James, the captain, grew up a  
sagacious,



sagacious, prudent, country gentleman, not of much acquired polishing.'—pp. 9, 10.

There is also a sketch of another of old Alertoun's sons which we must quote for the queer insight it affords:—

'Robert, the youngest, was of a strange mixture of mind, had frequently a diabolick amania, would for days curse and blaspheme, and have returns of deep remorse and prayer, and then seemed to incline to what was best. He had intelligence of all that passed in the country, and was naturally satirick to every one he stumbled on, saying bitter things, and was excessively pleased with his own sarcasms. He scarce spoke intelligibly but to such as were acquaint with his dialect. He was a great frequenter of *Knowsyde*\* *preachings*, (so he called field conventicles,) and was much disgusted at his mother's brother for accepting a bishoprick; and when the Bishop of Galloway was praying in Alerton's family, that God would heal the rents and divisions in the church, Robert called out thrise in the tyme of prayer audibly, "Wayt th'self, auntie's Bille,† the Bish'p!" He meant all the episcopall clargie by the Bishop, and it went into a proverb when any one did wrong, contrair to light and knowledge. He lived till after King William's death, and was a strong Revolution man, and upon Queen Anne's accession grumbled much. His course expression was—"Hussy King! no God's will a Hussy King!" and mocked extremely at it. He had a sagacious wise face and look, but had ane universall palsy. His sinows shrunk, and his body gradually contracted; and when I first saw him, about fifty, he walked with staffs; in his older age he lost the use of his limbs, and carryed himself about by the strength of his armes. I give his character more fully, because it affected me much to see the various schemes pass in his mind, and there was somewhat more singular in the clouds, and the seren intervalls in his temper, than in any human creature ever I knew; and if ever there was in our time what we call a possession by devils, there was at times a legion in this man. He expressed himself sensible thereof at times, and said the devill was running away with his heart, when the fitt seased him, and in his penitancy charged all these blasphemies to the evil feind. At times he was in a high flow of spirits, and in his mirth had much the air of his cusin-german, the great and wise Sir James Stewart, Lord Advocate; and David Earle of Glasgow, his nephew, had much of his look and likeness. He was a great smoker of tobacco, and in his frensies would promise to smoke a pipe at the devil's fyersyde, and seemed to converse with him under kind epithets: but of this more than enough.'—pp. 11, 12.

But it is time to take up the chapter in which the author introduces directly the founder of his own branch, James Stewart; and here he gives many particulars which the student of old manners and habits will consider curious and instructive. James, he says, 'was a promising genious, and soon put to his apprenticeship with a marchant in Edinburgh,' whose favour he gained

\* Knoll-side.

† "Blame thyself, aunt's brother, the Bishop."

by steady attention and 'a winning behaviour.' When his time was up he established himself 'in the marchant-factor and banker way;' and had he 'only minded the private affairs in his employment, and not by little and little been dragged into high spheres of politicks in Church and State,' his descendant doubts not that he must have become

'immensely rich. . . . But his generous principles did not incline to graspe at welth, but rather to be useful, benevolent, and beneficent. The patriarchal characteristick has alwise much of the benevolent patriot or hero in it, and Providence has for ordinary distinguished by some eminence of genius such as are to be, as it were, the root of nations, or more eminent families, and even small families have this in proportioun. *In otio et negotio probus*. Thus probity and benevolence were the shining characteristicks of Sir James, the first of Coltness: in these he excelled, and was a true Christian hero.

'Entering into the marriage state was earely Sir James his cair. Wedlock is a more solemn concerning caise than most men imagine; the contexture of all economicall blessings arises out of a wise choise. Here our young banker did not sett himself to court what is called a fortune, nor a distinguished beauty; a helpe-mate for him was his devout wish, a compainion he might be assured of, in good or bad condition. And such was Anna Hope, daughter of Hendry Hope, and Katherine Galbreath, a daughter of Galbreath of Kilcroich; and Katherine's mother was a daughter of Provost Little. The Hopes are of French extraction, from Picardy: it is said they were originally Houblon, and had their name from the plant, and not from *esperance*, the virtue in the mind. The first that came over was a domestick of Magdelene of France, Queen to King James V., and of him are descended all the eminent families of Hopes. This John Hope sett up as marchant of Edinburgh, and his son, by Bessie or Elisabeth Cumming, is marked as a member of our first Protestant Generall Assemblie, *anno* 1560. This gentleman, in way of his business, went to France to purchase velvets, silk, gold and silver laces, &c., and at Paris married one Jagish or Jacoline de Tot, and of this marriage was Hendry Hope, father to Anna: though this Hendry, the elder brother, had no sons, yet his younger brother, Lord Advocate Sir Thomas Hope's family spread in many beautifull male branches. This is our family tradition of the Hopes, however fictitious genealogies may be invented to flatter a noble overgrown rich family, as is now Earl Hopton's.

'Thus was Anna Hope descended from creditable, substantiall burgh families: it was not her being niece to Thomas Hope was the motive induced the marriage, but her intrinsick virtue, with her prudence to conduct a family, and their loves were mutuall and reciprocally. A trifling story may illustrate this, and that plain downright ingenuity of these times. I have heard that James Stewart, when exercising his agility near where Heriot's Hospitale was then building, and in jumping across a draw well, now the covert well in the middle of the square, (his mistress was by accident walking at some little distance,) in this youthfull

youthfull frolick, his hat struck on the pully of the well and dropt into the pitt; he escaped, as was said, a great danger, and Anna, hearing of this accident, in surprise fainted away. They made some innocent mirth after, and she was by this discovered to be James Stewart's sweetheart; by this name a mistress was then called.

'At this time he was one-and-twenty, and she about a year younger. They were wedded in about a year after, and his mother's brother, James first Lord Carmichel, the Lord Treasurour-depute, on his part, and Sir Thomas Hope, Lord Advocate, for her, takes burthen on him for the conditions on his niece's parte, for Anna's father was now sometime dead. It were needless to narrate articles and conditions in this contract;—it is not the largest provisions at first outsett that make the happiest marriages or the richest testaments. Both were in the merchant way, he in the merchant-factor and exchange business, and she following a branch of her father's traffick in the retealing shop trade, which she prosecute thereafter to good account, and had her distinct branch of business in accurate account and method, for she purchased these shops in Luckenbooths that had been in her father's, grandfather's, and great-grandfather's possession as tennants, and a chamber over them; and she left at death to her husband and family 36,000 merks, thus acquired by her industry, enduring the sixteen or eighteen years the marriage subsisted. She made few demands for family expenses, but answered most of these from her profites in her own way. "Many daughters have done virtuously, (as in the Hebrews,) and gott riches, but thou excellest all."

'The offspring of such perfect love and industry must needs resemble their parents, and have a happy turne. She brought her husband seven sons and one daughter, youngest child of all. She was not of those that choose to lett out their infant children to hyrlings. Her children sucked genuine food from her tender breasts, and so may be said to have imbibed their virtues from a loving mother's heart. This she could undergoe among all her other toyls, and she neglected no duty of a most affectionate mother during their most tender years. When her husband from affection pressed her upon these points, she said alwise she should never think her child wholly her own, when another discharged the most part of the mother's duty, and by wrong nourishment to her tender babe might induce wrong habits or noxious diseases, or words to this purpose; and she added, "I have often seen children take more a strain of their nurse than from either parent." Thus was Sir James happy in a nursing mother to a numerous family, for six children survived her, and came to man's estate.'

If our reader be acquainted with Mr. R. Chambers's '*Traditions of Edinburgh*' (1825)—or indeed with the later notes to the *Waverley Novels*, he will not be surprised with the familiar intermixture of social orders and employments, now and long since widely separated, which this extract sets before us. Until the Scotch had free admission to the English colonies, their gentry, and even their nobility, considered it as no derogation to breed



younger sons for the industry of *the shop*; and while the wives and daughters of tradesmen, of every description, took a principal part, as a matter of course, in the business by which the family subsisted, unmarried and widowed gentlewomen, when scantily provided for in worldly goods, appear very often to have preferred establishing themselves as mercers, milliners, or the like, to encroaching on the resources of a father or elder brother, who had probably enough to do to support the dignity of his ancient 'Tower-house' on the edge of the Moorland. It may be seriously doubted whether the modern changes, in some of these matters, have not operated unfortunately on the substantial happiness of the men, and still more so of the women.—But to proceed with the history:—

'If the wife had any fault, it was in being too anxious, either when she imagined her husband in any danger, or upon his necessary absences abroad. No occasion of writing was to be omitted, else it was next to death, and with her even writing in ordinary course was not sufficient to satisfy that affection, which could figure from love's diffidency a thousand disasters. Soon after their marriage religious and political disputes ran so high, that there were frequent occasions for her first kind of disquiets. In such giddy times 'tis impossible one can stand neuter, without being obnoxious to both parties, and, where all are imbroyled, men are surrounded with perils. It is easy to imagine what impressions distracted the mind of such an affectionate or over-fond wife; she was sometimes in the streets, then at the Privy-Councell door, and many times crying and in tears. To give one remarkable instance: her husband was a staunch Protestant of the Geneva forme, and thought our nationall covenant a barrier or out-work of his religion, and some may think he was too much upon the punctilio in this. He gave remarkable offence to King Charles's Court thus. When that King in person held his Parliament in 1633 in Scotland, after his coronation, our Mr. Stewart was Town-commandant, or Moderator-captain, as it was then called, and the City of Edinburgh's militia or train-bands were then the Parliament's guards. Commandant Stewart was upon duty; the King at this time had some English and Irish popish Peers in his retenew and train; Stewart gave strict orders that none of his Majesty's popish Lords or gentry should enter the Parliament-house or Tolbooth, and when the dispute ran high, the commandant snatched a halbert, stood cross the entry, and checked their insolence. He was upon this called before the Privy-Councell where the King was present, and with surprising firmness stood his ground, and was dismissed; but an expedient was found; for the popish gentry gott battons of privilege, as the High Constable's and Chief Marischall's guards. However, this fixed Mr. Stewart high in the esteem of all or most citizens, and though it made him obnoxious to the Court frowns, yet many of our Scottish Lords underhand approved his conduct.'—pp. 15-19.

In process of time James Stewart came to be a Baillie of  
Edinburgh,

Edinburgh, and was knighted; and, not to contradict the old adage, that 'as soon as a Scotchman gets his head above water he becomes a landed man,' Sir James turned his attention to a property then in the market, situated in the same parish with his elder brother's hereditary lairdship. 'This Coltness is two miles west from Alertoun, and had a convenient little Tower-house: it is a freehold of the crown, and *gives a vote at elections.*'

'After Sir James had made the above purchase, he lost the most loving wife and carefull provident mother any family was ever blessed with. He bewailed the death of Anna Hope sincerely and as a Christian husband. This considerable turne in his family fell out in *anno* 1646. The marriage had subsisted sixteen or seventeen years, it may be said in a kind of primitive innocent state, for there were no broylls nor differences. She was laid in Sir James his burying-ground, in the higher parte of the Greyfriars' church-yard, Edinburgh, on the west side wall, near where the passage goes to Heriot's Hospitle; and on account of the publick passage being too near this grave, Sir James, by act of Town Councill, had the entrie removed, and it was carryed about fifty yards farther south, to the place where it now is: the vestige of the old entrie is yet to be seen, on the back parte of the wall, near by where she lyes interred.

'Sir James was soon sensible what a loss it was to want a mother and a mistress to his numerous family, but where to find an equall match was the difficulty. If a first marriage was a grand crisis in life, sure a second is to be more critically examined in all circumstances. Sir James, after many perplexing reflections, fixed his choise on a greave matron, a widdow of middle age, a woman of approved virtue and piety. . . . To this widdow lady Sir James was married in the end of the year 1648. This contract of marriage was more voluminous than the first, and great welth appears on the parte of the parties contracting.'—p. 27.

Sir James was Provost of Edinburgh in 1649 and 1650. He protested against the execution of Charles I., and, presiding officially at that of Montrose, is stated by our genealogist to have treated the illustrious victim with personal courtesy and decorum, and rebuked the presbyterian zealots who attended on the scaffold for their savage rudeness. We hope this was so; but the most interesting detail of the whole of that deplorable scene recently given by Mr. Mark Napier, from contemporary evidences, does not yield any confirmation of the Coltness story.\* Sir James, however, seems to have been loyally disposed at heart, and there was no doubt that he earned in consequence the bitter

\* *Life and Times of Montrose.* 8vo. Edinburgh, 1840. This clever and spirited book includes a mass of original documents from the repositories of the noble families of Montrose and Napier. It is greatly superior in all respects to an earlier publication by Mr. Napier on the same subject. The writer's principles are those of a resolute Tory of the old breed—now, people say, nearly extinct—but the keenest enemies of his creed will allow that he never drops the tone of a generous cavalier.

personal enmity of Argyle. His fortune was much impaired through the liberality with which he advanced money for the army defeated at Dunbar; but he acted as Provost several times under the government of Cromwell, and, being in that office at the restoration, was fined and imprisoned as 'stiff and pragmatic.' We do not enter into the particulars of his political history. The genealogist admits it was lucky for him that he was a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle when the rash insurrection of Pentland hills took place. His domestic chaplain was prominent among the spiritual leaders of that outbreak, and 'justified' accordingly. 'M'Kell suffered both the torture and the gibbet with patience and resignation, and died in an ecstasie of heavenly joy and assurance. His pupils, two of Sir James's grandsons, attended him to the place of execution at the cross of Edinburgh, Dec. 22, 1666. M'Kell, before he bid fairwell to this life and embraced eternity, and those mantions of glory his faith had apprehended, he blessed the lads, and with his blessing gave his bible to the eldest, afterwards Sir David Stewart, Barronet.'

'I have seen this bible, and it shows that the owner had been much and earnestly exercised in studying the Holy Scriptures, from his marking paralell places on the margent; and had any one understood his marks and short-hand writing, no doubt these notes had been edefeing and interteaning. It was not thought improper to say so much of this excellent youth, son of Mr. Mathew M'Kell, minister of Bothwell, but trained up in divinity and good principles in Sir James Stewart's family, and as it were under his eye, and charged with the education of his grandchildren. His untimely violent death, among many losses, was important to his puppils, and Sir James lamented much the loss of so eminent a Christian friend; and truly abstracting from Christian sympathy, (which in this caise cannot well admitt,) every generous mind suffers in his friend's caise, and feels with him, especially where it was thought he underwent harder things for his having conections with Sir James his family.'—pp. 41, 42.

After an imprisonment of nearly ten years, Sir James was glad to compound for his liberty by a heavy pecuniary sacrifice; and thus his history is concluded:—

'Some fancifull people observe that men have certain periods of prosperous or adverse fortune in life, and that no man but has the first in some stage of his time, and if he know how to improve it, he may procure an easy subsistence for all his days. Others more justly remark, that good men have many tryels and afflictions interspersed in their lott, and that these come from a heavenly Father's hand, to increass and enliven their faith and patience, and frequently more in their last stage of life, in order to wain their affections from sublunary enjoyments. Sir James had this salutary cup in great measure in his declining years, but he had peace at home, and peace in his own minde, and spent his last  
thirteen



thirteen years in a devotionall retreat, most of which it is not proper to propale from his inward feelings, expressed under his hand in his Diaries.

‘To speak of his wrestlings, and prevalency in prayer, of sensible returnes, and evidences of assurances from Heaven, were unfathomable ; and to mention some particulars would be decryed as enthusiasm by generality of professors ; but the blind can have no idea of collour, and the things of the Spirit are only to be discerned by the Spirit. I am far from thinking Sir James pretended to have the spirit of prediction or prophesy ; only amidst his persecutions and sufferings, as he was full of good works, faith, and charity, he expressed in his Diery the many consolations afforded him by the Spirit of all grace and comfort, both as to his own, and the future happiness of some of his nearest descendants : As this,—“ May 1672, Acts, chapter xxvii. verses 6, 23, 24, last clause of the verse—My son Thoma and his six children.” But of this enough, and yet less by far than my mind is impressed with upon perusing his Day-book, and the marginall notes on his familiar closet Bible, for his prayers are before God for his children, and his children’s children then unborn.

‘To conclude : his long confinement, want of free air and exercise, impaired his health ; and his trouble by unjust prosecution, add to this the indifference of relations, and even his own brother, Sir Walter Stewart : all these brought a rupture upon him, but though his constitution had been much impaired, by his having been thus shutt up and harassed, yet for some years before his death, by the equall balance of his minde, he came to a more serene state of health ; and, amidst his devotions, lived quietly and resigned to the divine will, and so died March 31, 1681, in his own house at Edinburgh, in the 73rd year of his age.

‘He had come from Cultness the October before he died, and at parting said, “ I know my change is at hand ; God hath been with me more in my afflictions, and I value these last years of my life as preferable to my most prosperous, and my worldly losses are all more than made up to myself ; but when I consider your numerous and interesting family (looking at his son and daughter-in-law with complacency), if it had not been for the iniquity of the times, and the ingratitude of friends, I had been in a condition to have provyded plentifully for all your children ; but the Lord gives and takes, and blessed be his name. I have seen both sydes of this world, and I have a well-grounded assurance God will provyde for you and your young ones, and though you shall meet with distresses, he will not forsake my family even in outward respects, but my children’s children shall prosper, and I have prayed for them. I now parte from Cultness and my native country, but am perswaded my prayers shall have a returne when I am gone.” He prayed with them, and solemnly blessed them all. It was a melancholy scene, but he cheered up his countenance and endeavoured to comfort them ; and his concluding advice was—“ Fear not ! remember his last words before his passion, ‘ Be of good cheer, for I have overcome the world.’ ”—John xvi. 33. He stayed a day or two at Alertoun in his passing for Edinburgh, and spoke comfortably to his son-in-law and to his

his daughter; his eldest son Cultness, and Alertoun his nephew and son-in-law, attended him to town. At Muiryet, about two miles east from Alertoun (it is a rising ground, and draws a large prospect), there he turned his horse, and looked around, and said, "Westsheld, Carnewath church, and Lanrick, my early home and haunts, farewell! Alertoun, Cultness, and Cambusnethan church, my later aboads! farewell, ye witnesses of my best spent time and of my devotions! 'Tis long since I bid to the vanities of the world adieu."

'He died, as is aforesaid, with absolute assurance and resignation. The body of the burgars and inhabitants of Edinburgh did him honour at his death and buriell, and said he had been the father of the city, and a most worthy magistrate. So he had a numerous and honourable funerall, and was laid in his own burying-ground, in Greyfreirs Church-yard, and in his loving wife, Anna Hope's grave, and many sincere tears were dropped upon his turf at his buriell. He was taken from the evils to come, and to his eternall rest and joy:—"Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord!" I know not by what direction, but his grave was made more than ordinary deep; perhaps some had remembered what his grand-unkell, the great Lord Advocate Sir Thomas Hope, had ordered, "That he should be so inhumate as not to be exhumate." And it may be said, Sir James was not exhumate till 1713, that his son, Sir James Stewart, Lord Advocate, was laid in that grave: I stood with Mr. Walter Stewart, his grandson, when they were digging up his grave, and when the grave-digger judged it ordinary depth, Mr. Walter desired he should go deeper, and a foot and ane half or two foot brought up the bones, and scull with fresh gray hairs upon it; Mr. Walter remembered his grandfather's buriell, and said it was his remains, and we caused make a hole in the bottom of this grave, and decently depositate the skull and bones, and covered all up, that they might not be loosly scatered about the grave's mouth; and this last duty I judge due to the relicts of so venerable a sanct.'—pp. 42-45.

This worthy man, notwithstanding his fines and losses, left a fair estate behind him. We do not see that the territories around Coltness were extended, although they were by degrees much improved, by his successors during the last century; and, when sold a few years ago, they fetched upwards of 200,000*l*.

The eldest son of the founder, Sir Thomas Stewart, married early, and devoted himself entirely to a country life. His descendant's description of his buildings and beautifyings may be amusing to many of our readers—for many of them, we are sure, have been acquainted with the elegant hospitalities of the Coltness of recent times:—

'He sett himself to planting and inclosing, and so to embellishe the place. But as the old mansion-house was straitening, and their family likely to increass, he thought of adding to the old toure (which consisted only of a vault and two rooms, one above the other, with a small room on top of the turnpike stair, and a garret) a large addition on south side the

the staircase, of a good kitchen, celler, meat-room or low parlor, a large hall or dining-room, with a small bed-chamber and closet over these, and above that, two bed-chambers with closets, and yet higher in a fourth story, two finished roof rooms. And thus he made an addition of a kitchen, six fyer-rooms with closets; and the vault in the old tower was turned to a convenient usefull celler, with a partition for outer and inner repositories. The office-houses of bake-house, brew-house, garner-room, and men servant's bed-chamber, were on the north of a paved court; and a high front wall toward the east, with an arched entry or porch, inclosed all. Without this arched gait was another larger court, with stabells on the south syde for the family and strangers' horses, and a trained-up thorne with a boufe in it. Opposite to the stables north from the mansion-house, with an entry from the small paved inner court, was a large coal-fold, and through it a back entrie to a good spring draw-well, as also leading to the byer, sheep-house, barn, and hen-house; all which made a court, to the north of the other court, and separate from it with a stone wall, and on the east parte of this court was a large space for a dunghill. The gardens were to the south of the house, much improven and enlarged, and the nursery-garden was a small square inclosure to the west of the house. The slope of the grounds to the west made the south garden, next the house, fall into three cross tarresses. The tarras fronting the south of the house was a square parterre, or flour-garden, and the easter and wester, or the higher and lower plots of ground, were for cherry and nut gardens, and walnut and chestnut trees were planted upon the head of the upper bank, towards the parterre, and the slope bank on the east syde the parterre was a strawberry border.

These three tarrases had a high stone wall on the south, for ripening and improving finer fruits, and to the south of this wall was a good orchard and kitchen garden, with broad grass walks, all inclosed with a good thorn hedge; and without this a ditch and dry fence, inclosing severall rows of timber trees for shelter; to the west of the house, and beyond the square nursery garden, was a large square timber-tree park; birches towards the house, and on the other three sydes rows of ash and plain, and in the middle a goodly thicket of firs. To the north of the barn court, and north from the house, was a grass inclosure of four akers, with a fish-pond in the corner for pikes and perches. All was inclosed with a strong wall and hedge-rows of trees: so the wholl of this policy might consist of an oblong square, of seven or eight akers of ground, and the house near midle of the square, and the longer syde of the square fronted to the south: the ordinary enteries to the house were from east and west, but the main access from the east.

It was found still a convenient nursery was wanted for an interesting young family, and a lower addition was made to the east end of the new buildings, and to run paralell with the south syde of the high house toward the gardens. The low room was for a woman-house, and the upper room was the nursery, and both nursery and woman-house had passage to the great house, by proper doors, and a timber trap-stair made a communication betwixt the nursery and woman-house. In short,  
after



after all was finished, the fabric was wholly irregular as to the outsyde apperance, and both house and policy were more contrived for conveniency and hospitality than for beauty or regular proportion; and so was the humour of these times, that, if there was lodging, warmeness, and plenty within doors, a regular front or uniform roof were little thought off.

‘There is in Coltness wood, below the house, a well of some virtue, dedicate to St. Winifred, and called by the corruption Wincie well; in superstitious times oblations were tyed to the bushes with scarlet threed, in memory of St. Winifred.

“Nescio quā natale solum dulcedine cunctos  
Ducit, nec immemorem quem sinat esse sui.”

‘I have insisted more largely upon a place where every tree, thicket, or bush were my familiars, and where I spent the greener and gayer years of life, when I sat easy and sweet, voyd of caires and anxiety, under these lovely shades, and on the bankes, and in the clefts of the rocks by the murmuring streams. There is a charme in one’s early haunts.’—pp. 55 58.

This planter and builder was, like his father, a zealous Presbyterian, and though he was himself at Edinburgh when the battle of Bothwell Bridge was fought, he fell into tribulation, was sharply handled by the crown lawyers, and ultimately forced to fly into Holland, and his estate forfeited. The genealogist states that the only grounds of suspicion were that a party of the insurgents had come to Coltness House the evening before the fight, and carried away ‘two cold rosted turkeys,’ with one recruit, the gardener. However, the laird continued in exile and in extreme poverty until 1696, when he received liberty to return home, with a small pension from the crown, through the good offices of William Penn, who had made acquaintance with him at the Hague, and used to call him ‘Gospel Coltness.’ A younger brother, James Stewart, rose early to eminence at the bar; but, being openly of the ultra-covenanting party, had found it necessary to escape to Holland somewhat earlier. This gentleman, however, appears to have had a rather more elastic conscience; for he made his peace much sooner with the court of James II., and was Under Secretary of State at Edinburgh when ‘Gospel Coltness’ reappeared there. ‘Here,’ says the historian, ‘was the failing and *faut pas*, the disjoining of a great and good man; but after the Revolution Mr. Stewart acted with so much integrity and wisdom and such moderation as a great and useful Lord Advocate, that he more than doubly atoned for all, both to his country and to the church.’ He was Lord Advocate from 1693 till near his death in 1713; and was undoubtedly a man of large and vigorous talents, and a dexterous and successful manager of political parties

ties in most difficult times.\* It is set down here (p. 368) that '1500 letters of invitation were issued for his funeral.' He appears to have, in his advanced life, preserved all the outward marks of the family sanctity—*inter alia*—having for dinner on Sunday only 'a bit of cold meat or an egg.' Both himself and, by his interest, his elder brother were created baronets, and, the 'Gospel' laird's line failing in the person of Sir Archibald, our genealogist, these honours were ultimately united in the descendants of the lawyer.

We may afford room for a sketch of two of the younger branches of that generation. Gospel Coltness's sister Anna

\* was married to John Robeson, Dean of Gild of Edinburgh and brewer: she lived in great felicity, and had many children, but after her death their family was rouened by that remarkable fyer and burning in the Parliament Closs, *anno* 1700. There all Baillic Thomas Robeson's welth had been laid out in sumptuous houses, and from these buildings he is designed, in his vain-glorious monument yet standing in Greyfreirs church, *urbis Edinæ ornator, si non conditor*; yet in one night and a day all was consumed, and his family rouened, and this John Robeson, among his other children, brought to poverty. This burning was by the populace called a remarkable judgment, because Baillic Robeson, in his office as youngest magistrate, it fell to his share to attend the execution of the sentence of the Restoration Parliament, in ignominiously burning the nationall Covenants, at the publick cross of Edinburgh, by the hand of the common executioner; and it was remarked that this man's high sumptuous tenements were burnt, and none else, and the fyer stoped at the place of execution. Men are ready from events to read judgements as they affect, and find out judgements for their neighbours' faults, but never remark judicial strokes for their own or their friends' sins and transgressions, yet some judicious folks thought there was something singular in this stroke upon his family; and upon this his son Hendry, who was an advocate, and lost his patrimony of 3000 lib., studied divinity, and was minister of the gospel at Oldhamstocks, in East Lothian. To conclude the digression, this was perhaps the greatest conflagration could have happened in any city, by the vast hight of houses, for the highest pinicle was called Babylon, being backward fifteen storeys high from the foundation, and all was an immense heap of combustable matter upon a small foundation, and made a prodigious blaze. The Dean of Guild by his losses was much impoverished, and was made one of the captains of the city guard.'—pp. 48, 49.

The buildings which replaced Baillie Robison's were as lofty as his; and they also perished in a mass by a similar conflagration in 1841. An ancient English traveller, quoted in the *Cen-*

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\* We find him characterized by a high living authority as 'the first Lawyer and Statesman in Scotland.'—*Riddell's Peerage and Consistorial Law*, vol. i. p. 272. (Edinburgh, 1842.)

*sura Literaria*, says 'the houses of the Scotch are like unto themselves, high and dirty.'

A younger son of the old Provost was a prosperous wine-merchant.

'Harry was a full-bodied, genteel man,—of complexion black, of an open countenance, his eyes full and lively, of an easy benign gayety in his address, which showed he was formed for active life. He set out early in business, and settled soon in a marriage state, and had two sons by a daughter of Bennet of Grubet. He used in railery to call her his popinjay: trifling incidents sometimes show the humor of the man. The occasion was this:—Miss Bennet had deceived the world in her complexion, and, by shades of borrowed hair and black lead combs, concealed her red locks. Some weeks after marriage, the husband caught her at her toilet, and with surprise said, "Effie, good heavens, are you so?" "Ho, Harry! have you never seen the hook till now? you're as dead as a fish." He had with his companions so often declared against red hair, they would have put the sneer upon him, but he joked them off, saying he had got a papingo green. She proved a good, prudent, affectionate wife, and he was contented and happy in a married life.

'I see in his father Sir James his Diery, "Harry has too much turmoyll, almost inconsistent with minding the better parte." This the old man bewailed in his fervent prayers and agonizings for his son's happiness. When he was on his death-bed, his father had this note,—  
"Alas, poor man! his ravings in this fever were much upon his merchandise, but God gave a calm forty-eight hours before death, and an answer of prayer; he had deep serious conviction, and died in a heavenly frame: I am persuaded of his eternal happiness in our Lord."—pp. 50, 51.

Nor must we omit the brief record of the humblest of the Lord Provost's progeny—Walter Stewart,

'bred to merchandise in the Holland trade, in which he made no gains. He lived poor and retired, had a retentive minde, and spent most of his time in a devote way, and in the amusements of fishing or angling: he died *anno* 1735, aged seventy-two, and was never married. He wrote the German character superior to anything done by printer's types; he had most of the Psalms upon memory; I have heard him repeat the 119 Psalm distinctly, and backward from last to first verse in meatter.'—pp. 47, 48.

In an appendix we have some letters from these sons of the founder to their worthy father. Down to the close of the old man's life, more than twenty years after he held any civic dignity, his children uniformly address him as 'My Lord.' We are not aware that the Lord Mayors of London ever aspired to such prolongation of their title; and we fancy the Scotch proverb 'once a Provost, always a Provost,' is now obsolete.



The heir of the Lord Advocate, Sir James Stewart, was also bred to the bar, rose to be Solicitor-General, and had a large family, who formed some aristocratical alliances: but we have not room for further details of the genealogist's story. The Coltness of the next generation had an eventful life, and left a distinguished name. He did not take arms in 1745, but had committed himself by attending Charles Edward's court at Holyrood; and, with his wife, Lady Frances (a daughter of the Earl of Wemyss, and sister of the attainted Lord Elcho), was obliged, in consequence, to expatriate himself immediately after the catastrophe of Culloden. During his long exile, Sir James Stewart resided chiefly in France, and became thoroughly skilled in the literature and in all the interior polity of that country. He is considered as one of the chief founders of the modern science of political economy; and the reputation of his earlier tracts on that subject, symptoms of sincere regret for his rashness in 1745, and the general appreciation of his and his lady's amiable qualities in private life, ultimately procured for him a free pardon from King George III.\* Sir James returned from exile in 1763, and resided constantly, thenceforth, at Coltness, where he cultivated his favourite science and his paternal acres, with equal zeal and skill, until his death, in 1780. His son, who was born in 1744, and had of course been entirely educated on the Continent, entered the British army in 1761, as a cornet of dragoons, and died in 1839, at the age of ninety-five, colonel of the Scots Greys, and the senior general officer in the service. He had been often employed, with considerable distinction; represented Lanarkshire in several parliaments; enjoyed much of the personal favour of George IV. and the Duke of York; and will be remembered in the service as the chief author of the modern system of our cavalry tactics. The General had spent the later years of his long life at his native place. He inherited his father's zeal for agricultural improvements, but indulged that taste too largely. Between the constant hospitality of a great country-house and the usual results of gentleman-farming on a wide scale, Sir James contrived to dissipate the whole of the goodly inheritance that had devolved on him. He died, a landless man, at Cheltenham; but we have heard that he was unconscious of what had occurred as to his worldly fortunes, and might be seen now and then marking trees in the Long Walk of the old Spa, as if he were still at Coltness!—

\* In Lord Bunsell's late edition of Lady Mary Wortley's Letters, we have some correspondence between her and her friends Sir James and Lady Frances Stewart. But those letters are printed with many tantalizing *lacunæ*; and we fear, from the silence of Mr. Dennistoun on the subject, that the originals have perished in the general dispersion of things at Coltness a few years ago.

‘ Neque harum quas colis arborum  
Te præter invisas cupressos  
Ulla brevem dominum sequetur.’

This most amiable gentleman, luckily, left no family. His two baronetcies passed to a distant branch, already, for several generations, in possession of the same rank—the Stuarts of Allanbank, in Berwickshire.\*

But we must now turn to a section of the volume which will be more generally interesting than any of its genealogical materials—the Journal of a Tour into England and Flanders, penned by a lady of the Coltness family in 1756. The authoress was the wife of Mr. Calderwood, of Polton, a gentleman of moderate estate in Mid Lothian; and her husband and she undertook this expedition in order to visit her brother, the political economist, who had by this time been exiled for ten years, and was taking the waters at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Mrs. Calderwood was about forty when this occurred. She had been very handsome—as indeed almost all the Stewarts of Coltness were—and married at nineteen. Her mother was a daughter† of the celebrated Lord President Dalrymple, created Viscount Stair; so she had good claims to talent on both sides of the house, and most certainly no one who reads the journal will dispute the liveliness and quickness of her parts. That a remarkably clever woman, bred up in a distinguished crown-lawyer’s family, and always accustomed to the first society of Scotland, should have been, in 1756, at forty years of age, so thoroughly penetrated with the prejudices of her province—so calmly and completely satisfied with the vast superiority of Scotland and the Scotch over England and the English—the easy promptitude of her self-complacent conclusions from every comparison—and the evidence she unconsciously produces at every turn of the absurdity of these conclusions:—it is in this perpetual intertissue of shrewdness, sarcasm, ignorance, and obstinate blindness, that the charm of this performance consists. We should be sorry indeed to mar its original beauty by commentaries. It will

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\* We believe Sir J. Stuart of Allanbank (well known as in the first rank of amateur artists) now represents also the original stock of Allantoun; which family was probably an offshoot from that of Castlemilk.

† Another of the president’s daughters was the *Bride of Lammermoor*. Mrs. Calderwood’s own sister, Agnes Stewart, was married in 1739 to Henry David, tenth Earl of Buchan, and was mother of Lord Erskine and his brother Henry. There is a well-known story of the late Duchess of Gordon saying to the late Earl of Buchan when he had been enlarging on the abilities of his family—‘Yes, my Lord, I have always heard that the wit came by the mother’s side and was sealed on the younger branches.’

Mrs. Calderwood was grandmother to Admiral Sir Philip Durham Calderwood, G.C.B.—who is, we believe, now the only survivor of the crew of the *Royal George*.

vindicate itself abundantly, even in a few disjointed fragments, for which alone we have room—and, we think, vindicate also Dr. Smollett from many of the charges of violent caricature that have always been alleged against some of the most happy of his Scotch portraitures. The serene scorn of Lesmahago himself does not go beyond several of the following specimens of confidential chit-chat.

Mrs. Calderwood appears to have been an excellent wife and mother—her husband, a weak good-natured man, of some accomplishment, left all his worldly concerns to her management; and though he had been on the Continent before, and she never out of Scotland, she is evidently commander-in-chief throughout the progress.

We do not trace the piety and devout temper of the Gospel Coltnesses in any part of her journal; but it will be seen that, although her brother Sir James had early cast aside the hereditary attachment to the Presbyterian discipline, she retained enough of the old leaven to have an almost equal contempt for episcopalianism as for popery. It is evident that she had never till she reached Durham passed the threshold of any place of worship in which Christian people kneel when they pray, and think it more decent to stand than to sit when they sing psalms.

The couple travel from Edinburgh to London in their own postchaise, attended by John Rattray, a steady servingman, on horseback, with pistols in his holsters, and a good broadsword at his belt. There was also a case of pistols in the carriage, of which, we fancy, the lady (notwithstanding the mild and elegant physiognomy represented in her picture at Polton) would have been more likely to make fit use, had there been any occasion for it, than the worthy laird with the pocket Horace. The train is not encumbered, apparently, by anything in the nature of an Abigail; at least, none is mentioned, and the lady has more talk with the inn-chambermaids, and so forth, than would probably have occurred if she had had a female follower of her own. They start on the 3rd of June, and, travelling each day twelve or fourteen hours, reach town on the evening of the 10th—good speed in 1756.

‘*June 6th.*—We dined at Durhame; and I went to see the cathedrall: it is a prodigious bulky building. It was on Sunday, betwixt sermons, and in the piazzas [cloisters] there were several boys playing at ball. I asked the girl that attended me, if it was the custome for the boys to play at ball on Sunday? she said, “They play on other days as well as on Sundays.” She called her mother to show me the church; and I suppose, by my questions, the woman took me for a heathen, as I found she did not know of any other mode of worship but her own: so, that she might not think the bishop’s chair defiled by my sitting down in it, I

told



told her I was a Christian, though the way of worship in my country differed from hers. In particular, she stared when I asked what the things were that they kneeled upon, as they appeared to me to be so many Cheshire cheeses. I asked the rents of the lands about Durham, and was told by the landlord they were so dear he had no farm, for they let at thirty or forty shillings per aiker near that toun; that a cow was from four to six pounds sterling, and they gave, the best, about eight Scots pints per day. That night we lay at Northallertoun.

'Next day, the 7th, we dined none, but baited at different places; and betwixt Doncaster and Bautry a man rode about in an odd way, whom we suspected for a highwayman. Upon his coming near, John Rattray pretended to make a quarle with the post-boy, and let him know, so loud as to be heard by the other, that he kept good powder and ball to keep such folks as him in order; upon which the fellow scampered off cross the common. Upon our coming to Bautry, we were told that a gentelman was robed there some days before, by a man whose description answered to the one we saw. I found in generall, before I came here, that all the grounds lett very low, and that, about all the towns, the aikers were about twenty-five shillings, and the farms not above fifteen. The first intelligent person I met with was Rachel, the chamber-maid. Rachel could answer almost every question I asked; and I suppose, by that time, I had learned to conform my enquirys to the knowledge of the people, being, before this, always answered with "I don't know," to the simplest question I could ask; and often stared at, as much as to say, "I wonder how such things comes in any body's head:" the post-boys, who drive the same road for years, hardly know a gentleman's house, or the name of any place less than a vilage. Rachel could tell who lived near her, what farm her master keeps, and what rent he payd, and what it produced: gave me a receipt for salting butter, which was, to wash it well from the milk with salt and water, and a little salt, then take it piece by piece, like the bigness of half a pound, and put it in a can, spreading every piece above another with a sprinkling of salt betwixt each.'—pp. 105, 106.

'June 8th.—From Bautry we went seventy-five miles, and lay at Stilton: there was a fine large inn, and every thing in great order, but the linen was as perfect rags as ever I saw, plain linen with fifty holes in each towell. The landlady gave me the receipt for making Stilton cheese (which is famous), as follows,' &c.—p. 107.

'June 9th.—From Stilton we dined at Hatfeild, where there was a great many coaches in the court-yard with company leaving London, and every family had a coach full of abigalls, who held a most prodigious chatering and scolding at not having proper attendance given them. From Hatfeild we came to Barnet, the last stage from London, where we stopped; and, whilst we changed horses, I asked some questions at the maid who stood at the door, which she answered, and went in, for we did not come out of the chaise. In a little, out comes a squinting smart-like black girl, and spoke to me, as I thought, in Irish, upon which I said, "Are you a Highlander?" "No," said she; "I am Welch: are not you Welch?" "No," said I; "but I am Scots, and the Scots and Welch

Welch are near 'relations,\* and much better born than the English." "Oh!" said she, "the maid said you was Welch, and sent me see you." She took me by the hand, and looked so kindly that I suppose she thought me her relation, because I was not English; which makes me think the English are a people one may perhaps esteem or admire, but they do not draw the affection of strangers, neither in their own country nor out of it. From Barnet we were to come to Kensington green, which led us a great way round, a very lonely and wild road, and nothing like the repair one would expect so near a great town. We arrived at Lady Trelawny's at six o'clock, to the great astonishment of the family, who looked as little for me as for the day of judgment.

\* Before I say any thing of the great city, you will ask me what I think of England in generall. In the first place, it is easy to be seen who has long been in peaceable possession, and who not; for, till you come to Newark-upon-Trent, *the furthest ever the Scots went into England*, the improvements are not of old standing, nor the grounds don't seem to be of great value: they use them mostly for breeding of cattell and sheep. . . . . The villages to north of Trent are but indifferent, and the churches very thin sown; and, indeed, for a long time, one would think the country of no religion at all, being hardly either Christian church or heathen temple to be seen. The fields on both hands were mostly grass; and the greatest variety and plenty of fine cattell, all of various colours. I admired the cattell much more than the people, for they seem to have the least of what we call smartness of any folks I ever saw, and totally void of all sort of curiosity, which perhaps some may think a good quality. In our first day's journey in England, I asked the post-boy to whom the lands on each hand belonged? he said, "To Sir Carneby." \* I knew who he meant, and, to try him, asked, "What Sir Carneby, or what other name he had?" but he answered, "Just Sir Carneby, who lived yonder;" and that he had never inquired the surname of the man in whose ground he was born. As for the inclosing in England, it is of all the different methods, both good and bad, that can be imagined; and that such insufficient inclosures as some are keep in the cattell (which is so hard with us in Scotland) is intirely owing to the levelness of the grounds, so that *an English cow does not see another spot than where she feeds*, and has *as little intelligence as the people*; whereas, with us, there are few places which does not hang on the side of a hill, by which means the cattell sees what is above or below them; and so endeavours to get at it. I was convinced of this by some oxen a butcher was driving to market, very large and fat; they walked along betwixt the hedges very well, but no sooner were they come to a place where there was only an old ditch and no hedge on the one hand, but they scrambled over it very cleverly into a feild of rye. . . . I could have little conversation with the people I saw, for, *though they could have understood me*, I did not them, and never heard a more barbarous language, and *unlike English as any other lingo*. I suppose it is the custome in a publick house for strangers to roar and bully, for I found when I spoke softly they had all the appearance of being deaf.

\* Of course, Sir Carnaby Haggerston.

I think



I think the cathedrall of Durham is the most ridiculous piece of expence I ever saw—to keep up such a pagentry of idle fellows in a country place, where there is nobody either to see or join with them, for there was not place for above fifty folks besides the performers!

‘After we past Durham the country was more closs and levell. We sometimes had an extensive prospect, but not the least variety, so that one would say there was too much of it; no opening of a scene, no watter, no distinction betwixt a gentleman’s seat and his tenant’s house; but that he *was a little more smothered up with trees*, so that I am perswaded, *if Scotland was as much inclosed, it would be much prettier to look at.* I do not think any thing could be more beautifull than the straths of some of our large rivers, inclosed on every side, where the grounds hang so that each inclosure might be seen above another, and, after they had advanced so high and steep, then the green hill appearing above, covered with sheep, and the waterfalls coming down now and then betwixt the hills. They have nothing of the landscape prospect, but a *rich extensive woody prospect*, and nothing appearing above another but a *Gothic spire* in severall touns, and that for many miles from each other. We used to laugh at the folks in the Highlands for counting their neighbours ten and twelve miles off; but in England they think no more of thirty miles than we do of five. Their roads are good indeed, and their horses and machines light; and the miles about London are, I am very sure, not above 1000 yards, whereas they should be 1750: besides, the levelness of the country makes travelling much quicker. They are very carefull in driving their horses, for, on the smallest ascent, they go quite slow, and will tell you they are going up hill. I could not learn what weight their great waggons carried, none of them knowing any thing about it; but, by the number of horses they yoke, it must be a great deal, otherwise they carry at too great an expence: they yoke seven and eight horses. Some have four wheels, and others two; these last must be very exactly ballanced, not to overburthen the horse, who has the weight on his back, and this sort of carriage is only practicable where there is no dounhill road; for, if this carriage was put off its ballance in comeing down, it would crush the horses, or, if going up, it would lift them up in the air. It is surprizing how much nonsense I have heard spoken by folks who would introduce English customs into Scotland, without considering the difference of the two countrys: I must own I saw very little new to me, but what I could plainly see was calculated for the particular situation of the country, and could never answer for generall use. It has always been my opinion that the fault-finders are the folks who want judgement, and not the people whose practice they quarell, for time and experience has taught every part of every country to follow the method most agreeable to their soil and situation—*though perhaps mechanicks may not have arrived to the utmost perfection amongst them; neither has that generall benefitt of made roads reached them yet, which in all probability will have many various effects we cannot forsee.* I do not think the grounds in England are in generall so rich as they have the appearance of.’—pp. 107-111.



It is impossible that anything should surpass the rapidity of the lady's decisions as to England in general from a chaise-window view of the Great North Road; but we may content ourselves with having marked a few of her most charming *naïvetés* in italics.

Her remarks on the population of England in the next passage, however hastily uttered, show a keen and quick eye, and it is interesting to compare them with the vast increase among us since 1756; but the most curious point is this good lady's cold contemptuous manner of describing what must have been to her a most complete novelty—the clean and decent interior of a labouring man's cottage. We heartily wish our agricultural peasants in the districts she alludes to could now earn wages equivalent to a shilling a day in 1756, and that many a poor man's wife could afford in 1842 to lead a life of what she calls 'doing nothing'—that is to say, merely taking care of her home and her children, and probably making as well as mending every article of raiment used either by her children, herself, or her husband.

'The people in London, who see such crouds every day, were surprised at me when I said, I did not think England sufficiently peopled, nor so populous by far, in proportion to its extent and produce, as the best cultivated countys in Scotland; and I must beleive this till I see one fact that can contradict it, which I have not seen yet, but many presumptions for what I assert. In the first place, look *from the road on each hand*, and you see very few houses; touns there are, but at the distance of eight or ten miles. Then, who is it that lives in them? There are no manufactories carried on in them; they live by the travellers, and by the country about, that is, there are tradesmen of all kinds, perhaps two or three of each, smiths, wrights, shoemakers, &c.; and here is a squire of a small estate in the county near by, and here are Mrs. this or that, old maids, and so many widow ladys, with a parsonage house, *a flourishing house*. All the houses built of brick, and very slight, and even some of timber, and two-stories high, make them have a greater appearance than there is reality for; for I shall suppose you took out the squire and set him in his country house, and the old maids and widow ladies and place them with their relations, if they have any, in the country or in a greater toun, and take a stone house with a thatch roof of one story high, instead of a brick one of two, and there are few country villages in Scotland where I will not muster out as many inhabitants as are in any of these post touns. Then I observed there were very few folks to be met with on the road, and many times we would post an hour, which is seven miles, and not see as many houses and people put together on the road. Then, on Sunday, we travelled from eight o'clock, till we came to Newcastle, where the church was just going in, so that I may say we travelled fifteen miles to Newcastle, and the few people we met going to church upon the road surprised me much. The same as we went all day long; it had no appearance of the swarms of people we always see in Scotland going about on Sunday,

day, even far from any considerable town. Then the high price of labour is an evidence of the scarcity of people. I went into what we call a cottage, and there was a young woman with her child, sitting; it was very clean, and laid with coarse flags on the floor, but built of timber stoops, and what we call cat and clay walls. She took me into what she called her parlour, for the magnificent names they give makes one believe things very fine till they see them; this parlour was just like to the other. I asked what her husband was? She said, a labouring man, and got *his shilling per day; that she did nothing but took care of her children, and now and then wrought a little plain work. So I found that, except it is in the manufacturing countys, the women do nothing; and if there were as many men in the country as one might suppose there would, a man could be got for less wages than a shilling per day.* Then the high wages at London shows the country cannot provide it with servants. It drains the country, and none return again who ever goes there as chairmen, porters, hackney coachmen, or footmen; if they come to old age, seldom spend it in the country, but oftener in an almshouse, and often leave no posterity. Then the export they make of their victuall [grain] is a presumption they have not inhabitants to consume it in the country, for, by the common calculation, there are seven millions and one half in England, and the ground in the kingdom is twenty-eight millions of aikers, which is four aikers to each person. Take into this the immense quantity of horses which are kept for no real use all over the kingdom, and it will be found, I think, that England could maintain many more people than are in it. Besides, let every nation pick out its own native subjects who are but in the first generation, the Irish, the Scots, the French, &c., and *I am afraid the native English would appear much fewer than they imagine.* On the other hand, Scotland must appear to be more populous for its extent and produce; first, by its bearing as many evacuations in proportion, both to the plantations, to the fleet and army, besides the numbers who go to England; and, indeed, breeding inhabitants to every country under the sun; and if, instead of following the wrong policy of supplying their deficiency of grain by importing it, they would cultivate their waste lands, it would do more than maintain all its inhabitants in plenty.'—p. 113.

'I do not think the soil near London is naturally rich, and neither the corns nor grass are extraordinary. I thought their crops of hay all very light, and but of an indifferent quality; they call it meadow hay, but we would call it tending pretty near to bogg hay. I think the most surprising thing is, *how they are supplied with such an immense number of fine horses, and how they are all maintained on hard meat all the year round.*

'As for London, every body has either heard of or seen it. The first sight of it did not strike me with any thing grand or magnificent. It is not situated so as to show to advantage, and, indeed, I think the tile roofs have still a paltry look, and so has the brick houses; for a village it does well enough, as the character of a village is clean and neat; but there is something more substantial and durable in our ideas of a great city than what brick and tile can answer.

'Many

‘Many authors and correspondents take up much time and pains to little purpose in descriptions. *I never could understand any body’s descriptions, and I suppose no body will understand mine*; neither do I intend to say any things which have ever been thought worthy to be put in print, so will only say London is a very large and extensive city. But I had time to see very little of it; and every street is so like another, that, seeing part, you may easily suppose the whole. There are severall openings and squares which are very pretty; but the noise in most of the houses in the rooms to the street is intolerable. You will think it very odd, that I was a fortnight in London, and saw none of the royall family; but I got no cloaths made till the day before I left it, though I gave them to the making the day after I came. I cannot say my curiosity was great: I found, as I approached the Court and the grandees, they sunk so miserably in my opinion, and came so far short of the ideas I had conceived, that I was loath to lose the grand ideas I had of kings, princes, ministers of state, senators, &c., which I suppose I had gathered from romance in my youth. We used to laugh at the English for being so soon afraid when there was any danger in state affairs, but now I do excuse them. For we at a distance think the wisdom of our governours will prevent all these things; but those who know and see our ministers every day see there is no wisdom in them, and that they are a parcell of old, ignorant, senseles bodies, who mind nothing but eating and drinking, and rolling about in Hyde Park, and know no more of the country, or the situation of it, nor of the numbers, strength, and circumstances of it, than they never had been in it; or how should they, when London, and twenty miles round it, is the extent ever they saw of it? Lord Anson, he sailed round the world, therefore he must rule all navall affairs; which is just like a schoolmaster imagining himself qualified for the greatest post in the law, because he understands the language in which the law is wrote. The King, every body says, and I do believe it, knows more of the world, and takes more concern, than any of them.’—pp. 114, 115.

We need scarcely remind the reader that all this was written when the Duke of Newcastle was on his last legs, and the national ferment about Admiral Byng at its height.

There was some family connexion between the Calderwoods and Mr. George Stone Scott, sub-preceptor to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George III. :—

‘I had frequent opportunitys of seeing George Scott, and asked him many questions about the Prince of Wales. He says he is a lad of very good principles, good natured, and extreemly honest, has no heroick strain, but loves peace, and has no turn for extravagance; modest, and has no tendency to vice, and has as yet very virtuous principles; has the greatest temptation to gallant with the ladies, who lay themselves out in the most shamefull manner to draw him in, but to no purpose. He says, if he were not what he is, they would not mind him. Prince Edward is of a more amorous complexion, but no court is payed to him, because he has so little chance to be king. . . . .

‘Nobody



‘ Nobody thinks of going further to air than Hyde Park, which is very pretty. But nothing but the greatest stupidity can suffer the same mile or two of ground every day in their lives, when, at the same time, it is no exercise nor air, for it is a gravell road, quite smothered with trees. The trees indeed are very pretty, being fine timber, and fine carpet-grass, with cows and deer going in it; but it is a small part of the park in which coaches are allowed to go. There are always a great number of coaches, and all other machines, except hacks, some of them very neat and light; but the beauty of them is the horses of all different kinds. The Duke of Marlborough had a sett of peyets, very prettily marked.

‘ Any of the English folks I got acquainted with I liked very well. They seem to be good-natured and humane; but still there is a sort of ignorance about them with regard to the rest of the world, and that their conversation runs in a very narrow channell. *They speak with a great relish of their publick places, and say, with a sort of flutter, that they shall to Vauxhall and Ranelagh, but do not seem to enjoy it when there.*’ [How true!] ‘ As for Vauxhall and Ranelagh I wrote you my oppinion of them before. The first I think but a vulgar sort of entertainment, and could not think myself in genteel company, whiles I heard a man calling, “Take care of your watches and pockets.” I saw the Countess of Coventry at Ranelagh. I think she is a pert, stinking-like husy, going about with her face up to the sky, that she might see from under her hat, which she had pulled quite over her nose that nobody might see her face. She was in dishabile and very shabby drest, but was painted over her very jaw bones. I saw only three English peers, and I think you could not mak a tolerable one out of them. . . . I saw very few, either men or women, tolerably handsome. . . . The ladys pass and repass each other with very little appearance of being acquainted, and no company separates or goes from those they come in with, or joins another, and indeed they all seem to think there is no great entertainment; but, however, they are there, and that is enough. The duke [of Cumberland] uses to frequent Ranelagh, but was not there that night I went. There were severall Hanoverian officers, very rugged-like carles, stiff-backed and withered, with gray hairs tyed behind, and the forelock cut short by the ear, and there was a hussar attending them, a thick, fat fellow, drest in furs, and Bess’s great French muff upon his head, not the red feather one.

‘ I went one morning to the Park, in hopes to see the duke review a troop of the horse guards, but he was not there; but the guards were very pretty. Sall Blackwood and Miss Buller were with me; they were afraid to push near for the croud, but I was resolved to get forward, so pushed in. They were very surly; and one of them asked me where I would be; would I have my toes trode off? “Is your toes trode off?” said I. “No,” said he. “Then give me your place, and I’ll take care of my toes.” “But they are going to fire,” said he. “Then it’s time for you to march off,” said I; “for I can stand fire. I wish your troops may do as well.” On which he sneaked off, and gave me his place. Some of them were very civill; but what was of a peice with many other things, these horse guards are closs in London, seen every day by every body,

body, are reviewed almost every morning in the Park, where I suppose the same folks sometimes come to see them, yet none of all near where I stood could tell me the name of one officer: that, I insist upon, is peculiar to the English.

'I paid some visits, and went to see Greenwich Hospital, which is a ridiculous fine thing. The view is very pretty, *which you see just as well in a rary-show glass. No wonder the English are transported with a place they can see about them in.* Kensington palace looks better within than without, and there is some very fine marbles, pictures, and mirrors in it. But I could not see the private apartment of the old goodman, which they say is a great curiosity. There are a small bed with silk curtains, two sattin ~~quits~~ and no blanket, a hair matress; a plain wicker basket stands on a table, with a silk night-gown and night-cap in it; a candle with an extinguisher; some billets of wood on each side of the fire. He goes to bed alone, rises, lights his fire and mends it himself, and nobody knows when he rises, which is very early, and is up severall hours before he calls any body. He dines in a small room adjoining, in which there is nothing but very common things. He sometimes, they say, sups with his daughters and their company, and is very mery, and sings French songs, but at present he is in very low spirits. Now, this appearance of the King's manner of living would not diminish my idea of a king. It rather looks as if he applyed to business, and knew these hours were the only ones he could give up to it without having the appearance of a recluse, and that he submitted to the pagantry rather than make it his only bussiness.'

Mrs. Calderwood on the English *Cuisine* is particularly meritorious. We have room only for one paragraph of this rich section.

'As for their victualls they make such a work about, I cannot enter into the taste of them, or rather, I think they have no taste to enter into. The meat is juicy enough, but has so little taste, that, if you shut your eyes, you will not know by either taste or smell what you are eating. The lamb and veall look as if it had been blanched in water. *The smell of dinner will never intimate that it is on the table. No such effluvia as beef and cabbadge was ever found at London.*' [Alas! alas!]  
'The fish, I think, have the same fault. As for the salmond, I did not meddle with it, for it cut like cheese. Their turbet is *very small by ours*, but I do not think it preferable. Their soll is *much smaller*, and not so much meat on them; they are like the least ever you saw; were it not that they are long and narrow, I should think them common flounders. Their lobsters come from Norway or Scotland.'—pp. 116-120.

The party, after making a visit or two in Kent, proceed to Harwich, and there embark for Holland.

'Saturday, 26th June.—We set out early for fear of being too late for the paquet, and breakfasted at Colchester. We were attended at breakfast by a drawer, whom I questioned according to custom about  
the

the town and the country, and from whom I received much more satisfaction than common, upon which I was going to declare him the smartest Englishman I had seen, when, unfortunately for England, he turned out to be a Frenchman transplanted young.'—p. 124.

We had no intention to trespass on Mrs. Calderwood's continental chapters. Here, however, is one sentence from her description of Rotterdam:—

'The Dutch maid-servants do nothing on earth but wash the house and the streets, and the veshells of the house and kitchen; none of them wash their linnen at home, they are all washed in publick fields and brought in wet, so that, when the maids have not them to dry and dress, they have nothing to do but slester and wash. They have plenty of water, and every house has a pump, and they will have a pump of water in every story. This is one inducement to wash, but the originall of it is the necessity, as the streets would in a few days gather a fog betwixt the bricks, and that in a short time would certainly breed a vermine.'—p. 135.

Her description of a Dutch house brings out some curious revelations concerning the interior finishing, &c., of the time in Scotland. It would appear, for instance, that Mrs. Calderwood viewed a door-bell as quite a novelty; but indeed, according to Chambers, it was not much before 1756 that the knocker supplanted the aboriginal *rasp* and *pin* in Auld Reekie.

'The bricks of which the houses are built are vastly hard: Mr. Crawford had forgot to bore a hole for a bell (which, in every house, is put so as the handle is at the side of the outer door, that, instead of knocking, you ring), and in peircing that hole through the brick, it was as hard to do as if it had been marble.'—p. 140.

We conclude with a paragraph which, more than any other in this book, must have delighted the members of 'the Maitland Club of Glasgow':—

'Most of the reproaches our country meets with can only be the effects of want of enquiry or reflection. I once thought that Scotland might carry on a greater trade than it does, from its advantageous situation for the sea; but if they should import, who is to take it off their hands? there is no country behind them to supply, who has not the advantage of the sea-ports, which is the case of Holland, who has all Germany to supply; neither have they a great demand at home, like England, which is a great country, and most part of it inland, that must be supplied from the trading towns on the coast. Or, to what country can they transport their merchandise, which they have imported more than serves themselves, that cannot be as cheap served by nearer neighbours? They have no East India goods, which are almost the only goods that are demanded by all the world, so that no country, which has not one or more of these advantages, can ever become a country of great trade.'—p. 144.

Could



Could this good lady of 1756 have had *second-sight* enough to catch a glimpse of her native Clyde as it is in 1842, what could have persuaded her that she had her own dearly-beloved and judiciously-admonished Scotland before her vision!

We are tempted to conclude our review of a book which perhaps few will ever handle, with an extract from one which is, or ought to be, as well thumbed as any production of the present year—‘The Mirza’ of the wise humourist, and gentle satirist, who more lightly and happily than any other writer conveys lessons to his own countrymen, in the shape of mirthful delineations of the absurdities of outlandish faith and practice. Mr. Morier represents himself as listening to one of the brilliant tales of wonder with which his friend—and indeed hero—the professional storyteller in chief was accustomed to cheer the evening hours of the late Shah of Persia. On its conclusion he joined the royal circle in extolling the merit of the narrative, but incautiously signified his suspicion of its marvellous incidents. There was a burst of indignation at such Pyrrhonism; but the Frank rejoins:—

“Perhaps, I too, may assert some facts relating to my own country, to which you may not be willing to give credence, but to the truth of which I in my turn am ready to take my oath.”

“*Ohi—oh*, well said and well done,” said the prince, his words echoed by the poet, and repeated by the rest of the company. “Speak on—let us hear—our ears are open. We have given up our souls to you.”

“I then said:—“Perhaps every one present has seen a ship, and though they may not have sailed in one, have remarked how it is impelled by wind; perhaps, too, some may have been caught in a tempest, or observed its effects on the sea. Now, we have ships in my country, which, in defiance of storms and tempests, will make their way in the teeth of the wind, and thus perform voyages from one end of the world to the other.”

“I paused awhile, after having made this assertion, to hear the remarks of the company. I could perceive incredulity in every face: a little scorn and contempt, perhaps, was associated with that feeling, but it was plain no one believed my words.

“*Sahib ekhtiar*. You are at liberty, of course, to affirm what you please,” said the prince, “but to me it appears that what you have advanced is wholly impossible.”

“What words are these?” said another. “You might as well say that I can thrust a spear through my enemy’s body, and he not bleed, as to say a ship will go ahead against wind.”

“I heard the word *derough, derough*—lie! lie! whispered about from mouth to mouth throughout the assembly, and I became convinced that I was totally disbelieved.

“I then tried them upon another subject.

“There is another thing,” said I, “to the truth of which I am ready to

to take my oath. In my country our cities are lighted at night by the means of lanterns suspended on iron pillars. A subterranean vapour is made to circulate through our streets, which is led to the summit of the said pillars, and at a given hour men run about the city carrying a lighted taper in their hands, which they merely present to a small spiral tube, whence a flame is seen to issue, which, keeping alive the night through, illuminates the city like day, the inhabitants meanwhile sleeping soundly, unapprehensive of evil consequences."

"Where in the name of Allah," said the prince, "have you found words to affirm such things? A subterranean fire running underground all through your streets, and nobody afraid! Yours must be a world different from ours, inhabited by men of a different formation to Persians. I cannot believe what you say."

"People may talk of Persians being liars," said one of the company, "but as there is but one Allah, and Mahommed is his prophet and Ali his lieutenant, let them go to the Franks for the future. Wonderful assertions have we heard to-day."

"Now I begin to understand," said a man of the law who was present, "why Franks are unbelievers of our faith, the ever-blessed and only true faith of Islam—why they reject our prophet and despise his sayings, while they adhere with so much pertinacity to their own. See this Sahib—he tells us of things which cannot be true, and believes in them, whilst events which may occur every day, which so many people here present, men of respectability and worthy of confidence, have seen and heard of, he rejects. Is it not plain that the reputation which Persia has acquired for the sagacity and acuteness of her sons has been well acquired, whilst all the rest of mankind are kept in a state of total blindness? Let the Sahib forgive my words," said the speaker, turning himself to me, "but in truth our holy prophet legislated with all wisdom, when he said, 'As for the unbeliever, all that is left for him is *katt, katt*, slay, slay.'"

"May your shadow never be less," said I, addressing the man of the law; "may your house flourish—we are grateful—we kiss the dust of your slippers!" —*The Mirza*, vol. ii. pp. 23-27.

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ART. IV. — *Poems by Alfred Tennyson*. 2 vols. 12mo.  
London. 1842.

WHAT poetry might be in our time and land, if a man of the highest powers and most complete cultivation exercised the art among us, will be hard to say until after the fact of such a man's existence. Waiting for this desirable event, we may at least see that poetry, to be for us what it has sometimes been among mankind, must wear a new form, and probably comprise

elements hardly found in our recent writings, and impossible in former ones.

Of verses, indeed, of every sort but the excellent there is no want: almost all, however, so helpless in skill, so faint in meaning, that one might almost fancy the authors wrote metre from mere incapacity of expressing themselves at all in prose—as boys at school sometimes make nonsense-verses before they can construct a rational sentence. Yet it is plain that even our magazine stanzas, album sonnets, and rhymes in corners of newspapers aim at the forms of emotion, and use some of the words in which men of genius have symbolized profound thoughts. The whole, indeed, is generally a lump of blunder and imbecility, but in the midst there is often some turn of cadence, some attempt at an epithet of more significance and beauty than perhaps a much finer mind would have hit on a hundred years ago. The crowds of stammering children are yet the offspring of an age that would fain teach them—if it knew how—a richer, clearer language than they can learn to speak.

It is hard in this state of things not to conceive that the time, among us at least, is an essentially unpoetic one—one which, whatever may be the worth of its feelings, finds no utterance for them in melodious words.

Yet our age is not asleep. Great movements, various activities, are heard and seen on all sides. In the lowest department, that of mere mechanics, consider what fifteen years have done. It was only in the autumn of 1830, following close on the French three memorable days of July, that the Duke of Wellington opened the Manchester and Liverpool Railroad. The population of the busiest region on this earth were assembled round him, whom all acknowledged as the greatest man in England, at the inauguration of a new physical power, then felt to double the strength and swiftness of human beings. While, among myriads of gravely joyous faces, the new machines travelled at a speed matching that of eagles, the life of a great statesman shot off on a darker and more distant journey, and the thrill of fear and pain at his destruction gave the last human tragic touch to an event which would at any rate have retained for ever an historic importance. The death of Mr. Huskisson startled the fixed bosom of the veteran soldier, and those who were near perceived a quiver of the lip, a movement of the eye, such as had hardly been caused by the most unlooked-for and dreadful chances of his mighty wars. To a calm observer, the emotion of the whole multitude, great and small, might strangely have recalled far-distant ages and the feelings with which ancient peoples held every great event as incomplete, wanting the blood of a victim—too often human—solemnly



solemnly shed. In the most prosperous and peaceful of national triumphs the dark powers again claimed a share, and would not be forgotten.

Since then, about twelve years have passed, and behold what they have brought forth. Some seventy millions of money have been expended—more, at the lowest estimate, than four times as much as the Papacy was able to raise in a century and a half for the construction of its greatest monument, the costliest the world has ever seen. These seventy millions of pounds have been subscribed by private persons at their own choice in one small country, and have created nearly fifteen hundred miles of railroads—structures that surpass all pyramids and Cyclopean walls, and machines that would puzzle Archimedes, by which myriads of men are perpetually travelling like the heroes of fairy tales. It is probable that the roads of the Roman empire, the work of many centuries, did not cost so much of human labour, and they certainly did not exhibit so much greatness of thought, as those that we have built in less than twenty years.—In the state of society that has produced such results there may be, we know there is, enough torpor, even rottenness. But it cannot be, on the whole, an insignificant stage of human existence, one barren for imaginative eyes.

Or look at one of our general elections. The absurdities are plain, no doubt—has not the ocean froth and bubbles? But take the thing altogether, and observe the mixture and spread of interests and faculties brought into action—above all, the open boldness with which a nation throws itself into the streets and markets, casting off, in the faith that it can reproduce, its company of rulers, and letting the fools clamour, the poor groan, the rich humble themselves, and all men bring all to judgment, without a moment's fear but that quiet will spring out of the tumult, and a government be born from a mob. From the castle of the highest peer to the clay-stained tipplers in the alehouse, from the bench of bishops to the ranters in the moor-side smithy, all are stirred and fluttered, feverish with the same anxieties, debating in their different dialects the same questions, and all alike dependent on the omnipotence of an event which no man can absolutely control. Most of what they say is folly—most of their objects of hope and fear chimeras: but how full of throbbing business is the whole land, how braced are all the wishes and devices of all! Among so much of make-believe and sound, it is a great thing that the whole country must at least be willingly deceived if it is to be gained over—must seem to itself rationally persuaded; and that the most futile pretender can only cheat by aping, and so strengthening in others, the qualities in which he is

most deficient. At the blast of the newsmen's tin trumpets all shadows must walk out of their darkness into sunshine, and there be tried; when if many of the umbratile fraudulently pass muster, there is at least a public recognition of the laws of light.

Not merely is there a debate and seeming adjudication in every country-town on all matters over the whole globe which any tailor or brazier may choose to argue, but at last the tailor's and the brazier's voice does really influence the course of human affairs. The vote of the cobbler in an alley turns the poll for a candidate; the vote of the member gains the triumph of his party; and the success of his party decides on every question of peace or war over the globe, makes commercial treaties with Abyssinia, creates a white commonwealth among the savages of the Pacific Ocean, sends armaments to Peking, and raises or lowers the price of silk grown among the Druses of Lebanon, and of opium sold on the frontiers of Tartary. Within a year after the election in an English village, its result is felt in the more or less cost of food and clothes in Kaffer huts, and in the value of the copper sauce-pan trafficked at Timbuctoo for palm-oil and black babies. This is not a vapid, unsubstantial political existence for the mass of men, not one devoid of topics and emotions, however little they may hitherto have been used in any books but those of statistics and trade.

Or glance at the matter in another of its phases. In the midmost rush of London business, and all the clatter of its vehicles, turn aside through an open door, and what do we see? A large and lofty room, every yard of its floor and galleries crammed with human, chiefly female life—a prodigious sea of bonnets, and under each of these a separate sentient sea of notions, and feelings, and passions, all in some measure stirred by the same tides and gales—every one of them, however narrow at the surface, in depth unfathomable.

Altogether irrespectively of our present purpose, and on the most general grounds, it may be safely said that in one of these great Exeter Hall meetings there is more to strike us than almost anywhere else we know. The room is said to hold 4000 persons, and from its form they are all clearly visible at once—all of the middle or upper classes, well dressed, though often many of them in Quaker uniform, and at these times probably three-fourths of them women. Such assemblages are in truth, for a large part of the members, by far the most exciting outward events of life. The faces themselves are alone quite enough to prove no small share of moral culture in the mass. The delicately-curved mouths and nostrils, the open yet quiet and observant eyes, and a look of serious yet pleasurable elevation, mark very clearly a chosen class  
of

of our country. The men are of course less pure and single in their stamp of feeling—business has marked on them its contractedness with its strength. Yet these also have an appearance of thought, although with some coxcombical importance and complacent theological primness. Take, however, the whole assemblage, all it is and all it represents, we know not where anything like it could be discovered. No Roman Catholic, no despotic, no poor, no barbarous, no thoroughly demoralised, we fear we must add no very instructed and well-organised community could ever exhibit such a gathering—voluntary be it remembered, chiefly female, all with money to spare, united for such remote and often fantastic objects: above all, under such leaders. For in the kind of persons guiding these bodies, and in their discourse, consists more than half the wonder. In the House of Commons, in the Courts of Law, we may hear nonsense enough. But in these places it is not the most vehement, the most chimerical—in other words, the most outrageous and silly, who bear the chiefest sway, but much the contrary. Now in such Strand-Meetings, for the purest and noblest purposes, it is plain enough that a loud tongue, combined with a certain unctuous silkiness of profession, and the most dismal obscuration of brain, may venture with success upon the maddest assertions, the most desperate appeals; and will draw sighs and even tears of sympathy, by the coarsest nonsense, from hundreds of the amiable and thoughtful persons dieted at home on Cowper, Fenelon, Wordsworth, and tuned to Nature's softest melodies. The carrier's horse (or was it ass?) that could draw inferences, is but a brute symbol of the spoken stuff that at religious meetings can draw admiration from the finest female bosoms. Such is the charm of twilight meanings and monstrous images used in behalf of some remote and generous object, and strengthened by the oneness of feeling in a multitude of accordant hearts. Very strange it is to witness the single thrill of some two thousand bonnets, to hear the deep long sigh from as many warm and gentle breasts, all inspired by the raving folly of some declaimer, or by the gravely numerical statements of moral facts as to distant countries proceeding from ill-informed and well-paid agents, and which those who know their falsity are sure enough not to seek the odium of refuting. The sure tact of goodness leads the greater part of the hearers right in home-concerns, but has no measure of probability for new experiments in remote lands. The faith which lives in the Infinite and Eternal, and is perpetually baffled in its search among present things, adds joyfully its charms, the transcendant element of all romance, to the faintest glimpse between distant clouds, and feels it a duty and delight to believe in the realised visions of credulous fancy.

Yet



Yet who can think without a certain approval of the immense annual revenue, larger than that of some continental kingdoms, raised by these marvellous addresses to our best feelings? Who can compare, without some admiration mixed in his contempt, the coarse and brainless weakness of the talk on these occasions with the honest virtue, the moral elegance of heart in those whom it influences? Or who that lives in England can be unaware that very many among the auditors of these brazen mouth-pieces show in the whole course of their private lives, and in hard stern trials of all kinds, a simple self-forgetting nobleness and truth, beautifully contrasted with the ostentatious emptiness of the charitable melodrama?

On the whole, the country in which these varieties of good and evil are found mixed on such a scale can hardly be considered in a state of lifeless inertness. Its want cannot be of themes and interest, but rather of those able to seize what lies before them, and turn it to right imaginative use. For every one indeed knows that all our activities, mechanical, political, missionary, celestial, or diabolical, are the immediate outgrowths of the human beings engaged in such matters, and might be found with much more inside and beneath them in the hearts and lives of the individuals. This is all the poet requires; a busy, vigorous, various existence is the matter *sine quâ non* of his work. All else comes from within, and from himself alone. Now, strangely as our time is racked and torn, haunted by ghosts, and errant in search of lost realities, poor in genuine culture, incoherent among its own chief elements, untrained to social facility and epicurean quiet, yet unable to unite its means in pursuit of any lofty blessing, half-sick, half-dreaming, and whole confused—he would be not only misanthropic, but ignorant, who should maintain it to be a poor, dull, and altogether helpless age, and not rather one full of great though conflicting energies, seething with high feelings, and struggling towards the light with piercing though still hooded eyes. The fierce, too often mad force, that wars itself away among the labouring poor, the manifold skill and talent and unwearied patience of the middle classes, and the still unshaken solidity of domestic life among them—these are facts open to all, though by none perhaps sufficiently estimated. And over and among all society the wealth of our richer people is gathered and as it has never been before anywhere else, shaping itself into a thousand arts of luxury, a million modes of social pleasure, which the moralist may have much to object against, but which the poet, had we a truly great one now rising among us, would well know how to employ for his own purposes.

Then, too, if we reflect that the empire and nation seated here

as in its centre, and at home so moving and multifarious, spreads its dominions all round the globe, daily sending forth its children to mix in the life of every race of man, seek adventures in every climate, and fit themselves to every form of polity, or it to them—whereafter they return in body, or at least reflect their mental influences among us—it cannot be in point of diversity and meaning that Britain disappoints any one capable of handling what it supplies.

See how Chaucer exhibits to us all that lay around him, the roughness and ignorance, the honour, faith, fancy, joyousness of a strong mind and a strong age, both tranquil within bounds which, as large enough for their uses, neither had tried to pass. How strikingly for us are those grating contrasts of social condition harmonised by the home-bred feeling that men as they then were had the liberty and space they then needed: the king and priest the all-sufficient guides of men's higher life, and all powers and even wishes finding ample room, each within the range marked out by custom! Every figure is struck off by as clear and cutting a stroke as that of a practised mower with his scythe—and of all these peculiarities of character, so blended in that world are strength and unconsciousness, not one ever rises into individuality of principle. In clearness, freedom, fulness, what delineation of our actual life can be at all compared with this? Of this poet how truly may it be said,

‘ O’er Chaucer’s blithe old world, for ever new,  
In noon’s broad sunbeam shines the morning dew;  
And while tired ages float in shade away,  
Unwearied glows with joy that clear to-day.’

In Shakespeare again, who never meant anything of the kind, that period, with its far deeper wants and more abundant forces, all lies softly, firmly drawn by every random jotting of his pen. For that, with all his unmatched reflectiveness, much was thus lightly done, seems no less certain at the hundredth perusal than obvious at the first. The stately courtesies and consecrated forms of the past, all still untroubled, but a new spirit rising within those antique walls, and as yet professing peaceful reverence, though it must one day shake them down; the heaven-storming imagination still toiling and sporting on the ground; the aimless bravery of knighthood still wearing its blazon of the starry cross, but going forth on real adventures for the conquest of our actual earth in east and west; thought blending, though almost unmarked, with all the romance of passion—and fancy, no longer gathering flowers and strewing them in childish sport, but weaving them into garlands for victorious conscience, and using them for the character of knowledge: all this is undeniably there,

there, though unintended, and only because the great mind of that and all time necessarily comprised and reproduced whatever was essential in his age. Ranks were still apart, customs unquestioned, forms holy, and natural truth and wisdom only the uncanonical but inevitable comment by which men undesignedly interpreted the page of prescription. And he who has best shown us all this as it truly was, yet sent forth at every breath a fiery element, of which he was himself scarce conscious, that should some day kindle and burn much still dear and venerable to him.

A gulf of generations lies between us and him, and the world is all changed around his tomb. But whom have we had to feel and express like this man the secret of our modern England, and to roll all out before him the immense reality of things as his own small embroidered carpet, on which he merely cared to sit down at his ease and smoke his pipe?

There have been but two writers among us whom every Englishman with a tincture of letters has read or heard of, aiming to shape poetically an image of human life. These are of course Sir Walter Scott and Lord Byron. But see how different their aim has been from such a one as we hint at. The elder poet, with his wholesome sense and clear felicity, has indeed given us much of human fact, and this, as it could not be otherwise, in the colours of the time that he himself belonged to. But he has swayed the sympathies of the world in a great measure through their curiosity after the past, which he, more than all men in the annals of mankind, has taught us all to regard as alive and still throbbing in spirit, though its bones be turned to dust.

Byron has sought, through distance of place and foreign costume, the interest which Scott obtained from the strangeness of past ages; and it is but a small though a profound and irrepressible part of our far-spread modern mind that he has so well embodied in his scornful Harolds and despairing Giaours.

We have indeed one of his works, the only one, which is a splendid attempt at a creative survey of modern life, and contains all the essential elements of such performance. And in spite of the puerile egotisms and dawdling prate into which the poem so often wanders, the first five cantos of *Don Juan*, forming in point of bulk about a half, have more of fiery beauty and native sweetness in them than anything we know of in our modern literature. There is also a wide range and keenness of observation; and were some trivialities struck out, as they so easily might be, no capital defect would remain but the weakness of speculative culture visible in all Lord Byron's philosophical excursions. In the latter half of the poem, and unhappily when he is on English ground,



ground, the lax shapelessness of structure, the endless slipshod, yawny loungings, and vapid carelessness of execution, become very disagreeable in spite of passages rich with imperishable beauty, wit, and vigour, such as no other modern Englishman or man could have approached. On the whole, with all its faults, moral and poetic, the earlier portion of this singular book will probably remain, like the first half of *Faust*, the most genuine and striking monument of a whole recent national literature. But the weakness as to all deeper thought, and the incomplete groundplan, place it somewhat lower than could be wished. And at best it is but one book, in an age that produces annual thousands.

Little therefore as is all that has been done towards the poetic representation of our time—even in the looser and readier form of prose romance—it is hard to suppose that it is incapable of such treatment. The still unadulterated purity of home among large circles of the nation presents an endless abundance of the feelings and characters, the want of which nothing else in existence can supply even to a poet. And these soft and steady lights strike an observer all the more from the restless activity and freedom of social ambition, the shifting changes of station, and the wealth gathered on one hand and spent on the other with an intenseness and amplitude of will to which there is at least nothing now comparable among mankind. The power of self-subjection combined with almost boundless liberty, indeed necessitated by it, and the habit of self-denial with wealth beyond all calculation—these are indubitable facts in modern England. But while recognised as facts, how far do they still remain from that development as thoughts which philosophy desires, or that vividness as images which is the aim of poetry! It is easy to say that the severity of conscience in the best minds checks all play of fancy, and the fierceness of the outward struggle for power and riches absorbs the energies that would otherwise exert themselves in shapeful melody. But had we minds full of the idea and the strength requisite for such work, they would find in this huge, harassed, and luxurious national existence the nourishment, not the poison, of creative art. The death-struggle of commercial and political rivalry, the brooding doubt and remorse, the gas-jet flame of faith irradiating its own coal-mine darkness—in a word, our overwrought materialism fevered by its own excess into spiritual dreams—all this might serve the purposes of a bold imagination, no less than the creed of the antipoetic Puritans became poetry in the mind of Milton, and all bigotries, superstitions, and gore-dyed horrors were flames that kindled steady light in Shakespeare's humane and meditative song.

Of all our recent writers the one who might seem at first sight to have most nearly succeeded in this quest after the poetic *Sangreal* is Crabbe. No one has ranged so widely through all classes, employed so many diverse elements of circumstance and character. But nowhere, or very, very rarely, do we find in him that eager sweetness, a fiery spirituous essence, yet bland as honey, wanting which all poetry is but an attempt more or less laudable, and after all, a failure. Shooting arrows at the moon, one man's bow shoots higher than another's; but the shafts of all alike fall back to earth, and bring us no light upon their points. It needs a strange supernatural power to achieve the impossible, and fix the silver shaft within the orb that shoots in turn its rays of silver back into our human bosoms.

Crabbe is always an instructive and forceful, almost always even an interesting writer. His works have an imperishable value as records of his time; and it even may be said that few parts of them but would have found an appropriate place in some of the reports of our various commissions for inquiring into the state of the country. Observation, prudence, acuteness, uprightness, self-balancing vigour of mind are everywhere seen, and are exerted on the whole wide field of common life. All that is wanting is the enthusiastic sympathy, the jubilant love, whose utterance is melody, and without which all art is little better than a laborious ploughing of the sand, and then sowing the sand itself for seed along the fruitless furrow.

In poetry we seek, and find, a refuge from the hardness and narrowness of the actual world. But using the very substance of this Actual for poetry, its positiveness, shrewdness, detailedness, incongruity, and adding no new peculiar power from within, we do no otherwise than if we should take shelter from rain under the end of a roof-spout.

To Mr. Wordsworth of course these remarks on Crabbe would be by no means applicable. Yet even he has exhibited only one limited, however lofty region of life, and has made it far less his aim to represent what lies around him by means of self-transference into all its feelings, than to choose therefrom what suits his spirit of ethical meditation, and so compel mankind, out alike of their toilsome daily paths and pleasant nightly dreams, into his own severe and stately school of thought. The present movements of human life, nay its varied and spontaneous joys, to him are little, save so far as they afford a text for a mind in which fixed will, and stern speculation, and a heart austere and measured even in its pity, are far more obvious powers than fancy, emotion, or keen and versatile sympathy. He discourses indeed with divine wisdom of life and nature, and all their sweet and various impulses;

impulses; but the impression of his own great calm judicial soul is always far too mighty for any all-powerful feeling of the objects he presents to us. In his latest volume there is a poem with the date of 1803, *At the Grave of Burns*, full of reflective tenderness. But it is noticeable that even here Burns is interesting, not for his own sake and in his own splendid personality, but with reference to Mr. Wordsworth's mind and the effect of the peasant's poetry on him. We are glad indeed to have any pretext for citing this beautiful stanza (p. 53):—

‘ Well might I mourn that he was gone  
Whose light I hail’d when first it shone,  
When, breaking forth as Nature’s own,  
It show’d my youth  
How verse may build a princely throne  
On humble truth.’

In thus pointing to the problem which poetry now holds out, and maintaining that it has been but partially solved by our most illustrious writers, there is no design of setting up an unattainable standard, and then blaining any one in particular for inevitably falling short of it. Out of an age so diversified and as yet so unshapely, he who draws forth any graceful and expressive forms is well entitled to high praise. Turning into fixed beauty any part of the shifting and mingled matter of our time, he does what in itself is very difficult, and affords very valuable help to all his future fellow-labourers. If he has not given us back our age as a whole transmuted into crystalline clearness and lustre, a work accomplished only by a few of the greatest minds under the happiest circumstances for their art, yet we scarce know to whom we should be equally grateful as to him who has enriched us with any shapes of lasting loveliness ‘won from the vague and formless infinite.’

Mr. Tennyson has done more of this kind than almost any one that has appeared among us during the last twenty years. And in such a task of alchemy a really successful experiment, even on a small scale, is of great worth compared with the thousands of fruitless efforts or pretences on the largest plan, which are daily clamouring for all men’s admiration of their nothingness.

The first of these two volumes consists of republished poems, and may be regarded, we presume, as all that Mr. Tennyson wishes to preserve of his former editions. He has sifted in most cases his earlier harvests, and kept the better grain. There are some additions of verses and stanzas here and there, many minute changes, and also beneficial shortenings and condensations. The second volume, however, is on the whole far advanced in merit beyond the first. There is more clearness, solidity, and  
certainty



certainly of mind visible in it throughout: especially some of the blank-verse poems—a style almost unattempted in the earlier series—have a quiet completeness and depth, a sweetness arising from the happy balance of thought, feeling, and expression, that ranks them among the riches of our recent literature.

The collection includes poems of four markedly different kinds:—1. The Idyllic, in which there is sometimes an epic calmness in representing some event or situation of private life, sometimes a flow of lyrical feeling, but still expanding itself in a narrative or description of the persons, events, and objects that fill the poet's imagination. 2. The purely Lyrical—odes, songs, and the more rapid ballads, where the emotion is not only uppermost, but all in all, and the occasions and interests involved appear but casually and in hints. 3. Fancy pieces; those, namely, of which the theme is borrowed or imitated from those conceptions of past ages that have now become extremely strange or quite incredible for us. In these the principal charm of the work can spring only from the vividness and grace of the imagery, the main idea making no direct impression on our feelings. 4. There is a class of Allegories, Moralities, didactic poems. We might add another, of Facetiæ; but in these the writer, though not unmeaning or without talent, seems far inferior to himself, and they happily fill but a small part of his pages.

The first and third of these classes—the Idylls and Fancies—are, in our view, of the greatest merit, and differ in little but the stranger and more legendary themes of the latter series, while they resemble each other in a somewhat spacious and detailed style of description, with, however, an evident general predominance of personal feeling, sometimes masked by the substitution of an imaginary narrator for the real poet.

We shall speak first of the second class, which we have called Odes. 'Claribel,' 'Lilian,' 'Isabel,' 'Madeline,' 'Adeline,' 'Eleanore,' and 'Margaret,'—all are raptures in honour of ladies. 'Isabel' is similar in style and plan to the rest, but differs by being addressed to a matron, not a maiden; and though, like the others expnistic enough, and coldly ingenious, is pleasant as a relief from the unrealities of rhetorical sentiment. There is a beautiful idea in it—with much verbal melody and many dainty phrases, far beyond the reach of any but a man of genius, however inaptly genius may be spent in dressing make-believe emotions with far-fetched rhythmic ornament. 'Claribel' is a sort of lament over a dead woman. The other young ladies seem to have the advantage of being still alive, but their poetic environment is not for that the less ghostly and preternatural.

tural. In all of these pieces the will to write poetry seems to us to have supplied (insufficiently) the place of poetic feeling; though one sees that only a poet could have written them. The heroines are moonshine maidens, in the number of whom Mr. Tennyson is really as unconscionable as Solomon or Mahomet. It may be suspected that neither the Arab prophet nor Jewish king would much have approved such questionable charms as *black-beaded eyes*, and *crimson-threaded lips*. We of a more metaphysical generation grow heartily weary of the delicacies, and subtleties, and super-fineries of so many mysterious passions, and phantom objects, as carefully discriminated as varieties of insects by Ehrenberg, or fossils by Owen. The whole style smells of musk, and is not without glimpses of rouge and pearl-powder. We have found nothing here at once more distinct and graceful than the following lines, and these are marred by the two final epithets:—

‘ His bowstring slacken’d, languid Love,  
Leaning his cheek upon his hand,  
Droops both his wings, regarding thee;  
And so would languish evermore,  
Serene, imperial Eleanore.’

Of the poem ‘To ——,’ much need not be said. ‘*Clear-headed friend*’ is the most ludicrously flat beginning of a serious poem that we have ever seen proceed from a real poet; and the construction of the final strophe is so obscure that we have in vain attempted to disentangle it into any meaning. Yet few readers can be required to spend as much time on such a matter as we are both bound and glad so to employ. In the same verses ‘*kingly intellect*’ is at least in that connection a phrase of vague rhetoric. The two little poems to the ‘Owl’ are at best ingenious imitations of the manner of some of Shakespeare’s and his contemporaries’ songs; well done enough, but not worth doing.

The ‘*Recollections of the Arabian Nights*’ is of a better kind. The writer does not in this seem painfully striving after topics, images, variations, and originalities, but writing from lively conception of a theme which offered in abundance the material suited to his fancy and ear. The poem is at once brilliant and pleasing: but we may remark that its merit is of a kind which presents itself somewhat too easily to a reader of the tales it recalls; that there is little progress in imagery, and none in thought, beyond the first stanza, in all the following thirteen; and that some meaning adapted to our modern European brains might perhaps have been insinuated under those gorgeous eastern emblems without injury to their genuine Asiatic import. The  
gold

gold and red arabesque repeats itself, square after square of the pattern, with undeniable splendour, but somewhat wearying monotony.

The 'Ode to Memory' aims at a far higher sort of excellence. Had it preceded, instead of following, Mr. Wordsworth's 'Platonic Ode,' it would have been a memorable poem. The elder poet's solemn rapture on the 'Recollections of Childhood' is comparable, in its way, to the Portland funeral vase, were that lighted, as it ought to be, from within: on a purple ground, dark as midnight, still and graceful snow-white figures, admitting of endless interpretations, all more or less fitting, but none, perhaps, conclusive. Mr. Tennyson has caught some of the same feeling, and much of the rhythm, but has not even earned what was still within his power, the praise of a greater variety and richness of painting, nor has precipitated with Shelleyan passion the stream that slept so calmly in Mr. Wordsworth's mountain-lake.

There could hardly be a more decisive proof of Mr. Tennyson's inaptitude for *Orphic* song than the last six lines of this poem:—

' My friend, with thee to live alone,  
Methinks were better than to own  
A crown, a sceptre, and a throne.  
O strengthen me, enlighten me!  
I faint in this obscurity,  
Thou dewy dawn of memory.'

To tell Memory, the mystic prophetess to whom in these transcendent initiations we owe all notices connecting our small individuality with the Infinite Eternal, that converse with her were better than crowns and sceptres! Memory might perhaps reply—' My friend, if you have not, after encircling the universe, traversing the abyss of ages, and uttering more than a hundred lines, forgotten that there are such toys on that poor earth as crowns and sceptres, it were better for you to be alone, not with, but without me.' Think how sublime a doctrine, that to have the beatific vision is really better than the power and pomp of the world. Philosophy, that sounds all depths, has seldom approached a deeper *bathos*.

Of the little poem called '*Circumstance*' we shall quote the whole, pleased to find something that we can produce in support of our admiration for a large class of Mr. Tennyson's poems, on which we have not yet touched:—

' Two children in two neighbouring villages  
Playing mad pranks along the heathy leas;  
Two strangers meeting at a festival;  
Two lovers whispering by an orchard wall;  
Two lives bound fast in one with golden ease;

Two



Two graves grass-green beside a gray church-tower,  
Wash'd with still rains, and daisy-blossomed;  
Two children in one hamlet born and bred;—  
So runs the round of life from hour to hour.\*

Much is not attempted here, but the more performed. How simple is the language; how quietly flowing the rhythm; how clear the images; and with what pleasant enigmatic openness do the few lines set before us all the little tale of the two villagers, playing, parted, meeting, loving, wedding, dying, and leaving behind them two orphan children! It is a small tone of natural feeling, caught and preserved with genuine art, and coming home to every bosom that sweet words can penetrate at all.

'Fatima' is of a far higher pitch, but seems oddly misnamed. It is full of true and vehement, yet musical passion; and it suggests the strong flow of Lesbian poetry, and particularly the well-known fragment of Sappho addressed to a woman. Whence, then, the name? Lesbos has hardly gained by becoming a part of Turkey, or Sappho by turning into Fatima. But the poem is beautiful: we scarcely know where in English we could find anything so excellent, as expressing the deep-hearted fulness of a woman's conscious love. Many will read it as if it belonged only to some Fatima or Sappho to feel with this entireness of abandonment. But there are hundreds of women in the West end of London—and in the East end too—who would find it only a strain that nature had already taught them.

'Lady Clara Vere de Vere' aims at less, and though of no very rare cast, is successful in all that it attempts. Mr. Tennyson seems to have intended to be very severe in this remonstrance to a flirt. But the damsel who deserved it would certainly rather have been flattered than provoked by such a tribute to her powers.

'The Blackbird,' 'The Death of the Old Year,' and 'Edward Gray,' are all sufficiently good for publication, but not for detailed criticism. 'Sir Launcelot and Queen Guinevere' is of similar tone, but not extraordinary merit. The last but one appears to be the best stanza:—

'Now on some twisted ivy-net,  
Now by some tinkling rivulet,  
On mosses thick with violet,  
Her cream-white mule his pastern set :  
And now more fleet she skimmed the plains  
Than she whose elfin prancer springs  
By night to eery warblings,  
When all the glimmering moorland rings  
With jingling bridle-reins.'—vol. ii. p. 207.

In one less careful of his melody—and we have few very recent writers so successfully careful of it—we should hardly make any remark on the harsh *r*'s in these latter lines, so unsuitable to the vague and gliding fluency of the image.

\* Under the head of *FANCIES* we class all those poems relating to distant and marvellous circumstances and persons such as we can only conceive, and that very imperfectly, by a conscious removal of our thoughts into regions of which we have no experience, and which seem to us half impossible. In some instances the poet only attempts to reproduce outward relations of society and a kind of feeling which have departed from our common life—as in 'The Sisters,' 'The Beggar Maid,' 'St. Simeon,' and 'St. Agnes.' In others, and the greater number of these pieces, he rushes away with us into the ruins and sepulchres of old supernatural beliefs—dear to him, however, not as still partly credible, or as ever having been sacred and awful to mankind, but for the graceful strangeness of the figures that they suggest and are linked with. This mythological poetry is not of equal interest and difficulty with that which produces as brilliant and deep effects from the ordinary realities of our own lives. But it is far from worthless. Some German ballads of this kind by Goëthe and Schiller—nay, by Bürger and by Heine—have great power over every one, from the art with which the imagination is won to accept as true what we still feel to be so strange. This is done mainly by a potent use of the mysterious relation between man and nature, and between all men towards each other, which always must show itself on fitting occasions as the visionary, the ominous, the spectral, the 'eery,' and awful consciousness of a supernatural somewhat within our own homely flesh. It appears to us that Mr. Tennyson has neither felt so deeply as some other poets—Coleridge, for instance, in 'Christabel'—the moral ground on which this oracular introspective part of man is firmly built, nor has employed its phantasmagoric power with such startling witchery. But there is almost always a vivid elegance and inward sweetness in his elfin song, whether Gothic or Grecian, and he sometimes even uses the legends of Pagan antiquity with a high perfection of dreamy music.

'The Dying Swan,' 'The Merman,' and 'The Mermaid,' are figments which he has not connected with any feeling that could render us willing to believe, nor with any meaning that would give them value as symbols. There is a kind of unhappy materialism in some of these attempts at spiritualising nature, and in the midst of some beautiful images we are stopped short by fancies equally fartsought and unpleasant; see, for instance, vol. p. 73.

There

There are, however, hardly any of these legendary poems that might not well be cited as examples of solid and luminous painting. We must admit that Mr. Tennyson has scarcely succeeded, perhaps has not tried, to unite any powerful impression on the feelings with his coloured blaze. It is painted—though well painted—fire. But in animated pomp of imagery, all in movement, like a work of Paolo Veronese, few things that we know could rival these compositions. His figures are distinct as those of brazen statuary on tombs, brilliant as stained glass, musical as the organ-tones of chapels. And as some of these romantic songs remind us of Paul Cagliari, others—those especially that have been dreamt upon the lap of the Greek Muse—are akin to the creations of a still greater painter than the Veronese, Correggio. So mild and mournful in interest are these, so perfect in harmony of images and rhythm, we almost grieve at last to waken from our trance and find we have been deluded by a Pagan vision, and by the echoes of oracles now dumb. Scarcely fabled magic could be more successful. The effect is the result evidently of great labour, but also of admirable art. As minstrel conjurations, perhaps, in English, ‘Kubla Khan’ alone exceeds them. The verse is full of liquid intoxication, and the language of golden oneness. While we read, we too are wandering, led by nymphs, among the thousand isles of old mythology, and the present fades away from us into a pale vapour. To bewitch us with our own daily realities, and not with their unreal opposites, is a still higher task; but it could not be more thoroughly performed.

The ‘Morte d’Arthur,’ the first poem in the second volume, seems to us less costly jewel-work, with fewer of the broad flashes of passionate imagery, than some others, and not compensating for this inferiority by any stronger human interest. The miraculous legend of ‘Excalibar’ does not come very near to us, and as reproduced by any modern writer must be a mere ingenious exercise of fancy. The poem, however, is full of distinct and striking description, perfectly expressed; and a tone of mild, dignified sweetness attracts, though it hardly avails to enchant us. The poet might perhaps have made the loss of the magic sword, the death of Arthur, and dissolution of the Round Table, a symbol for the departure from earth of the whole old Gothic world, with its half-pagan, all-poetic faith, and rude yet mystic blazonries. But it would be tyrannical exaction to require more philosophy in union with so fiery and productive a fancy. No one but Coleridge among us has ever combined a thoroughly speculative intellect with so restless an abundance of beautiful imagery as we find in Mr. Tennyson; and the younger minstrel



has as much of the reflection proper to an age like ours as any living poet except Mr. Wordsworth, and as any but a very few deceased ones.

The gift of comprehensive thoughtfulness does not, however, show itself to advantage in '*St. Simeon Stylites*,' a kind of monological personation of a filthy and mad ascetic. We find exhibited, with the seriousness of bitter poetic irony, his loathsome, yet ridiculous attempts at saintship, all founded on an idea of the Divinity fit only for an African worshipping a scarecrow fetish made of dog's bones, goose-feathers, and dunghill-rags. This is no topic for Poetry: she has better tasks than to wrap her mantle round a sordid, greedy lunatic.

How different, how superior is '*Ulysses*!' There is in this work a delightful epic tone, and a clear unimpassioned wisdom quietly carving its sage words and graceful figures on pale but lasting marble. Yet we know not why, except from schoolboy recollections, a modern English poet should write of Ulysses rather than of the great voyagers of the modern world, Columbus, Gama, or even Drake. Their feelings and aims lie far nearer to our comprehension—reach us by a far shorter line. Even of '*Godiva*,' different as is the theme, a similar observation holds. It also is admirably well done; but the singularity and barbarousness of the fact spur, no doubt, the fancy, even told in plain prose, yet are far from rendering the topic favourable for poetry. The '*Day-Dream*,' the old and pretty tale of the '*Sleeping Beauty*,' is open to no such objection. Here the poetry was made to the writer's hand, and one cannot but wish that his grace, liveliness, and splendour had been employed on a matter of his own invention;\* or, if borrowed, of some more earnest meaning. Yet, as graceful and lively description, as truth playing behind the mask of fairy-tale, the whole poem is most agreeable. It opens thus:—

The varying year with blade and sheaf  
Clothes and reclothes the happy plains;  
Here rests the sap within the leaf,  
Here stays the blood along the veins.  
Faint shadows, vapours lightly curl'd,  
Faint murmurs from the meadows come,  
Like hints and echoes of the world  
To spirits folded in the womb.

---

\* It is difficult to suppose that the poem was written before the exhibition of Mr. MacIver's picture of '*The Sleeping Beauty*,' (1841)—a work displaying, like most of that rising artist's, great wealth and boldness of fancy and execution, but, like too many both of the paintings and the poems of our day, too ambitiously crowded, and forced and glaring in its *aspersion*.

Soft lustre bathes the range of urns  
On every slanting terrace-lawn.  
The fountain to his place returns  
Deep in the garden-lake withdrawn.  
Here droops the banner on the tower,  
On the hall-hearths the festal fires,  
The peacock in his laurel bower,  
The parrot in his gilded wires.  
Roof-haunting martins warm their eggs:  
In these, in those the life is stay'd.  
The mantles from the golden pegs  
Droop sleepily: no sound is made,  
Not even of a gnat that sings.  
More like a picture seemeth all  
Than those old portraits of old kings,  
That watch the sleepers from the wall.  
Here sits the butler with a flask  
Between his knees, half-drain'd; and there  
The wrinkled steward at his task;  
The maid-of-honour blooming fair:  
The page has caught her hand in his;  
Her lips are sever'd as to speak:  
His own are pouted to a kiss:  
The blush is fix'd upon her cheek.  
Till all the hundred summers pass,  
The beams, that through the oriel shine,  
Make prisms in every carven glass,  
And beaker brimm'd with noble wine  
Each baron at the banquet sleeps,  
Grave faces gather'd in a ring.  
His state the king reposing keeps.  
He must have been a jolly king.  
All round a hedge upshoots, and shows  
At distance like a little wood;  
Thorns, ivies, woodbine, misletocs,  
And grapes with bunches red as blood;  
All creeping plants, a wall of green  
Close-matted, bur and brake and brier,  
And glimpsing over these, just seen,  
High up, the topmost palace-spire.  
When will the hundred summers die,  
And thought and time be born agen,  
And newer knowledge, drawing nigh,  
Bring truth that sways the soul of men?  
Here all things in their place remain,  
As all were order'd, ages since.  
Come, Care and Pleasure, Hope and Pain,  
And bring the fated fairy Prince.

At last—two sections intervene—he comes and finds the lady :—

‘ A touch, a kiss ! the charm was snapp’d.  
 There rose a noise of striking clocks,  
 And feet that ran, and doors that clapp’d,  
 And barking dogs, and crowing cocks.  
 A fuller light illumined all,  
 A breeze through all the garden swept,  
 A sudden hubbub shook the hall,  
 And sixty feet the fountain leapt.

The hedge broke in, the banner blew,  
 The butler drank, the steward scrawl’d,  
 The fire shot up, the martin flew,  
 The parrot scream’d, the peacock squall’d,  
 The maid and page renew’d their strife,  
 The palace bang’d, and buzz’d, and clack’d,  
 And all the long-pent stream of life  
 Dash’d downward in a cataract.

And last of all the king awoke,  
 And in his chair himself uprear’d,  
 And yawn’d, and rubb’d his face, and spoke,  
 “ By holy rood, a royal beard !  
 How say you ? we have slept, my lords.  
 My beard has grown into my lap.”  
 The barons swore, with many words,  
 ’Twas but an after-dinner’s nap.

“ Pardy,” return’d the king, “ but still  
 My joints are something stiff or so  
 My lord, and shall we pass the bill  
 I mention’d half an hour ago ?”  
 The chancellor, sedate and vain,  
 In courteous words return’d reply ;  
 But dallied with his golden cham,  
 And, smiling, put the question by.’

Another section follows before we have that entitled ‘ The Departure :’—

‘ And on her lover’s arm she leant,  
 And round her waist she felt it fold,  
 And far across the hills they went  
 In that new world which is the old :  
 Across the hills, and far away  
 Beyond their utmost purple rim,  
 And deep into the dying day  
 The happy princess follow’d him.

“ I’d sleep another hundred years,  
 O love, for such another kiss ;”

“ O wake



"O wake for ever; love," she hears,  
 "O love, 'twas such as this and this."  
 And o'er them many a sliding star,  
 And many a merry wind was borne,  
 And, stream'd through many a golden bar,  
 The twilight melted into morn.  
  
 "O eyes long laid in happy sleep!"  
 "O happy sleep, that lightly fled!"  
 "O happy kiss, that woke thy sleep!"  
 "O love, thy kiss would wake the dead!"  
 And o'er them many a flowing range  
 Of vapour buoy'd the crescent-bark,  
 And, rapt through many a rosy change,  
 The twilight died into the dark.  
  
 "A hundred summers! can it be?  
 And whither goest thou, tell me where?"  
 "O seek my father's court with me,  
 For there are greater wonders there."  
 And o'er the hills, and far away -  
 Beyond their utmost purple rim,  
 Beyond the night, across the day,  
 Through all the world she follow'd him.

—vol. ii. p. 159.

The poems which we would class under the head MORALITIES, in which Reflection lifts the rod to silence Feeling, are scattered up and down the volumes under various titles. They almost all appear to us decided and remarkable failures, and only one or two of the shorter and slighter at all worthy of Mr. Tennyson.

The 'Palace of Art,' indeed, has the tints and force of poetry, and shows the author's characteristic power of distinct and deeply-dyed painting. But there is considerable affectation in some of the groupings both of words and things, and what is worse, the meaning, the *moral*, is trivial, and even mistaken. The writer's doctrine seems to be, that the soul, while by its own energy surrounding itself with all the most beautiful and expressive images that the history of mankind has produced, and sympathizing wholly with the world's best thoughts, is perpetrating some prodigious moral offence for which it is bound to repent in sackcloth and ashes. A more rational and not less religious view would seem to be, that we should repent of the errors we commit from the *inactivity* of our higher powers and feelings. We hardly know a notion worthier of Simeon [Stylites], or of some crack-brained sot repenting in the stocks, than this doctrine that the use of our noblest faculties on their right objects

is an outrage against our best duties. Happily, Mr. Tennyson's practice is wiser than the theory propounded in this piece; and his theory itself, if we may judge from the doctrinal parts of his second and more mature volume, is also much improved. The long and dull production called the 'Two Voices,' a dispute on immortality, adding nothing to our previous knowledge, and of which the substance might have been better given in three pages (or one) than thirty, has yet no such folly in it as the many-coloured mistake of the 'Palace of Art.'

In all Mr. Tennyson's didactic writing one sees too clearly that, unless when the Image enchains his heart, the Thought has far too little hold upon him to produce any lively movement of soul. His speculations have the commonplaceness, vagueness, and emptiness of dreams, though the dreams of genius; and hopefully do we trust that the poet will not again throw off his magic mantle for either the monkish gown or stoic robe.

We have now reached that class of poems which stand first in our list, and which we have entitled *IDYLLS*. We have reserved till now all special mention of them, as holding them the most valuable part of Mr. Tennyson's writings, a real addition to our literature. They have all more or less of the properly Idyllic character, though in three or four of them marked with the rapid and suggestive style of the ballad. In all we find some warm feeling, most often love, a clear and faithful eye for visible nature, skilful art and completeness of construction, and a mould of verse which for smoothness and play of melody has seldom been equalled in the language. The heartfelt tenderness, the glow, the gracefulness, the strong sense, the lively painting, in many of these compositions, drawn from the heart of our actual English life, set them far above the glittering marvels and musical phantasms of Mr. Tennyson's mythological romances, at first sight the most striking portion of his works.

Among the happier specimens of this class two are pre-eminent—the 'Gardener's Daughter,' and 'Dora.' These are both of them Idylls in the strictest sense of the term, and might rank with the eclogues of Theocritus and Virgil, and with some poems of Goëthe—as anecdotes drawn from rustic life and rounded into song. Especially, as compared with the antique models, we see in them all the gain that Christianity and civilization have brought to the relation of the sexes, and to the characters of women.

The 'Gardener's Daughter' is a husband's recollection of his successful love, the object of which has been withdrawn from him by death. The unrhymed verse has a quiet fulness of sound, and all the delineation a clear yet rich completeness of truth, that render the little work, though far from the loftiest, yet one of the  
most

most delightful we know. As English landscape-painting, what can exceed this?

‘ Not wholly in the busy world, nor quite  
Beyond it, blooms the garden that I love.  
News from the humming city comes to it  
In sound of funeral or of marriage bells,  
And, sitting muffled in dark leaves, you hear  
The windy clanging of the minster clock;  
Although between it and the garden lies  
A league of grass, wash’d by a slow broad stream,  
That, stirr’d with languid pulses of the oar,  
Waves all its lazy lilies, and creeps on,  
Barge-laden, to three arches of a bridge  
Crown’d with the minster-towers. The fields between  
Are dewy-fresh, brows’d by deep-udder’d kine,  
And all about the large lime feathers low,  
The lime a summer home of murmurous wings.’

Or take the companion picture, where this view is alive with human passion :—

‘ There sat we down upon a garden mound,  
Two mutually enfolded; Love, the third,  
Between us, in the circle of his arms  
Enwound us both; and over many a range  
Of waning lime the gray cathedral towers,  
Across a hazy glimmer of the west,  
Reveal’d their shining windows: from them clash’d  
The bells; we listen’d; with the time we play’d;  
We spoke of other things; we coursed about  
The subject most at heart, more near and near,  
Like doves about a dovecote, wheeling round  
The central wish, until we settled there.’—vol. ii. p. 29.

‘ Dora,’ though not so luxuriously beautiful, has less, indeed nothing, that could be spared without serious loss, and being only half the length of the former one, we shall extract it entire :—

‘ With farmer Allan at the farm abode  
\* William and Dora. William was his son,  
And she his niece. He often look’d at them,  
And often thought “ I’ll make them man and wife.”  
Now Dora felt her uncle’s will in all,  
And yearn’d towards William; but the youth, because  
He had been always with her in the house,  
Thought not of Dora.

Then there came a day  
When Allan call’d his son, and said, “ My son,  
I married late; but I would wish to see  
My grandchild on my knees before I die:

And



And I have set my heart upon a match.  
 Now therefore look to Dora, she is well.  
 To look to; thrifty too beyond her age.  
 She is my brother's daughter: he and I  
 Had once hard words, and parted, and he died  
 In foreign lands; but for his sake I bred  
 His daughter Dora: take her for your wife;  
 For I have wished this marriage, night and day,  
 For many years." But William answer'd short,  
 "I cannot marry Dora; by my life,  
 I will not marry Dora." Then the old man  
 Was wroth, and doubled up his hands, and said,  
 "You will not, boy! you dare to answer thus!  
 But in my time a father's word was law,  
 And so it shall be now for me. Look to't.  
 Consider: take a month to think, and give  
 An answer to my wish; or by the Lord  
 That made me, you shall pack, and nevermore  
 Darken my doors again." And William heard,  
 And answer'd something madly; bit his lips,  
 And broke away. The more he look'd at her  
 The less he liked her; and his ways were harsh;  
 But Dora bore them meekly. Then before  
 The month was out he left his father's house,  
 And hired himself to work within the fields;  
 And half in love, half spite, he woo'd and wed  
 A labourer's daughter, Mary Morrison.

Then, when the bells were ringing, Allan call'd  
 His niece and said, "My girl, I love you well;  
 But if you speak with him that was my son,  
 Or change a word with her he calls his wife,  
 My home is none of yours. My will is law."  
 And Dora promised, being meek. She thought,  
 "It cannot be: my uncle's mind will change!"

And days went on, and there was born a boy  
 To William; then distresses came on him;  
 And day by day he pass'd his father's gate,  
 Heart-broken, and his father help'd him not.  
 But Dora stored what little she could save,  
 And sent it them by stealth, nor did they know  
 Who sent it; till at last a fever seized  
 On William, and in harvest time he died.

Then Dora went to Mary. Mary sat  
 And look'd with tears upon her boy, and thought  
 Hard things of Dora. Dora came and said,  
 "I have obey'd my uncle until now,  
 And I have sinn'd, for it was all thro' me  
 This evil came on William at the first.  
 But, Mary, for the sake of him that's gone,

And

And for your sake, the woman that he chose,  
And for this orphan, I am come to you:  
You know there has not been for these five years  
So full a harvest: let me take the boy,  
And I will set him in my uncle's eye  
Among the wheat; that when his heart is glad  
Of the full harvest, he may see the boy,  
And bless him for the sake of him that's gone."

And Dora took the child and went her way  
Across the wheat, and sat upon a mound  
That was unsown, where many poppies grew.  
Far off the farmer came into the field,  
And spied her not; for none of all his men  
Dare tell him Dora waited with the child;  
And Dora would have risen and gone to him,  
But her heart fail'd her; and the reapers reap'd,  
And the sun fell, and all the land was dark.

But when the morrow came, she rose and took  
The child once more, and sat upon the mound;  
And made a little wreath of all the flowers  
That grew about, and tied it round his hat  
To make him pleasing in her uncle's eye.  
Then when the farmer pass'd into the field  
He spied her, and he left his men at work  
And came and said, "Where were you yesterday?  
Whose child is that? What are you doing here?"  
So Dora cast her eyes upon the ground,  
And answer'd softly, "This is William's child!"  
"And did I not," said Allan, "did I not  
Forbid you, Dora?" Dora said again,  
"Do with me as you will, but take the child  
And bless him for the sake of him that's gone!"  
And Allan said, "I see it is a trick  
Got up betwixt you and the woman there.  
I must be taught my duty, and by you!  
You knew my word was law, and yet you dared  
To slight it. Well—for I will take the boy;  
But go you hence, and never see me more."

So saying, he took the boy, that cried aloud  
And struggled hard. The wreath of flowers fell  
At Dora's feet. She bow'd upon her hands,  
And the boy's cry came to her from the field,  
More and more distant. She bow'd down her head,  
Remembering the day when first she came,  
And all the things that had been. She bow'd down  
And wept in secret, and the reapers reap'd,  
And the sun fell, and all the land was dark.

Then Dora went to Mary's house, and stood  
Upon the threshold. Mary saw the boy

Was not with Dora. She broke out in praise  
 To God, that help'd her in her widowhood.  
 And Dora said, "My uncle took the boy;  
 But, Mary, let me live and work with you:  
 He says that he will never see me more."  
 Then answer'd Mary, "This shall never be,  
 That thou shouldst take my trouble on thyself:  
 And, now I think, he shall not have the boy,  
 For he will teach him hardness, and to slight  
 His mother; therefore thou and I will go,  
 And I will have my boy, and bring him home;  
 And I will beg of him to take thee back;  
 But if he will not take thee back again,  
 Then thou and I will live within one house,  
 And work for William's child, until he grows  
 Of age to help us."

So the women kiss'd  
 Each other, and set out, and reach'd the farm.  
 The door was off the latch; they peep'd and saw  
 The boy set up betwixt his grandsire's knees,  
 Who thrust him in the hollows of his arm,  
 And clapp'd him on the hands and on the cheeks,  
 Like one that loved him; and the lad stretch'd out  
 And babbled for the golden seal, that hung  
 From Allan's watch, and sparkled by the fire.  
 Then they came in; but when the boy beheld  
 His mother, he cried out to come to her,  
 And Allan set him down; and Mary said:  
 "O Father!—if you let me call you so—  
 I never came a-begging for myself,  
 Or William, or this child; but now I come  
 For Dora: take her back; she loves you well.  
 O sir, when William died, he died at peace  
 With all men; for I ask'd him, and he said,  
 He could not ever rue his marrying me;  
 I had been a patient wife; but, sir, he said  
 That he was wrong to cross his father thus.  
 'God bless him!' he said, 'and may he never know  
 The troubles I have gone through!' Then he turn'd  
 His face and pass'd—unhappy that I am!  
 But now, sir, let me have my boy, for you  
 Will make him hard, and he will learn to slight  
 His father's memory; and take Dora back,  
 And let all this be as it was before."

So Mary said, and Dora hid her face  
 By Mary. There was silence in the room;  
 And all at once the old man burst in sobs:—  
 "I have been to blame—to blame. I have kill'd my son.  
 I have kill'd him—but I loved him—my dear son.



May God forgive me!—I have been to blame.  
Kiss me, my children.”

Then they clung about  
The old man's neck, and kiss'd him many times.  
And all the man was broken with remorse;  
And all his love came back a hundredfold;  
And for three hours he sobb'd o'er William's child,  
Thinking of William.

So those four abode  
Within one house together; and as years  
Went forward, Mary took another mate;  
But Dora lived unmarried till her death.—vol. ii. p. 33-41.

We shall leave this without comment, which, we trust, is needless.

‘Audley Court,’ and ‘Walking to the Mail,’ are in a lighter style, and with less of interest. ‘The Talking Oak’ is more important, but does not satisfy us so well. This also, like most of Mr. Tennyson's better poems, is love-inspired and love-breathing. But an ancient oak, that is won by a poet to utter Dodonæan oracles, would hardly, we conceive, be so prolix and minute in its responses. In ‘Locksley Hall’ the fancy is again at home. It is, perhaps, on the whole, the one of all these poems in which far-extended thought is best involved in genuine and ardent imagination. A quick and generous heart pours out through the lips of a young man who has been deceived by the woman he loved, and who, inflamed with disappointment, reviews at passionate speed—far unlike the prosaic slowness of professional reviewers—the images that the darkened world now presents to him, and the diverse paths of action that he is tempted to try. We know not what the author means by his hero's talk of comrades and bugle-horns; for all the rest is the direct outbirth and reflection of our own age. The speaker tells his former happiness in the following lines:—

‘Then her cheek was pale and thinner than should be for one so young,  
And her eyes on all my motions with a mute observance hung;  
And I said, “My cousin Amy, speak, and speak the truth to me,  
Trust me, cousin, all the current of my being sets to thee.”

On her pallid cheek and forehead came a colour and a light,  
As I have seen the rosy red flushing in the northern night.

And she turn'd—her bosom shaken with a sudden storm of sighs—  
All the spirit deeply dawning in the dark of hazel eyes—

Saying, “I have hid my feelings, fearing they should do me wrong;”  
Saying, “Dost thou love me, cousin?” weeping, “I have loved thee long.”

Love took up the glass of Time, and turn'd it in his glowing hands;  
Every moment, lightly shaken, ran itself in golden sands.

Love

Love took up the harp of Life, and smote on all the chords with might  
Smote the chord of Self, that, trembling, pass'd in music out of sight.

Many a morning on the moorland did we hear the còpses ring,  
And her whisper throng'd my pulses with the fulness of the Spring.

Many an evening by the waters did we watch the stately ships,  
And our spirits rush'd together at the touching of the lips.

O my cousin, shallow-hearted! O my Amy, mine no more!  
O the dreary, dreary moorland! O the barren, barren shore!

Falser than all fancy fathoms, falser than all songs have sung,  
Puppet to a father's threat, and servile to a shrewish tongue!

Is it well to wish thee happy?—having known me—to decline  
On a range of lower feelings, and a narrower heart than mine!

—vol. ii. p. 94-96.

The images that haunt him, of the faithless maiden's married life with a despised husband, are full of bitter strength; but we prefer a small specimen of his more indistinct and wider notions :—

' Can I but relive in sadness? I will turn that earlier page.  
Hide me from my deep emotion, O thou wondrous Mother-Age!  
Make me feel the wild pulsation that I felt before the strife,  
When I heard my days before me, and the tumult of my life;  
Yearning for the large excitement that the coming years would yield,  
Eager-hearted as a boy when first he leaves his father's field,  
And at night along the dusky highway near and nearer drawn,  
Sees in heaven the light of London flaring like a dreary dawn;  
And his spirit leaps within him to be gone before him then,  
Underneath the light he looks at, in among the throngs of men;  
Men, my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new:  
That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do:  
For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see—  
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;  
Saw the heavens fill'd with commerce, argosies of magic sails,  
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;  
Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew  
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;  
Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm,  
With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunder-storm.'

—vol. ii. pp. 103, 104.

' *Lady Clare* ' is not memorable; but the ' *Lord of Burleigh* ' well deserves citation, as an example of the skill with which a poet can find a true and complete imaginative interest in an anecdote of our actual refined life :—

' In

'In her ear he whispers gaily,  
    " If my heart by signs can tell,  
Maiden, I have watch'd thee daily,  
    And I think thou lov'st me well."  
She replies in accents fainter,  
    " There is none I love like thee."  
He is but a landscape-painter,  
    And a village maiden she.  
He to lips, that fondly falter,  
    Presses his without reproof;  
Leads her to the village altar,  
    And they leave her father's roof.  
" I can make no marriage present;  
    Little can I give my wife.  
Love will make our cottage pleasant,  
    And I love thee more than life."

They by parks and lodges going  
    See the lordly castles stand :  
Summer woods, about them blowing,  
    Made a murmur in the land.  
From deep thought himself he rouses,  
    Says to her that loves him well,  
" Let us see these handsome houses  
    Where the wealthy nobles dwell."  
So she goes by him attended,  
    Hears him lovingly converse,  
Sees whatever fair and splendid  
    Lay betwixt his home and hers ;

Parks with oak and chestnut shady,  
    Parks and order'd gardens great,  
Ancient homes of lord and lady,  
    Built for pleasure and for state.  
All he shows her makes him dearer :  
    Evermore she seems to gaze  
On that cottage growing nearer,  
    Where they twain will spend their days.  
O but she will love him truly !  
    He shall have a cheerful home ;  
She will order all things duly,  
    When beneath his roof they come.

Thus her heart rejoices greatly,  
    'Till a gateway she discerns  
With armorial bearings stately,  
    And beneath the gate she turns ;  
Sees a mansion more majestic  
    Than all those she saw before :  
Many a gallant gay domestic  
    Bows before him at the door.



And they speak in gentle murmur,  
 When they answer to his call,  
 While he treads with footstep firmer,  
 Leading on from hall to hall;  
 And, while now she wonders blindly,  
 Nor the meaning can divine,  
 Proudly turns he round and kindly,  
 "All of this is mine and thine."

Here he lives in state and bounty,  
 Lord of Burleigh, fair and free;  
 Not a lord in all the county  
 Is so great a lord as he.

All at once the colour flushes  
 Her sweet face from brow to chin:  
 As it were with shame she blushes,  
 And her spirit changed within.  
 Then her countenance all over  
 Pale again as death did prove:  
 But he clasp'd her like a lover,  
 And he cheer'd her soul with love.

So she strove against her weakness,  
 Though at times her spirit sank;  
 Shaped her heart with woman's meekness  
 To all duties of her rank:  
 And a gentle consort made he,  
 And her gentle mind was such  
 That she grew a noble lady,  
 And the people loved her much.

But a trouble weigh'd upon her,  
 And perplex'd her, night and morn,  
 With the burthen of an honour  
 Unto which she was not born.  
 Faint she grew, and ever fainter,  
 As she murmur'd, "Oh, that he  
 Were once more that landscape-painter,  
 Which did win my heart from me!"

So she droop'd and droop'd before him,  
 Fading slowly from his side:  
 Three fair children first she bore him,  
 Then before her time she died.

Weeping, weeping late and early,  
 Walking up and pacing down,  
 Deeply mourn'd the Lord of Burleigh,  
 Burleigh-house by Stamford-town.  
 And he came to look upon her,  
 And he look'd at her and said,  
 "Bring the dress, and put it on her,  
 That she wore when she was wed."

Then 

Then her people, softly treading,  
Bore to earth her body, drest  
In the dress that she was wed in,  
That her spirit might have rest."

—vol. ii. pp. 201-205.

Every thoughtful reader of the poems which we have thus glanced through will be led to compare them with those on similar themes, of present human existence in the country, by the most profoundly reflective of our living poets, Mr. Wordsworth. 'Michael,' 'The Brothers,' the story of Margaret in the beginning of 'The Excursion,' 'Ruth,'—these also are English Idylls, drawn from the well-springs of Nature, and finished with the painful care of a great artist. How naked and bare they all are in their solemn stillness! Nor is it only in these poems, but even in works of lighter and gladder movement, that we are compelled to listen to the bard as to a grave teacher of moral truth, whom the spirit of spontaneous enjoyment, and even the sympathy with whatever is pathetic or grand in man, cannot hurry beyond the school of his compassionate but austere stoicism. Ignorance only, or lunacy, could deny him a deep internal power of true poetry. But even this, and not merely the manly passions and the soft affections, even the shaping and inspired imagination itself, is always subject to the considerate dominion of the moral idea. *Emotion*, the most general and obvious, the necessary impulse of all poetry in every age, is restrained in all his writings by the awful presence of self-centred will. The feelings are described rather than shared; the tragic passions summoned up only to be rebuked by a more solemn conjuration than their own; the free enjoyment of life and nature approved only within the bounds of unrelaxing caution; and love—the name bubbled by every wave of Hippocrene, and thundered in all the floods and storms of the main ocean of our being—is here a grave ritual sound spoken over the still waters drawn from the well of Truth for a penitential baptism.

Of course it would be far from our design to charge this great writer with want of feeling. A poet without feeling! Fire without warmth, and a heart without pulsation! But it is clear that his feelings are always strictly watched by his meditative conscience too strictly, not for wisdom, but for rapture. Not a prophet in the wilderness lifting up his testimony against an evil generation, for the heart of the seer must be red and fierce as molten iron—not a hermit in his cave retired from human joys, for the anchorite floats above his rocky floor, forgetful of laws and retributions, in an ecstasy of self-denying love, that supplies the place of decalogue and duties—but like the prophet and the monk, this poet turns aside from the busy ways of life to speculate,  
in

in sage and sometimes awful rhetoric, on the wondrousness of existence, and the care with which we must tend the purity of its fountain in the heart. There is no face so lovely, no act so gushing over with keen life, that it can kindle at once the minstrel into song, hurrying him beyond all thought of wrong and right, and having warrant enough in the zealous heat which it inspires. Only in communion with the stars, the mountains, and the sea, the flowers of spring and autumn leaves, and all the simple mysteries of natural things, does his heart pour, without pause, a stream of melodious gladness, and fear no danger in its own happy ecstasies. Even in these solemn elevations of soul he does not forget to impose a scheme of toils on human life. Among streams and rocks he begins with discourse of virtue; and when he has risen on the ladder of his vision to the stars, we still hear him singing from the solar way, that it is by temperance, soberness, and chastity of soul he has so climbed, and that the praise of this heroic discipline is his last message to mankind. A noble temper of heart! A truly great man! He has strangely wedded his philosophic lore to the sweetness of poetry. But the poetry would have streamed out in a freer gush, and flushed the heart with ampler joy, had the moral been less *obtruded* as its constant aim.

In the younger of these two idyllic writers, on the whole the most genial poet of English rural life that we know—for Burns was of another language and country, no less than school—there is a very different stamp of soul. In his works there has been art enough required and used to give such clear and graceful roundness; but all skill of labour, all intellectual purpose, kept behind the sweet and fervid impulse of the heart. Thus, all that we call affection, imagination, intellect, melts out as one long happy sigh into union with the visibly beautiful, and with every glowing breath of human life. In all his better poems there is this same character—this fusion of his own fresh feeling with the delightful affections, baffled or blessed, of others—and with the fairest images of the real world as it lies before us all to-day. To this same tendency all legend and mystery are subordinate—to this the understanding, theorizing and dogmatizing, yet ever ministers, a loyal giant to a fairy mistress. In his better and later works the fantastic and ingenious brain, abounding in gold-dust and diamond-powder, and the playmate of sphinxes and hieroglyphic beasts, pours out its wealth, and yokes its monsters only for the service of that homely northern nature, without whose smile all wealth is for us but dead stones, and all mysteries but weary task-like puzzles.



ART. V.—*Remarks on English Churches, and on the Expediency of rendering Sepulchral Memorials subservient to Pious and Christian Uses.* By J. H. Markland, F.R.S. and S.A. Oxford, 1842. 12mo. Second Edition.

MR. MARKLAND has long been known for his zealous and indefatigable services to the Church—services not the less valuable as rendered by a layman. And he has now added another to their number, by a suggestion so likely to accord with the present improved state of religious feeling, and capable of such general application, that it may be regarded as one of the most important steps made lately in the restoration of a sound and efficient church-system among us. That it is simple, and obvious, such as might have occurred to any mind in passing through one of our churchyards, or looking at the tablets which disfigure the walls of our churches, is no disparagement to the merit of the suggester. Most of our greatest inventions have been of this nature. To have appreciated its value, and placed it before the public in a form likely to fix attention, and to induce the adoption of it, is in itself no slight thing. And the pure, practical, and devotional spirit of the little work in which it is contained will give it a recommendation, which Mr. Markland may well claim as his own.

‘It is not (he says) the object of these pages to suggest the banishing of sepulchral monuments altogether from our churches, deeply reverencing, as we must, the antiquity of the custom, and the feeling of love and respect for the dead, “as the last work of charity we can perform for them,” which in many instances prompts their erection; and also believing that they have often been the means of producing a salutary impression upon the living. “The sensations of pious cheerfulness which attend the celebration of Sunday,” says Wordsworth, “are profitably chastised by the sight of the graves of kindred and friends, gathered together in that general home, towards which the thoughtful, yet happy, spectators themselves are journeying” The descendant of a noble house who in his family mausoleum “sees his steel-clad sires and mothers mild” reposing on their marble tombs, and the peasant who saunters among the mouldering heaps of the forefathers of his hamlet, are alike susceptible of some mournful pleasure, arising from the contemplation of “these relics of veneration;” and are alive to the sentiments so exquisitely expressed by Gray in a stanza which ought never to have been expunged from his Elegy:—

“Hark! how the sacred calm that breathes around  
Bids every fierce tumultuous passion cease;  
In still small accents whispering from the ground  
A grateful earnest of eternal peace.”

Tombs of different periods, and of styles characteristic of those periods

(provided they do not offend in point of taste), collected in and around a place of worship, must promote the feeling which some of them at least were intended to excite. The lesson on mortality is most striking, when we see the earthly pomps of age after age, in the outward fashion of each period, all gathered within the same precinct; the dead, great and small, of different generations, waiting alike the Resurrection.

‘ Still, it must be admitted that commonplace monuments and tablets have been, and continue to be, most needlessly multiplied, and that this excess might be wisely restrained. On the walls of many churches, instead of contributing to the beauty of the fabric, they are unsightly excrescences. Not only has every vacant place been seized upon, but portions of the original structure have been, and are shamefully mutilated to receive them. For example: Mr. Rickman, speaking of the ancient altar-screen at Beverley, “unrivalled in its description of work,” states “that some remarkably fine and intricate tracery has been *cut away* to put in some poor modern monumental tablets.”\* The beautiful altar-screen in the Lady Chapel of York Minster, and the screens in various other cathedrals and churches, have equally suffered. A long catalogue of similar enormities might be given, as instances of gross carelessness and depraved taste.

‘ In the majority of cases, why is not the simple gravestone allowed to suffice? Perhaps the very individual whose name is to be engraved on a costly monument was so averse to notoriety, that the distinctive excellence of his character consisted in those retiring qualities which never desired to travel out of the domestic circle.

‘ “It is my will (the excellent Bishop Sanderson desired) that no costly monument be erected for my memory, *but only a fair flat marble stone be laid over me*. And I do very much desire my will may be carefully observed herein, hoping it may become exemplary to some one or other; at least, however, testifying at my death—what I have so often earnestly professed in my lifetime—my utter dislike of the vast expenses laid out in funeral solemnities, with very little benefit to any, which, if bestowed in pious and charitable works, might redound to the public or private benefit of many persons.” Dr. Wells requested “to have no stone set up to his memory;” but he did leave a monument in his parish, for *he rebuilt the parsonage at his own cost*. Mr. Newman justly observes that “it is always a satisfaction to have evidence that an author is writing under the practical influence of his own principles.” Sir Henry Wotton directed his executors to “lay over his grave a marble stone, plain and not costly; considering that time moulders even marble to dust, for monuments themselves must die.”

‘ Again, how frequently does it happen that on such memorials all that is mentioned is nothing more than what the parish-register could tell us! “Most inscriptions record nothing else of the buried person, but that he was born upon one day and died upon another: the whole history of his life being comprehended in those two circumstances that are common to all mankind. I could not but look upon these registers

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\* A still more lamentable instance may be seen in the exquisite Lady Chapel, or Trinity Church, attached to Ely Cathedral.

of existence, whether of brass or marble, as a kind of satire upon the departed persons, who had left no other memorial of them, but that they were born and that they died."

' Collins, in his exquisite lines on the death of Colonel Ross, gives to that brave soldier a grave covered with turf, and tells us that

" Aërial hands shall build his tomb,  
With shadowy trophies crown'd."

But men "of meaner mould, life's common clods," are not to be thus easily satisfied. . By their own testamentary directions, or by the mistaken kindness of surviving friends, tombs of a costly and substantial character are prepared for numbers, whose claims to sepulchral honours could not well be classed with those of the hero of Fontenoy. The poet's lament is not to apply to them, and, after a vast expense and waste of talent and labour, the "polished marble," in the shape of a statue or bust, is placed upon its pedestal.—p. 36, &c.

✕ And the suggestion which follows is obvious :—

' If, from the comparatively humble station which an individual may have occupied, or from his uneventful life, no useful lesson can be taught by the inscription on his tomb, why should not an expenditure (which in this case must be prompted by somewhat of vanity in his surviving friends) receive another and a higher direction? Might not the cost be made instrumental to a better and a holier end? Might it not be devoted to the service and glory of God, and to the benefit of those who worship in His house? For more than a century, mural monuments with cherubs, skulls, lamps, and twisted columns, with little variety, were permitted to deform our churches. In later days we have had the urn or the sarcophagus—strange ornaments in a Christian temple!—or a female figure, veiled with drapery, sitting under a willow, bending over a tomb, or leaning upon an extinguished torch! These designs have become wearisome and uninteresting from repetition, and unless they proceed from the chisel of a master, cannot but be wholly disregarded. It should be an object, therefore, with us all, where our influence may extend, to endeavour to restrain the passion for erecting sepulchral memorials, in order that they may be confined exclusively to those, who, from their distinguished talents and their useful lives, merit posthumous honours; and that when they are erected, due attention should always be paid to the proper disposal of them in our churches, and also to their adaptation to the character of the building, which is to contain them. But far more strongly may it be urged, that instead of costly monuments, memorials should be chosen, which, from being really useful, might be stamped with a more imperishable character.

' In pointing out another class of memorials for the dead, as substitutes for a large proportion of unimportant and unedifying monuments and tablets, the object should be to associate the names and the virtues of those who are really worthy of such commemoration with something more important and more beneficial than all that sculpture and epitaphs alone can afford.

' On the death of the head of a family of rank or wealth, the more pressing



pressing wants, both spiritual and temporal, of a neighbourhood should be consulted, and a parish church, a district church or chapel, a school, almshouses, or an hospital should be erected, or enlarged, as circumstances might require. If no such building or additions to an existing building be called for, then let inquiries of the following kind be made. Does the body, or an aisle of the church of the parish, its chancel, porch, roof, tower, or spire, call for restoration? In what state are the altar and its screen, and the font? In many of our churches the altar-screens have either perished, or the original work is hidden or defaced, as we have seen, by clumsy wood-work, or by paintings, "where sprawl the saints" of artists less skilful than "Verrio or Laguerre;"—let such be carefully restored. In others of our churches, the altars themselves and fonts will be found in a state of filth and decay disgraceful to us as members of Christ's Church, professing to hold in reverence the sacraments which He has ordained, but wholly regardless of the places of their celebration.'

We have wished to let Mr. Markland speak for himself, because a good man's voice, whose acts are like his words, is never heard in vain. And without any effort at deep research, or philosophy, or eloquence—even where a writer prefers, like Mr. Markland, to speak rather in the language of others than in his own—there is a secret charm in the very absence of pretension, which cannot but tell upon a well-constituted mind.

Our object is one, to which Mr. Markland himself would far rather that we should devote the little space which can be given to these observations than to any praise of himself. It is to carry on the good work which he has begun; and to urge the same suggestion, that our sepulchral monuments should be shaped hereafter to some more appropriate and religious purpose than the mere commemoration of a name by a mass of marble.

The time when this suggestion has been thrown out is peculiarly appropriate to it. The eyes of the country have been opened to a sense of its spiritual destitution. With this new sense (for new it is) has come a deep conviction upon all classes, not merely on those who view things religiously, but on the politician, the philosophical speculator, even on the worldly proprietor, to whom property is an idol, that unless some great efforts are made to place once more over our dense masses of population some more efficient teaching and guidance than the staff of a policeman, or even the bayonet of a regiment, society must be disorganized, and with this must come ruin to every interest, worldly or unworldly alike. We have learnt at last that this teaching and guidance must be one of the heart, and of the whole man; not merely of the head, administered by doses in newspapers, and at Mechanics' Institutes, but guaranteed and enforced with all the authority which can be given to human words by a divine commission,

commission, and by all good and holy appeals to human affections—appeals which can be found nowhere perfect but in the declarations and ministrations of the gospel. To the Church therefore men are looking on each side to come forward and do for the country, what no statesman, or Parliament, can hope of themselves to do—to infuse into the effete limbs of the empire new life and vigour; to teach those to obey who are now disposed for anarchy; to fill those with love who are now hating; to give contentment to those who cannot be rich; and benevolence and charity to the rich, who, if they can be brought to devote to religious and charitable purposes only a portion of their wealth, may yet preserve the remainder.

καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων  
κτησίῳ ὄκνος βαλὼν  
σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρου,  
οὐκ ἔδν πρόπας δομοί,  
πημονᾶς γέμων ἄγαν,  
οὐδ' ἐπόντισε σκαφος.—*Agamemnon*, v. 978.

And in looking round for the various resources which may be made available to this purpose, few present themselves as more obvious and more likely to be productive than the one suggested by Mr. Markland.

As a better and higher spirit revives among us, the questions must occur, especially in those moments when the heart is most softened, and the truth of things most vividly brought out by the presence of death—what is the nature of death itself; what the relations between the dead and the living; what the proper destination of sacred buildings; what language ought to be used in them; and with what eye those whom we commemorate would regard the honour which we pay them. We shall in the same proportion learn to think more of others than of ourselves; more of the truth than of what the world will say on our own thriftiness or profusion; more, in one word, of heaven than of earth; and then, perhaps, we may be able to form a right conception and pure taste, as on an infinite variety of other subjects, so especially on sepulchral monuments.

Their history indeed is remarkable; and well deserves to be studied by a philosophical antiquarian, not merely to trace costumes, and define periods of architecture, but as a practical illustration of the changes which have followed each other in habits of thought and action, upon the most important questions, and under the most exciting circumstances of human life. It is a history of religion; and in the Christian period, a history of the Church; an exhibition of prevailing thought and feeling, deliberately planned, contrived for perpetuity, permitted under the sanction of the Church, and so intimately connected with the saddest realities

realities of life, that either affectation and hypocrisy must be considered as excluded, or, if admitted, must betray a state of mind completely wedded to falsities. Mr. Markland has already enlarged his original memoir to the Oxford Architectural Society. He might find a very extensive and interesting field for still further researches, by prosecuting them in this direction; and we will venture to offer a few questions and suggestions ourselves.

It is no slight change of circumstances, nothing perhaps short of the whole Christian revelation, which was implied either directly or indirectly in the first great change from cremation to interment, which marked the rise of Christianity. How deeply must an entirely new system of belief have sunk into the popular mind, before it could have borne an alteration in those practices relating to the dead, to which it clings with the deepest superstition! What a revolution of thought in regard to the relations in which the body stands to the soul; and in which relations are comprised so much of past revealed knowledge, so much of elevated and self-disciplining moral teaching, so much of faith in a future resurrection, so many miraculous facts, on which that faith must rest! 'Execrantur rogos,' says Minucius, 'et damnant ignium sepulturas.' Coupled with this, Christianity retained the two principal, and seemingly contradictory sentiments, which the human mind has always associated with its mortal remains. It honoured, and yet dreaded and almost loathed them, as if the strange combination of a blessing and a curse were visible in natural death, as it was supposed to exist in the case of sacrificed victims; which were, in the eyes of the heathens and of the Jews, both consecrated and polluted. Thus the early Christians, while they buried their dead out of their sight, lavished on them many marks of veneration and affection.

'Tertullian says, that though Christians in his time abstained from sumptuous and effeminate decorations and applications to their persons when living, yet they bestowed on their dead the most choice and expensive spices, perfumes, odours, drugs, and ointments: they were also embalmed and entombed with great magnificence.'—*Apol.* 1, 42, 34.

We quote from Gough—who goes on to cite, to the same effect, Origen, Eusebius, Prudentius, St. Gregory of Nyssa, &c. &c.

Perhaps no form or place of sepulture could be imagined harmonizing more completely with true reason and the spirit of the Gospel than those vast catacombs, stretching in every direction under the city of Rome, on the illustration of which so much pains have been bestowed. Originally excavated, it is probable, by the workers of 'pozzolana, they offered a natural refuge from persecution both for living Christians and for dead. Their long  
narrow



narrow galleries stretching in every direction, and scooped out into a low-arched labyrinth, afforded on each side receptacles for the dead in cells, ranging one above the other, in sizes fitted to the body, and closed afterwards with brick-work and mortar. Within these the body itself lay, wrapped either in folds of linen and covered with perfumes, or dressed in its richest robes—a vase to hold either the blood of the martyr, or lustral water, embedded in mortar at the side—leaves of evergreen laurel or ivy (not cypress) strewed under them; the instruments of martyrdom (if they died martyrs) entombed with them, such as nails, forceps, leaden bullets, axe or cross; sometimes the name engraved within the tomb; sometimes a leaden tablet with an account of their martyrdom, and on the exterior the sign of the cross, the mystical symbol of the name of Christ, or some other Christian emblem, engraved or painted, as the palm branch, the dove, the fish, the anchor, or the crown. A bronze lamp suspended from the arch betokened the belief in immortality. And if the heathen sarcophagus was retained, its sides were charged with sculptures of our Lord, the apostles, or scenes and characters from Scriptures, such as the history of Jonah, the ascension of Elijah, the sacrifice of Abraham, Moses striking the rock, or the Israelites passing the Red Sea—all typical of some holy doctrine connected with the resurrection of the dead. The same is to be observed of the paintings which decorate the ceilings of the vaults or oratories. And the reverence shown to the dead is seen in another little instance, which must shame those who in modern days have the management of our cemeteries. They never piled body upon body.

‘*Illud haud silentio prætereundum est,*’ says the author of *Roma Subterranea*, ‘*quod inviolabili consuetudine a Christianis receptum servatumque fuisse novimus, ut dum tumuli defunctorum corpora locarentur, si forte aliquando plura eodem monumento cadavera reponi contingeret, haud unquam unum alteri superponeretur, sed unumquodque ad latus adjacentis consisteret.*’—*Lib. i. cap. 26.*

And the rule was subsequently confirmed by ecclesiastical councils.

These expressions, however, of natural piety soon passed into a desire less rational. The efforts made to honour the dead, and to spare the survivors perhaps from the sight of the painful work of corruption, easily lapsed into an endeavour to prevent corruption altogether: an endeavour not only futile, but leading to much that is inconsistent with the true reverence due to the mortal remains of our brethren, and with a just view of Christian doctrine in regard to death.

To these efforts to save the body from corruption we seem to owe the rise of our first sepulchral monuments. It was natural in the

the first place to mark the place where they lay, that their remains might not be disturbed; and on a similar principle, those who could afford it, in a spirit far from thoroughly Christian, instead of permitting the bones to mingle in the natural course of decay,—‘earth with earth, ashes with ashes, dust with dust,’—would make ineffectual attempts to save them from the more loathsome circumstances of death, or at least to delay the approach of them. Hence the adoption of the stone coffin, which has been the germ of all our Christian sepulchral memorials; and perhaps the very fact that these coffins were accessible only to the wealthier classes would in itself imply a defective principle. In the death which levels all, all should be equal; and artificial distinctions here, of whatever kind, founded on mere wealth, can scarcely be consistent with truth or reason. That there is something erroneous in this vain contest against the laws of universal decay, in this struggle to maintain a property in our crumbling frame, even when all has departed that made its possession and command valuable, may be inferred even from the practical difficulties connected with it, which have been so elaborately discussed in Lord Stowell’s judgment on the subject of iron coffins.

And its futility must be impressed strongly on the minds of those who turn over the pages of the ‘Archæologia,’ and other antiquarian works, when they read of the disturbed graves, and the prying, inhuman, unchristian curiosity, which, under the pretence of science or of historical accuracy, has violated so often the last receptacles of the dead. Alfred’s bones, deposited in Hyde Abbey, there is every reason to suppose, have been scattered about by the hands of convicts.\* In 1552, the tomb of William the Conqueror was opened at Caen. In 1562, the Calvinists broke open that of his queen, Matilda, when, among other acts, the ring was stolen from her finger. Edward the Confessor’s body was exposed in James II.’s reign; Canute’s in 1766, in repairing Winchester cathedral; Sebert’s, king of the East Angles, in Henry III.’s reign. In Charles II.’s reign, that of William Rufus. In 1770, Edward I.’s, in Westminster Abbey, in order to ascertain the meaning of the ‘renewal of the cere’ about his body, for which frequent orders were given. The remains of our Saxon kings, removed from their places of rest, lie in boxes on the side screens of the choir of Winchester cathedral, and not even these have been safe from prying eyes; but not many years since † were allowed to be examined by ‘Edmund Cartwright, Esq., of the York militia, to whom, with two other gentlemen of the regiment, the then Dean of Winchester gave permission to open any tombs in the cathedral, provided it was

\* See Archæologia, vol. xiii. p. 310.

† See Gaugh, vol. ii. p. 337.

done with privacy and decency, and under the direction of the mason of the chapter!!!' Edward IV., and Elizabeth Woodville, his wife; Catherine, wife of Henry V.; Queen Catherine Parr, at Sudeley, under circumstances most revolting and shocking; and King Charles I., within the last few years, have all been disturbed in their graves; not to speak of King John, in Worcester cathedral, of whom it is added—

'One man stole a finger-bone, and sent it up to London to be tipped with silver, and refused a large sum for it; but afterwards lost it on the road. Mr. Thompson of Worcester—the name ought to be perpetuated—took some of the maggots to bait his angling-rod; but it was three days before a fish would bite, and when he drew out a dace he carried it in triumph through the streets.'

Our ancestors, under the influence of a corrupted and corrupting form of Christianity, did, indeed, at times lay open the remains of those whom they accounted saints; but it was with reverence, to honour and enshrine them more nobly than before; not to carry off a bone to lie in a cabinet of curiosities, or a lock of hair, as we have seen ourselves, from King Charles I., to be handed about in a lady's drawing-room; or to taste the liquor of embalment, or to pry into some singularity of dress or usage—to be recorded at the next meeting of the Antiquarian Society—without a thought of the curses which the wise and good of all ages have denounced on the violators of graves.

But to return. Abroad, to the present day, coffins are rarely used. 'The lower classes of society even in this country,' says Cotman, following Gough,† 'up to the time of Elizabeth, had no other coffin than the winding-sheet.' In many old country churches might lately be seen a wooden box, ridged, with one or two lids, which was used as a bier to inclose and carry out the poor dead; and though such a seeming disrespect would be most painful in the present day, if it were confined to the poor, it may be questioned whether the simple depositing of the body in consecrated ground, with proper security against its being disturbed, but without unnatural attempts to prevent it mingling with its native earth, may not be the most proper form of sepulture:—

'The Barons of Roslin,' says Father Hay, 'were buried of old in their armour, without any coffin, and the late Roslin, my good-father [or father-in-law], grandfather to the present Roslin, was the first buried in a coffin, against the sentiments of King James VII., then in Scotland, and several other persons well versed in antiquity, to whom my mother Jean Spoteswood, grandmother of Archbishop Spoteswood, would not hearken, thinking it beggarly to be buried in that manner. The great expense she was at in burying her husband

\* See Green's History of Worcester.

† Brasses, Introduction.

occasioned



occasioned the sumptuary acts which were made in the following parliament.—*Grose's Scotland*, p. 47. (See also *Lay of Last Minstrel*, vi. 23, and *Note*.)

And Sir John Moore did not repose less honourably, because

‘ No useless coffin enclosed his breast,  
Nor in sheet nor in shroud they bound him,  
But he lay like a warrior taking his rest,  
With his martial cloak around him.’

It is assumed, of course, that no frightful accumulations of interment would be crowded into a narrow space, such as are now found in our metropolitan cemeteries—and that no burials would take place in churches, or under circumstances which may render it necessary to guard against infection and disease.\* In these cases much more is necessary than the mere inclosure of the body in wood; and the whole question is altered.

With the prevalence of this Egyptian contest against decay, we may trace the rise also of the superstitious legends respecting the remains of the martyrs. For a body to be found undecayed was in itself assumed as a sufficient evidence of sanctity; and we little know how many of the worst features of Popery in the worship of relics and the multiplication of false miracles, and the adoration of saints, may be traced to the unreasonable indulgence of that human weakness which shrinks from becoming a prey to the worm, and from thus paying the last debt of its sinful mortality.

If there is anything sound in these views, the first corruption in our church sepulchral monuments must be looked for in the use of stone coffins. They were first formed of different blocks. Subsequently they were hollowed out of a single stone; sometimes with a circular cavity for the head; and sunk but slightly beneath the surface of the ground. It was a natural accompaniment to set upon the lid some mark to describe who lay beneath, in a rude inscription or carving but little relieved.

‘ Effigies,’ says Mr. Stothard,† ‘are rarely to be met with in England before the middle of the thirteenth century: a circumstance not to be attributed to the causes generally assigned, which were either that they had been destroyed, or that the unsettled state of the times did not offer sufficient encouragement for erecting such memorials; but it rather appears not to have been before become the practice to represent the deceased. If it had been otherwise, for what reason do we not find effigies over the tombs of William the Conqueror, his son William Rufus, or his daughter Gundrada (nor, it may be added, of his wife, Matilda, or his daughter Cecilia, at Caen)? Yet, after a time, it is an

\* We trust, from the appearance of a recent *blue book*, that the next session of parliament will produce an Act, most necessary and far too long delayed, on this important, but, in its details, most painful and disgusting subject.

† *Monumental Remains*, p. 4.

undoubted fact that the alteration introduced by the Normans was the addition of the figure of the person deceased; and then it appeared not in the bold style of the later Norman monuments, but partaking of the character and low relief of those tombs it was about to supersede. Of these, and of the few perhaps that were executed, Roger, Bishop of Sarum, is the only specimen in good preservation.

‘About the beginning of the fourteenth century the coffin-shape entirely disappears, and the effigy is represented in full relief.’

In this individualizing tendency, perhaps, we may find the source of the second great corruption of our tombs. Christianity cannot regard death except as the Church regards it; and the Church cannot regard the dead any more than the living, as individuals, unless they are especially marked out for honour by holding some divine commission, or by possessing some worthy spiritual claim to be singled out for commemoration. The whole body, not any separate limb, should be the object of the Christian contemplation. Everything which confers a solemn and venerable character on the general Christian cemetery or place of rest (*κοιμητηριον*), as the last common home and receptacle of all our perishable bodies, ‘where the small and the great lie together, and the servant is free from his master,’ is consistent with the spirit of the Gospel, and therefore with truth, and therefore with good taste. But it may be doubted whether the still retaining our individual distinctions beyond the house of death, except in some rare instances, is not akin to the same false and dangerous tendency, which in the gradual growth of Popery drew minds from contemplating the whole body of the Church to particular teachers and founders of sects; and from the whole body of the elect departed to the mediation of particular saints. Place an Englishman on the field of Waterloo by one of those spots where he knows that hundreds of his countrymen are buried, who died fighting for their country; and his thoughts will be fixed on a grand social spectacle, elevating and refining them by its abstraction from all selfish tendencies. Let a thousand widows and orphans stand there mourning over the separate graves, each of their own kinsman; and domestic feelings and affections may indeed be roused, but the greater lesson of patriotism will be lost and forgotten. There is, then, no longer to be read in death the great maxim of social life on which the wisest politicians have known that the safety of their countries depended—a maxim as true and as necessary in the Church as in the State—that the individual is far more concerned in the welfare of society than society in the welfare of the individual:—*καλῶς μὲν γὰρ φερόμενος ἀνὴρ τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν διαφθειρομένης τῆς πατρίδος οὐδὲν ἥσσον ζυνοπολεῖται, κακατυχῶν δὲ ἐν εὐτυχούσῃ πολλῶ μᾶλλον διασωζέται.\** And

\* Thucyd. lib. ii. c. 60.

thus individual memorials over graves, except under particular circumstances, where they have rendered great services to society, and as Christians to the society of Christians, the Church, may properly be avoided.

One false principle admitted, others will soon follow; and the principle of retaining before the eyes of the living the memory of the individual dead beyond what was legitimate in the exercise of private affection, soon led to a third great corruption. The stone coffin, from being sunk in the ground, rose up above the surface, sometimes plain, sometimes with the lid more or less elaborately sculptured, and sometimes with a ridge, or *dos d'âne*, probably to throw off the moisture to preserve it from decay; and simultaneous with this movement the historian of religion will trace the rise of that worship of relics, and worship of the dead, and belief in the miracles worked at particular tombs, which amounted in the end almost to a belief in sorcery. Instead of fixing the attention on the real spot in the consecrated building, where daily spiritual miracles and spiritual cures were to be sought, the busy, sensualized, morbid curiosity for forbidden converse with the dead, which, mixed with fear and superstition, is so common to human nature, was taken advantage of to draw the vulgar mind from the altar to the tomb. The shrine of the supposed saint or martyr was venerated and loaded with gifts, while the table of the Lord was neglected; and the very first principle of Christian piety towards the dead was violated by disturbing the holiest remains, exposing them to sight in all their decay, and even trafficking with them for money. To 'bury our dead out of our sight' is a great law of true religious feeling. Nature, which has made death a loathsome and a fearful sight, and even natural love which would not willingly behold the corruption of that which we venerate, would throw a veil over the last sad process of mortal decay; and anything which obtrudes it too closely upon our senses must be bad. If this is true, the raised tombs in which the bodies were deposited above the surface\* of the ground are a solecism in propriety. They became a greater solecism, when, by the operation of the spirit above alluded to, and by the natural tendency of the fancy to substitute a sensible magical operation for natural causes, or for secret spiritual influence, the tomb became a centre for devotion and a rival for the altar; lights

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\* The examination of several royal tombs has shown that this was originally their destination; and so as late as the will of Henry VIII.:—'Our body to be interred and buried in the choir of our college at Westminster; and there to be made and set, as soon as conveniently may be done after our decease, by our executors, at our costs and charges, if it be not done by us in our lifetime, an honourable tomb for our bones to rest in, with a fair grate about it, in which we will that the bones and body of our Queen Jane be put also.'—*Fuller's Church History*, b. v. p. 244.



were burnt on it,\* prayers offered up before it, processions formed to it, and particular days devoted to its decoration; and thus by a natural but most fatal analogy, aided by the ancient practice of consecrating churches by burying relics beneath the altar, the tomb itself became an altar even in shape. And this is the fourth great corruption in the history of sepulchral monuments.

The beginning may be traced to the custom of keeping anniversaries. On that, for example, of Vitalis, abbot of Westminster, who died in 1082:—

‘His tomb (now even with the pavement) in the cloisters, was covered with a carpet, and over that a covering of silk wrought with gold, and two wax candles of two pounds each, which the sacristan was to provide, were to be placed there from the hour of vespers till the last mass of the requiem the following day; and the prior (or sub-prior in his absence) was to celebrate mass upon that account.’—*Dart’s Westminster*, vol. i. book ii. c. iii.

And when it became customary to celebrate the same anniversaries with feasts and donations, the possession of the body of a rich man deceased became a source of no little emolument, and encouraged still more misplaced devotions. Thus, we quote the same work—

‘Walter, abbot of Westminster, who lies in the cloisters likewise, had his anniversary kept in this church on the day of St. Cosmo and Damian. The manner thus:—on the vigil of the aforesaid saints the prior and convent were to sing *Placebo*, and a dirge, with three lessons, as usual; with ringing of bells and solemn singings; with two torches burning at his tomb from that vigil to the end of mass next day, which mass the prior, or somebody there in his absence, was to sing; and then the almoner was to distribute two quarters of corn, made into bread, at his tomb, according to the custom in those cases,—for all which this abbot assigned the manor of Paddington. And if any monies arising from that manor remained over and above paying the charges of this anniversary, the almoner was to apply it to *good uses*, and find for the convent, on the day of the aforesaid anniversary, symnells, gastella, canestella, brachinnella, and wafers; and to every one of the brothers one gallon of wine (*cum tribus bonis pittaniciis*); and to place good ale before all the brothers, at every table, as usual in other anniversaries, in a great tankard (25 lagenarum) of the same ale that the cellerar was used to find for strangers; and to find for those who dined in the refectory so much in bread, wine, ale, and two dishes of meat from the kitchen.’

It is interesting also to observe that with these anniversaries is

\* Gruther gives an ancient inscription relating to this practice of burning lights on heathen tombs:—‘*Servus meus, et Eutychia, et Irene ancillæ meæ, omnes sub hac conditione liberi sunt, ut monumento alternis mensibus lucernam accendant, et solemniam mortis peragant.*’—Gruther, *De Jur. Max.*, lib. ii., c. 11.

coupled the practice of praying for the dead individually, in connexion with the doctrine of purgatory, which so materially modified the form of our sepulchral monuments; and likewise the grant of indulgences for persons who attended the mass on the solemn obit of particular persons, and joined in prayer for their souls. Nor is it to be forgotten that this hope of obtaining the prayers of the living was one of the chief reasons which induced the desire to be buried where attention might be attracted to the tomb, in frequented churches, and in the most conspicuous parts of them:—some relics of which notion may perhaps be found lingering, even now, in the reluctance which the poor exhibit to be buried on the north side of the churchyard. And with the establishment of masses for the dead, and the consequent emolument accruing from them, the very relation between the party deceased and the church which received and sheltered their remains became reversed; and burial in a particular church, instead of being asked as a favour, was bequeathed as a legacy. (*Gough*, vol. ii. p. 131.)

Error, however, has a pollard growth, and at a certain height will soon shoot out simultaneously into a number of branches. The interment of bodies within the walls of the church, the introducing sculptured figures of the dead, the covering them with gorgeous canopies, and finally converting their monuments into separate chantries and chapels distinct from the body of the church, all followed the establishment of tombs. Of the first of these mistakes it is scarcely necessary to speak. Looking to the proper use and destination of the church, or to the health of the living, such a practice ought to be prohibited. It sprung up, perhaps, not so much from vanity as from the superstitious notion that consecrated ground, and the vicinity of holy things, would in itself, if not consecrate what was unholy, at least preserve it from danger. Thus the Emperor Maximilian, father of Charles V., directed that he should be buried under the high altar of St. George's Chapel, so that from the breast to the head should lie over, in order that the priest celebrating mass might tread on his breast. (*Ibid.*, p. 85.) So Guiscard d'Angle, Earl of Huntingdon, 1380, bequeathed his body to be buried in the church of St. Cross, before the altar of our Lady, in the very place where the priest usually stood at the celebration of the mass. (*Ibid.*, p. 135.) &c. &c. On this principle the Campo Santo at Pisa was filled, or supposed to be filled, with earth from the Holy Land. On the same principle men desired to be buried in the dresses of friars or monks. (*Ibid.* p. 341.) On the same principle prevailed the pilgrimages to the tombs of saints; and the belief that morsels of clay taken

taken from the grave of a holy man are preservatives against disease, and against the powers of darkness—a superstition as prevalent now in Ireland among the poor Romanists as it was anywhere during the darkest ages.

‘The canons,’ says Gough, p. 178, ‘require that the burials of the faithful be in the cemeteries. At first this was observed with scrupulous exactness; but in time insensibly crept in the custom of burying in the church persons distinguished by their sanctity. Afterwards the emperors made interest to be buried at the door of the church, leaving the interior part to the saints. But the saints did not lie long alone. In aftertime interment in the church was permitted, not only to ecclesiastics of exemplary conduct, but to those of common character, or eminent only for the rank which they had held. At length the laity were admitted indifferently, as at present. The spirit of the church always opposed the abuse of burying in churches, decrees having been issued against it by councils in all ages, and in various parts of Christendom the fathers strenuously opposed it. In the 6th century the Council of Braga forbids interment in churches; “for if cities maintain their privilege of not burying the dead within their walls, with how much more reason should the house and temple of the Holy Martyrs be kept clear.” Another Council in the 9th century is equally strong in its prohibition. . . . Cardinal Bourbon, archbishop of Rouen, at a council held there, 1581, decrees that the dead be not buried in churches, not even the rich; “the honour not being to be paid to wealth, but to the grace of the Holy Spirit, should be reserved for those who are especially consecrated to God, and their bodies temples of Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, for those who have held any dignities, ecclesiastical or secular, and are really and truly ministers of God, and instruments of the Holy Spirit, and for those who by their virtues or merits have done service to God and the State.”’ \*

There was subsequently a royal ordonnance in France, that none but archbishops, bishops, curates, patrons, founders, and lords who hold supreme courts of judicature, should be buried in churches. All other persons in churchyards; and that they should be as far from the church as possible. (*Ibid.*, 176.)

Such was the gradual transition from a period when none but

\* Constantine the Great was buried close to his church, in the very porch. It was the general practice to bury the heads of religious houses in their chapter-houses or their cloisters. Thus in 1420 (Gough, vol. ii. p. 176), Bishop Chimmoë, who had been abbot of Glastonbury, was buried in the Chapter House there, because he had completed it; and before Bishop Bell, the Bishops of Durham, in their Chapter House, because they would not presume to be nearer to the holy body of St. Cuthbert. (Gough, vol. ii. p. 176.) The Emperor Theodosius, says Gough, was the first who made a law against burying in churches. (Cod. Theod. lib. x. tit. 17.) Alphonso the Wise, king of Spain, forbade it, except to royal personages, bishops, &c. (Ley, xi. Ph. 1. tit. 13.) The custom of burying out of the church continued in Spain till the end of the 13th century.



saints were thought worthy of a place within a consecrated temple, to a day, like the present, when a refusal to admit within the walls of a Christian church the monuments and panegyrics of men who die in infidelity or crime, is stigmatized as bigotry.

It was suggested that the exhibition of the human figure upon the tomb is another departure from the strict propriety of Christian taste and truth: although, if there is one kind of sepulchral monument beautiful in its form, comparatively correct in idea, and interesting both to the sculptor and the antiquary, it is the old altar-tomb, covered with its recumbent figure of knight, or king, or bishop, of which so many exquisite remains are still found in our churches. Some of the most beautiful of these have been preserved by the diligence and fidelity of the late lamented Mr. Stothard, in *'The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain;'* and it is gratifying to see the same work continued by Mr. Hollis. And yet against the general idea of thus commemorating the dead may be urged what has been objected already—the tendency to individualize sepulchral memorials—the heavy expense attending it—its being obviously restricted to the rich—its necessarily implying burial within the church—and an appearance of ostentation not compatible with the perfect humility and unobtrusiveness of a pure Christian character.

In a memorial connected with death there must be truth, perfect truth, or it must fail in taste. And one truth the monumental effigies did exhibit in a most striking form, at a very early stage in the various transitions through which they passed. Till about 1230, according to both Gough and Cotman, the knight was represented drawing his sword; and the bishop or abbot with hand uplifted in the act of blessing: but from that time nearly all have the hands joined over the breast, in the attitude of prayer. And perhaps nothing can bring together in a more touching form the vanity of human greatness, the real awfulness of death, and the consolation and support administered beneath it by Christianity. This indeed might not have been the lesson really intended to be conveyed. The attitude was more probably connected with the superstitions of popery, and with those erroneous opinions on the intermediate state of the dead, which coupled prayer with the doctrine of purgatory. If a truly humble spirit of prayer had originated such designs, they would not so soon have degenerated into gorgeous exhibitions, accompanied by more decisive intimations of the state of blessedness of the deceased than perhaps true Christianity would warrant in ordinary cases.

'Prior to 1350,' says Cotman, 'the heads of military men, and those of kings, ladies, ecclesiastics, and burgesses, when represented recumbent,

bent, rest on cushions, single or double—called, in the “Lincolnshire Church Notes of 1629,” in the British Museum, a pillow and a bolster’ (and the increasing luxury may be traced even in these). ‘On each side of these is usually placed an angel, emblematic perhaps of the ministering angels, who are ever about the path and bed of the faithful, smooth the pillow of the dying, and carry the disembodied soul to receive the blessing of its Maker. This last part of their office is shown on the Elsing brass, where, as from the head of the knight, two angels are carrying to heaven in a sheet his glorified spirit. On the Lynn brasses the soul is traced to its utmost stage, and is seated in the bosom of the Father; to whom the angels are offering incense, and in whose praise they are striking their celestial harps. The most beautiful example of this is given by Gough, vol. ii. p. 311, from the monument of Lady Percy, at Beverley Minster.’—*Introduct.*, p. xiii.

It seems also that, as greater prominence was given to the pomp of life, in exhibiting the figure in its most gorgeous form, and with the strictest accuracy, and in covering the tomb with highly-wrought canopies, it was held necessary to convey the contrast of death with life more strikingly by the introduction of the skeleton,\* or representation of the body in its state of corruption, in the same tomb. This is not uncommon in the fifteenth century, and becomes more frequent afterwards. It seems as if, with the increasing decay of sound religion, death became more and more an object of fear; and the world more likely to absorb the thought. And it may be that some such transition may be traced in the animals which are represented at the feet of the various effigies, and of which a satisfactory account has scarcely yet been given. The first idea suggested by them appears to have been that of the powers of evil trampled on or destroyed by good and holy men. No other interpretation can be put on their earliest occurrence in the form of serpents or dragons’ heads pierced by the end of the bishop’s crozier. This device is often found, especially on early French monuments; and generally in cases where no figure is represented on the tomb; and only the crozier itself, grasped occasionally by a hand sculptured in high relief. From this it is easy to pass to the idea of the lion and the dragon, as emblematic of the same evil powers, and placed under the feet of the recumbent figure. A transition appears to have taken place from this idea to an emblematic representation of the virtues of the deceased—the lion representing courage, the dog fidelity. We must not be drawn aside here into *heraldry*—it is undoubted that by and bye the animals represented on the tombs were often connected with the family arms, or some rebus of the family name. The last stage appears to have been where the dog es-

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\* For instance, see Gough, vol. ii. pp. 111, 118.

pecially is really the representative of the living favourite, taking its station, not under, but on, the feet of its mistress, or couched under its master, with its name written on a label, or engraved on a collar round the neck; as Sir Bryan Stapleton's dog 'Jakke' at Ingham, and Dame Cassy's 'Terri' at Deerhurst. These are trifles to dwell upon, but they indicate a remarkable change of feeling.

It is unnecessary to say that the origin of the recumbent figure is to be found probably in the practice of carrying the dead body uncoffined to the grave, and dressed in its most gorgeous apparel, as is the practice now in many parts of the continent. Thus the marble tomb was only the perpetuation of the spectacle exhibited at the funeral. The canopy may be traced from the recesses in the side walls within which the coffin-tombs were early lodged, and surmounted by a richly-wrought Gothic arch, to the perfect chantries. From some of the royal tombs in Westminster Abbey, it might be supposed that it was thought a proper appendage, upon the same principle as the canopy was carried over the living person. With the chapels and chantries, such as those of Bishop West and Bishop Alcock, at Ely, we reach perhaps the acmé of corruption under the influence of popery. They involve many of the most objectionable features of that melancholy system; the sale of masses, the doctrine of indulgences and purgatory, the growth of a mischievous secular power in the Church, and the withdrawal of attention from the one Supreme Being to whom the sacred building is dedicated, to inferior and human creatures.

But in the mean time another very interesting form of monument had been introduced in brasses, a form indicating a more general demand for sepulchral memorials, a more lax admission of bodies to be buried within the church, and a greater disposition to overlook strict Christian discipline in the circumstances of death. The earliest English brass (says Cotman) upon record is that of Simon de Beauchamp, who completed the foundation of Ravenham Abbey, and died before 1208, and was buried in front of the high altar in St. Paul's Church, at Bedford. On the Continent their date is as early; and in the church of St. Julien, at Mons, is one of Geoffroi le Bel, who died in 1150.\* The honour of the invention is attributed by some to France. Those mentioned by Cotman, in France, accord with those of Lynn, in Norfolk, in being not mere effigies let into the stone, but large sheets of metal covering the whole slab; and, where not occupied by the figure, filled with tabernacle work, or representing an embroidered carpet. They have also cushions under the head, which

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\* Cotman's Brasses, p. 5.



are not to be found in any other of that epoch in Norfolk. Others have derived them from Flanders, and especially from Ghent; and traced them to those countries chiefly which supplied the Flemings with wool. They were composed of various squares, for the convenience of importation; are often enamelled, and in the canopy and tabernacle work exhibit some of the most exquisite combinations which we possess of Gothic architecture. Whatever might be thought of restoring them, it is lamentable to think how many have been destroyed, some to make tablets for inscriptions upon later tombs, but far more for the sake of the metal in times of war and pillage.

We come now to the period in which the revival (we will not call it of art, for art in great perfection existed already, but) of Grecian art, began to corrupt and break down the system of Gothic architecture; and with it to introduce entirely new principles into our sepulchral monuments—principles very closely connected with the general movement of mind which displayed itself in the sixteenth century.

And it is worthy of remark that this change is not confined to England. There is in the Bodleian Library a very large and curious collection of drawings illustrating the sepulchral monuments of France. They were purchased, we believe, by Gough himself, and fill upwards of a dozen folio volumes. This collection is the more interesting and valuable, as in the tumults of the Revolution the monuments themselves must have for the most part perished. They are executed with great care; and an examination of them will show a singular coincidence with the history of the sepulchral monuments of England.

The altar tomb was soon affected. It became gradually charged with mere ornaments, and those of a classical character, until it sunk into the heathen sarcophagus; bulging out under James into a variety of heavy, cumbrous forms; and retaining no trace whatever of its original coffin-shape. The figure on it, by slow and almost imperceptible advances, begins to stir, and pass from death into life. The feet feel the new idea first: they fall apart, as is natural in a sleeping posture, instead of being rigidly fastened together, as in the ancient mode of laying out the corpse, and particularly as specified in many of the monastic rules. It is no longer the dead, whether occupied in the last moments with prayer, or reminding the bystander of the pains of purgatory, but the living, which fixes the attention. And yet it is the living asleep, and asleep in the greatest number of early instances in most painful postures; as if the process of turning in their beds and raising themselves on their arm to look round, they could only perform painfully and by stealth,

and in a considerable number of years; and from this they rise to kneel together, with their wives and children, until they finally attain an erect posture, as in most of our modern statues. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of this transition is to be found in the Fetiplace monuments in Swinford church, which have been noticed and slightly etched in Mr. Markland's little volume, but are engraved with great beauty in Shelton's '*Oxfordshire*.' Among these are two of precisely the same general form, exhibiting each three figures, lying on shelves, as in the berths of a ship, and under one canopy or cornice. But they are of different dates; and, except in the details of ornament, there is scarcely any difference but in the attitude of the figures; those of the later century being advanced another stage in liveliness by drawing up one of the legs, as well as resting on the right arm. Those who wish to trace this change may observe it in Westminster Abbey in the monuments of John Lord Russell (1584), Thomas Owen, Esq. (1598), Sir Thomas Hesketh (1605), Sir Dudley Carleton (1631), Lord Cottington (1652), the Duke of Newcastle (1676)—without mentioning others where the process of resuscitation, or, as it really seems, of waking out of sleep, is farther advanced.\*

For a long time, however, a devotional feeling still prevailed; and the attitude of prayer is preserved. Generally the husband and wife are kneeling face to face; and a book lies open before them on a prie-Dieu. But instead of asking the prayers of the bystanders, they pray for themselves, as Sir John Spelman and his wife, (1545,) at Narburgh: the prayer issuing from their lips. Nor must we forget another feature which begins to appear about the end of the fifteenth century, and rises into great importance in the two next. This is the introduction of children into the tombs of their parents. As the Romish superstitions were discarded, the merits of celibacy fell with them; the character and duties of the citizen became prominent; and to have raised up defenders for his country was one of the chief virtues to be recorded on his tomb. The sons are thus brought in kneeling behind their father, or standing at his feet; and daughters by their mother. Where there are two wives, or sometimes three (and this alone is a feature indicating strongly a revolution of sentiment), each family is attached to its own mother. On the tomb of William Yelverton, at Rougham, (1586) there are sixteen; Richard Althorp's (1554) has effigies of nineteen; and William Bardewell's, at West Sterling, (1460,) commemorates no less than thirty sons and daughters.† Even the dead children are represented in their

\* An useful Handbook to Westminster Abbey has just been published by Mr. Peter Cunningham, son of the Poet. The index to this little volume is carefully done,—a rare case now-a-days,—and thus the date of any monument may be easily ascertained.

† See Cotman, p. 13.

winding-sheets, or, at a later period, lying on their beds. It is unnecessary to point out here the architectural solecisms committed in the attempt to preserve the original Gothic features of the altar-tomb, with the recumbent figure and canopy, in the altered elements of Grecian or Italian art. All that was beautiful and appropriate in the Gothic design becomes full of solecisms in the new style. The broken outline, the picturesque grouping, the pendent masses, the niches and pillars, the florid foliage running over the surface, all of them points in perfect keeping with the primary principle of elevation which is the germ of the Gothic, are wholly incompatible with the simplicity and symmetry of the Grecian. And the artists vainly endeavoured to preserve them by means of vases, pyramids, busts, scrolls, coats-of-arms, projecting cornices, broken pediments, and by what has not inappropriately been called the 'crinkum-crankum' style of Elizabeth and James; in which angles and curves are, as before, studiously intermixed, but intermixed without due proportion; and entangle the eye in a labyrinth of fractured lines, without unity, or harmony, or grace.

As the figure on the tomb gradually rises into life, the artists appear to have laboured under increasing difficulties in impressing on the spectator, through some other means, the fact that the person represented had really paid the debt of mortality. To accomplish this purpose, the first symbol which they recurred to, as the nearest approach to the Gothic pinnacle, was the pyramid or obelisk—no unfitting emblem of eternity. At the same time, as if to give this eternity a due degree of instability, they contrived to rest the pyramid upon four round balls. Instead of the whole skeleton exposed under the same tomb with the gorgeously-attired effigies, they were content with scattering about a few death's-heads, cross-bones, and hour-glasses. And, as if to exhaust every possible contingency, while the sarcophagus, on which the figure lies, implies that the body is contained within it, the spectator is informed, by means of a number of urns, that the remains have been burned, in defiance of the practice of Christians; while the inscription takes care to inform us that it was neither burned nor entombed, but buried in a vault underneath.

About the same period comes in one of the most monstrous innovations upon the pure principles of Christian art—we mean the studied and elaborate representation of the naked figure. 'Græca res est,' says Pliny,\* 'nihil velare.' And with the introduction of Grecian art the 'nihil velare' principle penetrated even into our Churches. With this came also the entire loss of

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\* Lib. xxxiv. c. 8.



reality. Allegory had indeed begun to intrude, as we have seen, in the employment of animals during the purer period of Gothic taste. But the recumbent figure was still the actual representative of the real figure as it lay on the last occasion on which it appeared before the eye, and as it was deposited in the grave. Its attitude was real and true—it was the attitude of a dying man in the house of prayer. If spiritual beings were represented kneeling round his pillow, or sitting at his feet, they were angels; and if the niches surrounding the tomb were filled with images, those images represented the relatives and friends of the deceased gathered there to do him honour. But at the approach of heathen art all this vanishes by degrees. As in the Greek comedy, the personages pass first into representatives of classes—as the armed figures round the tombs of Sir Francis Vere and Francis Norris in Westminster Abbey—and then lose not only their individuality only, but their truth.

Not only do the sons and daughters and mourners, who were originally placed in niches on the sides of the altar-tombs, pass into marble allegories of Fame and Time, and other heterodox if not vicious abstractions, who stand or sit in very mournful attitudes about the monument, but a whole flight of little boys unclothed, and with their fingers in their eyes, perch themselves on every available site of cornices, pedestals, and pediment; and on the same ‘*nihil velare*’ principle, the marble allegories themselves seem to have little else to do but to exhibit the admirable muscular power with which the sculptor has contrived to invest them. Of the little boys, indeed, however uncomfortable and dangerous the position which they occupy, some account may be given how they reached their several places: for most of them are furnished with wings—and, it is to be understood, are representatives of angels; though, why angels should take this form of little boys, and why they should lament so deeply for the transition of a good man from earth to heaven, may still be a question. But there are also females (who or what they are it is hard even to imagine), who about this time have contrived to climb up, and lay themselves across the curves of the pediment, wherever one exists; and there hold themselves on, with evident distress, in this painful and alarming posture, one leg loosely dangling down over the side, and the other coiled up to get a purchase to support themselves. This practice of taking repose on a sloping penthouse-roof, at a most break-neck distance from the ground, appears to have been prevalent in the seventeenth century; and we should willingly hope that there was some meaning in it, like that of the pyramid on balls, to represent the instability of human affairs, and to convey strikingly the moral lesson

lesson of the proneness of human grandeur to fall. In the meanwhile the principal figure lies in an easy, luxurious attitude of perfect indifference—an attitude which for a living person to assume in the house of God would denote a scandalous irreverence; and in which to be found even in a drawing-room would require some excuse of illness. Neither ladies nor gentlemen are in the habit, when they want repose, of laying themselves along the top of a sarcophagus wine-cooler, like the Duchess of Protector Somerset in Westminster Abbey; and if they are sick and dying, as the monument seems to imply, they do not dress themselves in state habiliments, or lean negligently on their arms, as if in the possession of full health. Sir Cloudesley Shovel did not earn his fame by ‘reposing himself upon velvet cushions under a canopy of state.’ Dr. Busby would assuredly not have liked to have been found by his boys in the posture which he occupies. Dr. South, we suspect, was not in the habit of reading in bed; nor Sir Christopher and Lady Hatton of sleeping upon two inclined planes. Nor would Bishop Hough have liked to exhibit himself as if just frightened out of his sleep, with his episcopal robes thrown round him in much admired disorder. And yet ease and repose, careless ease and indolent repose, are the only characteristics which the artists of these monuments have forcibly impressed upon their works. It is not even repose after toil. There is no expression of manliness, of vigour, of calm, composed dignity, of deep thought, of that stillness and gravity which carries to the mind of the spectator a sense of a superior being placed before him, and which religion so imperatively requires, and sculpture can so admirably exhibit. They have neither the energy of life, nor the repose of death.

And when it is remembered that to build up these piles of marble in our cathedrals, in almost every instance some portion of the edifice has been disfigured, a window blocked up, a pillar undermined, or some rich canopy or tracery pared off; that the inscriptions, like the tombs themselves, contain little but a record of family pride; that almost all devotional feeling evaporates from the figure; that pagan emblems, such as inverted torches, begin to make their appearance; that a gaudy mixture of colouring and gilding prevails in most; and that the whole erection resembles more the façade of a house of many stories for the living, than a receptacle for the body of the dead;\* we can scarcely lament that

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\* There is a well-known illustration of the religious feeling connected with the erection of these monstrous edifices in the history of the Earl of Cork’s monument in St. Patrick’s Cathedral, and Archbishop Laud’s efforts to obtain its removal from its original position at the back of the altar to its present site. It is one of the most striking specimens of this stage in sepulchral art; heavy, cumbrous, without unity or elegance, and rendered still more glaring in its deformity by the restoration of the original colouring and gilding.

their enormous expense soon led to the disuse of them ; and that as Grecian taste became more defecated from its mixture with the remains of Gothic, we arrive about the end of the seventeenth century at the next stage of our sepulchral monuments, which may be called the doorway style, or two pillars supporting an architrave, and enclosing either a tablet, or sometimes still a figure. Whether this form was borrowed from the triumphal arch, or was the natural residuum of the former architectural storied structure, when purified of its semi-Gothic excrescences, may be doubted. There is or was a monument of the kind in the Jesuits' Church at Rouen, which transferred the former notion to the inscription:—‘Non est hic tumulus, sed arcus triumphalis virtutum, cujus basis fides et scientia, columnæ justitia et prudentia, ornamenta timor Dei et pietas, coronamentum charitas.’ Many of these in themselves are beautiful in their proportions ; but their total inconsistency with the buildings in which they are placed, and their unmeaning character, except as an elaborate and expensive frame for very long and therefore very bad epitaphs, render them perhaps the greatest disfigurement to our old churches. The monuments of Elizabeth and James do possess richness, variety, and intricacy, which in some degree interest the eye, and blend with the grotesqueness of Gothic architecture. But the doorways have nothing of the kind. And yet even these are ill exchanged for the huge slabs of pyramids sliced upon the wall, and exposing only a plain surface of variegated marble, which, as executors became more economical, and the dead less cared for, soon after usurped their places. From these the transition is easy to the mural monuments of the present day ; those blots upon the walls of our churches—which either affect no duty but to act as a family register of names and dates—or, if they do indulge in any flight of imagination, rarely venture beyond the weeping lady hanging over an urn and standing under a willow ; the inverted torch, emblem of the light of life extinct, intimating that the dead man died without a belief in immortality ; the mourner that cannot be consoled blaspheming against the command ‘not to sorrow as men without hope.’ And the epitaphs—but this is a subject not briefly to be touched on—and our space is come to an end.

One part of this subject we have left untouched, because it has been alluded to by us before, and deserves a more full examination than we can give it at present. We mean the character of our national monuments in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's. Private follies and extravagancies are of comparatively little moment ; but when the government of a great and Christian nation could find no better mode of commemorating the dead than by re-erecting images of Neptune, and Mars, and Fame,

and



and Victory, mixed up with dragoons and drummers, catapults and cannons, men without clothes in a field of battle, or English generals in Roman togas, and all the trash of the poorest pedant; and when a Christian Church in a Christian metropolis is selected as the fittest depository for these outrages, without regard to the ecclesiastical or religious character of those whom the State thus chooses to honour, there must have been something most unsound in the tone and manners of the age.

We laugh at the anachronisms of King John's barons in the *Antijacobin*, armed with blunderbusses and pocket-pistols, and rushing upon the stage with Knights Templars and Prussian grenadiers, Quintus Curtius and Marcus Curius Dentatus, the Roman legion and the battering-ram, to attack a convent; but is there anything more ludicrous here than in the account of the actual monuments raised in the eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries by the British people in their metropolitan Cathedrals?

To use the words of the guide-books, not our own—

'General Wolfe is represented (*naked*) in his last agonies, pressing his hand upon the wound in his breast which caused his death, and supported on the hip of a *grenadier*, who with one hand gently raises his commander's falling arm, and with the other points to the figure of *Glory* descending from heaven to crown him with laurel. Upon the *pyramid*, in relief, a *Highland sergeant* is introduced, standing with folded hands, and thus silently contemplating the wreck of youth and valour.' (By Wilton, cost 3000*l.*)

'Admiral Holmes is represented as a *Roman warrior*, resting his head on a *cannon* mounted on its carriage. An *anchor*, *flag-staff*, and other naval emblems, diversify the background.'

'Admiral Watson, robed in the *Roman toga*, is introduced amidst a *grove of palm-trees*. On the one side is a personification of the *goddess* or genius of Calcutta prostrate; and, on the other, a similar emblem of Chandernagore, which is to be distinguished by the chains with which it appears bound.'

'Sir Charles Wager:—upon a neatly-wrought double pedestal sits a figure of *Fame*, holding a portrait of the deceased, which is supported by an *infant Hercules*. The background is sheltered by a pyramid, under the apex of which is placed a *coat of arms*. The lower pedestal is occupied by a piece of alto relievo, descriptive of the *capture of the Spanish galleons*.'

'Earl Stanhope, clad as an *ancient warrior*, is introduced in a recumbent posture, clasping a truncheon in his right, and a scroll in his left hand; at his feet stands an urchin leaning against a shield. A state-tent protects his person; on the crown of which is seated an armed *Pallas*, with a javelin in one hand and a scroll in the other: a pyramid conceals the background.'

'Lord Robert Manners and Captains Blair and Bayne (by Nol-lekens):—the background is composed of a pyramid, before which is placed,

placed a *rostral column*, surmounted by a *statue of Fame*, who elevates a wreath of laurel for the purpose of crowning three medallions, which a *winged boy* is attaching to the front of the column. In the foreground—*Neptune, reposing on a sea-horse*, addresses himself to *Britannia, who appears guarded by a lion.* (Cost 4000*l.*)

‘Lord Rodney (by Rossi, at the cost of 6000 guineas)—stands on a pedestal, on one side of which is seated a figure, meant for a *personification of History*, listening to *Fame*, on the other side, who is expatiating upon the merits of Rodney.’

‘Major-General Bowes, by Chantrey’ [in the House of the God of Peace and Love.]—‘A scene admirably chiselled from life. Bowes was slain in the breach at the storming of Salamanca; and the actual circumstances of his death are here excellently portrayed. The shattered wall, the beaten enemy tumbling headlong with his colours, the charging British, and the victorious general falling, on the foreground, into the arms of a comrade, are all faithfully preserved and vividly exhibited.’

‘Sir W. Myers:—*Hercules and Minerva*, or, as some suppose, *Wisdom and Valour*, meet before a tomb, and shake hands.’

‘Sir W. Ponsonby:—his horse is introduced faintly sinking; while the rider, a *naked figure*, is placed on the foreground, in a strained kneeling attitude, for the purpose of receiving a *wreath of laurel* from the hands of a *statue of Victory.*’

‘Mr. Pitt—habited in the robes of *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and in the act of addressing the *House of Commons*, while *History*, a female, catching his portrait, is seated on one side, and a man naked and bound with chains, supposed to represent *Anarchy*, is on the other.’ (6300*l.* !)

‘Major-General Hay (by Hopper):—The deceased, habited in his regimentals, appears sinking into the arms of an *athletic* (undressed) attendant; a *sentinel* stands by in an attitude of grief; and in the background a *guard is seen marching* its round.’

‘Sir Thomas Picton (by Gahagan):—*Genius*, personified in the statue of a winged youth, leans on the shoulder of an *ancient warrior*, who is designed to represent *Valour*, and stands in the act of receiving a wreath of laurel from the hands of *Victory.*’

‘Mr. Perceval (by Westmacott):—His effigy is introduced upon a *mattress*, with a *statue of Power* indicated by the *fascies*, weeping over him; and figures of *Truth* and *Temperance*, the one distinguished by a bridle, and the other by a mirror, erect at his feet. Along the background runs an animated scene in basso relievo, descriptive of the lobby of the *House of Commons* at the moment of his fall.’ (5250*l.*)

‘Sir John Moore:—*Valour and Victory* are seen lowering the general into a grave with a *wreath of laurel*, while the *Genius of Spain* plants the *standard of conquest* over his grave.’

Chantrey, the lamented Chantrey, has, we hope, exploded Neptune and Mars, and Glory, and the Goddess of Calcutta, and the Genius of Spain, and the rest of the Pantheon, for ever.

It was Chantrey, not the Church, who first made us, of this day, sensible of these solecisms. He brought us back to Nature, and we owe him much for it. But there is still something to be done. It is still to be considered whether a statue which tells of nothing but the greatness of the departed, and the gratitude of the survivors, is the most fitting mode of commemorating the one, or of exhibiting the other, in a Christian Church. It is but a barren homage. It is not the homage which a good man would choose if he could be called from the grave, and asked in what manner he would wish that his name should be recorded. Surely, if the thousands now lavished on these public memorials were consecrated to some lasting work of honour to God and utility to man, which should at once preserve the memory of the dead, and encourage and direct the good deeds of the living; if, as Mr. Markland suggests, instead of busts and sculpture, we raised churches, or chapels, or school-houses, or founded refuges for the poor, or dedicated only some portion or ornament of a sacred building to the memory and name of those whom we wish to honour, we should be acting more consistently with that genuine benevolence which would delight to do good even in the grave; and should contribute, by degrees, to a fund which would soon be thus rendered permanently available to the noblest uses. And in thus doing we should only be treading in the steps of those by whom the noblest of our works of charity and piety were created and transmitted to us:—

‘We build churches,’ says Mr. Wilberforce, ‘by calculation, as a matter of necessity; but, of old, church-building was a delight, a luxury, a passion. Then men of wealth would build some glorious fane from foundation to turret, and those whose means were less abundant would furnish a pillar, a transept, or a choir: each man felt a paternal interest in his work; while he lived, he delighted to visit it, and watch its progress; when he died, his mortal remains were laid beneath the roof which he had raised, in the hope of His coming whose promise had called forth his bounty.’\*

We may add that the same practice seems to have prevailed both in France and in England, in the erection of *painted glass windows*, many of which appear to have contained monumental effigies of deceased persons. The Dean of Chichester has set an

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\* Wilberforce on the Parochial System, p. 99. Several instances of this practice still remain in the church of St. Mary, Beverley. For example:—‘The corbels on the pillars which support the north side of the nave, are angels with scrolls in their hands, charged with inscriptions, which are repeated at the back of the columns,’ recording the donors of pillars. The Minstrells left behind them an evidence of their public spirit. They built one of the columns on the north side of the church, and placed an emblematical device on its capital with this inscription:—

*Thys Pillor made the Minstrells.*

—Oliver’s Hist. of Beverley, pp. 167, 178, 351.



example of this kind in his own cathedral, and we trust it will not be without followers.

Mr. Markland shows that this practice of contributing portions of sacred buildings was not unknown to the ancients:—

‘ Mr. Fellowes,’ he says, ‘ in his recent travels in Asia Minor, met with several examples of the practice of individuals having contributed to the erection of *portions* of a building. He describes a beautiful temple of the Corinthian order at Labranda, “ with twelve fluted columns, and four not fluted, but apparently prepared for this ornamental finish ” These twelve pillars present the great peculiarity of having a panel or tablet not let in, but left uncut, projecting above the fluting: on each tablet is an inscription, showing the temple to have been a votive structure, *e. g.* “ Menecrates, son of Menecrates, the chief physician of the city, gave, whilst Stephanophoros, this column with the base and capital; his daughter Tryphœna, herself also a Stephanophoros and Gymnasiarchos, superintending the work.” “ Leo, the son of Leo, whilst Stephanophoros, gave the column with the base and capital, according to his promise,” &c. &c.

‘ The symmetry of a column must necessarily be “ much disturbed,” as Mr. Fellowes states is the case, by the introduction of tablets of this description; but if the precedent were adopted in this country, inscriptions (whether as records of private liberality, or as posthumous memorials) might be so placed around the *base* of a column, that the eye could not be offended by them.’

What we would wish to suggest in our modern days may best be stated in Mr. Markland’s own words:—

‘ Surely,’ he says, ‘ by the rebuilding and restoration of *the old waste places* of our Zion we should render far more honour to the dead than by a continuance of our present practice. And let it be remembered that in all the works which have been recommended, panels with suitable inscriptions may be carefully let into the walls, recording the occasion when they were raised and perfected, and the names of the individuals to be commemorated. Thus the name of a relation or friend would be identified with the shrine which holds his ashes. Should the font and the altar call for restoration, there are many touching associations, which point *them* out as most fitting memorials. At the one the deceased may have been baptized, and been made an inheritor of that kingdom in which it may be humbly hoped his spirit rests in peace; and at that altar he may, during the largest portion of his life, have meekly knelt, and “ received with trembling joy the signs and seals of God’s heavenly promises.”

‘ If the works here recommended for adoption appear to be such as can only be accomplished by a large outlay of money, and can therefore be effected solely by persons of fortune, there are modes by which the same objects can be attained by individuals of moderate means. In the first place, instead of a paltry design being at once COMPLETED, and an inferior church erected out of limited funds, ought not the old custom of building by *degrees* to be resorted to? A plan for a large church might be

be laid down, but a *portion* of it merely, a chancel or a transept, might in the first instance be perfected ; or the interior of a church might be finished, while the completion and ornaments of the external walls, tower, or spire, might be left to the care and munificence of others in future years. In all these undertakings there might be a principle of *expansion*, both as regards the size and ornaments of a building.

‘ A signal example has recently been given us of this laudable practice. The liberal founder of a church in the district of Eastover, Bridgewater, thus expressed himself in relation to the proposed fabric :—“ The proposal which I now make is to build the church, as far as may be, according to the drawing which is now laid before the meeting. As accurately as it is possible to calculate, it will cost about 3,000*l.* to complete the church, exclusive of the spire. It is my wish to go thus far at once, *leaving the spire to be completed at some future time*, when, from my own resources, or by the assistance of my friends, the necessary funds can be found. It was on this plan that the great cathedrals were almost all erected : one bishop generally completed one portion of the building, leaving the whole to be finished by future generations ; so that frequently two, three, or even four centuries, elapsed between the commencement and the completion of the work.” ’

We may add an instance where a beautiful addition has been made to a parish church by the erection of a transept in early English, the lower part of which is appropriated to a family vault, and the upper to stalls and seats for the family, while slabs are placed within the tracery of the windows to receive the names of the persons who lie beneath. This is one of the nearest approaches which we have seen to the realization of our author’s suggestions. The church is that of Calbourne in the Isle of Wight ; and the plan originated in the benevolence, good taste, and good sense of Sir Richard Simeon, Bart.

Mr. Markland has not been unmindful of the objections which may be advanced.

‘ Should it be urged,’ he says, ‘ that these plans, if generally pursued, would lead to a neglect of sculpture, and that we should transfer the commemoration of the dead from sculpture to architecture, a little reflection will satisfy us that the art of sculpture would, on the contrary, be materially benefited. The accomplished artist, instead of being doomed to tasks which must often be to him of the most insipid and uninteresting character, from their not calling for any high exercise of his genius, would be left to devote himself to works more congenial to his taste and feelings. Let statues, and busts, and relieves be multiplied, but let their *destination be changed*. Let the statues and busts of literary men be placed in those Institutions with which they have been connected. Let those of lawyers be placed in Courts of Justice, or in the Halls of the Inns of Court ; those of medical men in the Colleges, where their lectures were delivered, or in the Hospitals, which they have benefited by the exercise of their talents and philanthropy ; and those of  
- eminent

eminent ecclesiastics in their College Libraries or Halls. Let provision be made in the Houses of Parliament now rising for the introduction of statues within their walls. How much more advantageously might those of Lord Chatham and of Pitt, of Fox, Horner, and Canning, have appeared in such a building, than crowded, almost buried, as they are, in the adjoining Abbey of Westminster! Of such men monuments are not required on the particular spots where their ashes rest—these form the most precious deposit.

“In Santa Croce’s holy precincts lie  
Ashes which make it holier, dust which is  
Even in itself an immortality.”

Shakespeare’s gravestone, with its quaint lines, would have drawn the same number of pilgrims to Stratford if no mural monument to his memory had existed; and when we approach the gravestone, simply inscribed with the name of SAMUEL JOHNSON, in Poet’s Corner, it awakens far keener emotions than the contemplation of his colossal statue in St. Paul’s. But we must recollect that sculpture is essentially combined with the plans here proposed. The church-porch, the altar-screen, and the font, may all be decorated, lavishly decorated, if desired, with appropriate sculpture; all these ecclesiastical appendages would admit its introduction with perfect propriety and the best effect. Grinlin Gibbons’s font in St. James’s Church, Westminster, and Sir Richard Westmacott’s alto-relievos on the screen of the Chapel of New College, are instances in point.’

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ART. VI.—*Marschall Vorwärts; oder Leben, Thaten, und Character des Fürsten Blücher von Wahlstadt.* Von Dr. Raushnick. (*Marshal Forwards; or Life, Actions, and Character of Prince Blücher von Wahlstadt.*) Leipzig, 1836.

THE unjust apportionment of present and posthumous fame to military eminence has often been the subject of grave remonstrance on the part of the aspirants to civil and literary distinction. Helvetius, in his work ‘*Sur l’Esprit*,’ once famous, now little read, attempts the solution of this standing riddle in human affairs:—

‘If we can in any instance imagine that we perceive a rallying point for the general esteem of mankind—if, for example, the military be considered among all nations the first of sciences—the reason is, that the great captain is in nearly all countries the man of greatest utility, at least up to the period of a convention for general peace. This peace once confirmed, a preference over the greatest captain in the world would unquestionably be given to men celebrated in science, law, literature, or the fine arts. From whence,’ says Helvetius, with an eye to the pervading theory of his fallacious treatise, ‘I conclude that the general interest is in every nation the only dispenser of its esteem!’

Unfortunately



Unfortunately for the French sage, that which he calls esteem, which we should rather term renown, is indiscriminately enough bestowed upon the destroyers as well as the saviours of nations—upon the selfish aggressor who amuses himself with the bloody game of foreign conquest, as well as upon the patriot who resists him. Philosophers may draw distinctions in the study, but Cæsar will share the meed with Leonidas. To give a sounder solution of the evident fact—to investigate the principle on which society seems agreed to furnish the price for the combination of moral and physical qualities, essential to the composition of military eminence, would lead us beyond our limits, if not beyond our depth. So far, we fear, Helvetius is right, that till the millennium shall arrive it will be vain to struggle against the pervading tendencies in which the alleged abuse originates; and that the injured parties must still be content to look upon those whose trade it is to die, under the feelings with which a young clergyman at a county ball beholds the lady of his affections in active flirtation with a newly-arrived pair of epaulettes; feelings which the author of ‘*Hamilton’s Bawn*’ has wedded to immortal doggrel. For the moment we can offer them no consolation; for we cannot enter on the discussion of the manifold circumstances which might be enumerated as a set-off to the advantages enjoyed by the soldier during a lease of existence, of which the tenure is as uncertain as the conditions are severe. To those, however, who moan over the posthumous part of the reward which Falstaff in his shrewder philosophy rated so low, we might suggest as matter of reflection that the number of those who are destined to enjoy it is so limited as to leave ample room for competitors of all classes, whether poets, philosophers, statesmen, or writers of novels in three volumes, or of histories in a dozen. Survey the military annals of Europe from the French revolution: Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Russia, Belgium, have formed the vast theatre of one huge and continuous scramble for such distinction. Every species of cotemporary reward, from kingdoms down to the Guelphic order, has indeed been showered on the combatants; but how many names will outlive their owners? How many of the meteors will leave a track of light behind their rapid and explosive course? Some half-dozen of all countries. We are speaking, be it remembered, of general celebrity, not of the just estimation in which the memory of individuals may be held in their own countries, or by the scientific. Two of the mightiest, by land and sea, are our own. Russia, perhaps, may claim some duration for Suwaroff. In the case of France who but a decypherer of gazettes will trouble

trouble his head fifty years hence about any of Buonaparte's marshals? The crisis of Valmy may ensure an historical notoriety to Dumouriez; but no nurse will frighten children with his name or that of Moreau. There is something solid and unpretending about the reputation of the Archduke Charles, which, coupled with his writings, will secure him respect from the *corymbes* of times to come; but the only name connected with the great wars of our own time, which we can add without scruple to those of Buonaparte, Wellington, Nelson, and Suwaroff, as likely to be permanently one of the household words of the world, is that of a man *longo intervallo* inferior to three of the four—Blücher. If we are right in this supposition, it does not follow that in respect of military skill and genius he can justly be ranked even with several of those lieutenants of Napoleon whom we have ventured to condemn to comparative oblivion. It is rather on the moral ground of his identification with a great national movement, of which he was the ostensible leader and representative, that he seems to us one of the legitimate 'heirs of Fame.'

We have two lives of this commander before us, of which, however, the one seems borrowed almost verbatim from the other. We shall ground our observations on the first which came into our hands, that of Dr. Raushnick.

The Duke of Wellington received his first military education at a French college, a natural consequence of the deficiency of all appliances for that purpose in England at the period of his youth. It is rather more singular that his Grace's illustrious comrade, whose enthusiastic devotion to the cause of Prussia formed the stimulus to his exploits and the basis of his reputation, should have borne his first arms against that country—the land, not indeed of his birth, but of his adoption.

Gerhard Leberecht von Blücher was born in 1742 at Rostock, in Mecklenburgh-Schwerin, in which province his family had been established for some centuries, having given a bishop to Lubeck in the thirteenth. His father had retired from the military service of Hesse-Cassel upon a small landed inheritance. Three elder sons having been impartially, but at some expense out of scanty means, distributed among the Russian, Prussian, and Danish services, it was this gentleman's anxious desire to devote the two younger to the only other occupation to which the landed gentry of his day condescended, the cultivation of the soil. For this a simple home-education was deemed sufficient, and was all the parental resources could afford. In 1756 the Seven Years' War broke out, and to remove his sons from the temptation of military scenes, the father sent them to the care of  
a relation

a relation in the Isle of Rugen. Such precautions frequently terminate like the beautiful tale of *Admetus* in Herodotus. The boys for a while contented themselves with such feats of activity and danger as the cliffs of Rugen and the sea could afford them. Some centuries earlier Blücher might have figured among the sea-kings in the annals of Scandinavian piracy; and, instead of emptying the cellars of Epernay, might have drank the ale of English convents. Sweden had now joined the fray against the great Frederick, and, in an hour evil for the paternal precautions, a regiment of Swedish hussars set foot on the island. In spite of all attempts at remonstrance or prevention, young Blücher, now in his fifteenth year, joined the ranks, and soon found himself on the mainland, opposed to the Prussian forces in a contest in which little either of ardour or skill was evinced by his comrades. In 1758 he was taken prisoner in a cavalry-skirmish with the regiment of Colonel Belling, who, soon perceiving some promising indications in the stripling, treated him with kindness, and negotiated for him an exchange with a prisoner, who, being by birth a Prussian, had forfeited his life to military law. This transaction enabled Blücher, without impeachment of his honour, to take service in the regiment of his captor. Till it was effected, he had tenaciously resisted the offer of a subaltern's commission in the then most brilliant of continental services.

Under Belling he served through the latter part of the Seven Years' War, assisted at the murderous battle of Cunersdorff, which first brought the formidable qualities of the Russian infantry under the notice of civilised Europe, and was wounded at Freyberg. On the re-establishment of peace he was found a turbulent subject for garrison duty, the inherent monotony of which was not relieved to him by the resources of education. His leisure was diversified, as usual in such cases, by as much sporting, drinking, gaming, and flirtation as his pay could afford, as also by frequent duelling, of which no serious result is recorded. One instance of the latter propensity, for which hot blood and the manners of his age and vocation may plead excuse, was certainly little to his credit; for he ended by calling out his patron and commander, Belling, who had now attained the rank of general. That he was not shot, or at the least cashiered, for so gross a violation of military law, must be ascribed to the generosity of that veteran, who contented himself with transferring this turbulent and ungrateful subject to a lieutenancy under a Major Podscharli, an officer to whose military tuition Blücher's biographer ascribes the happiest results.

In 1770 Poland was invaded by the troops of Frederick, and Blücher found himself again commanded by Belling, who never



ceased to befriend him. Belling was an able and trusted soldier, but his situation in Poland was one which required political talent and pliancy, and he was replaced by an officer of different habits and manners, with whom also, however, Blücher soon contrived to quarrel. The Poles at this time, like the Spaniards in ours, revenged by frequent assassinations their subjection to the invader. A priest, whom Captain Blücher suspected as the instigator of two of these enormities, was summarily condemned by him to military execution. The grave was dug with the usual formalities, the culprit blinded, and the musket discharged—though with blank cartridge. The priest survived his fright—but this daring violation not only of justice, but of Frederick's conciliatory policy, was punished, mildly enough, by the degradation of the offender from the highest to the lowest on the list of captains in his regiment. This being followed by the promotion of an officer from another regiment to the next vacancy, the cup of Blücher's indignation boiled over, and he demanded his retirement from the service. Frederick replied by placing him in arrest, with a view to give him time for consideration. The gentleman, however, insisted, and his repeated applications at length extorted the following answer:—'Captain Von Blücher is released from his service, and may go to the d—. January, 1773.'

This interruption of Blücher's military career continued for thirteen years. We have heard that a chancery-lawyer who for any reason abandons his practice for the thirteenth portion of that period seldom recovers it. Assuredly, few soldiers of fortune, after quitting a regular service for a dozen of the best years of their life, have died field-m Marshals. Perhaps Blücher was somewhat reconciled to an event which seemed so likely to blast his prospects, by the circumstance that it found him seriously in love and half engaged with the daughter of a Saxon Colonel Melling, then settled in Poland. The lady was seventeen years his junior, Polish in her language, her beauty, and her attractions, which is saying everything for the latter. They married, and settled on a farm of the father-in-law. Blücher appears to have abandoned the excesses of his youth in his new vocation, and to have prosecuted it with ability and success. After a few years he found himself in condition to purchase a tolerable estate near Stargard in Pomerania, whither he migrated from Poland. As a resident proprietor he continued his attention to rural affairs, and became a man of consequence among his neighbours. He was elected to the local magistracy, and consulted by the provincial authorities. This was not all. It is evident that there was something about the man which in the estimation of his superiors had uniformly outweighed the objectionable features of his wild, uneducated, and

and untameable disposition. Frederick the Second was not a man to overlook the freaks of an ordinary swaggerer, yet we find that at this period he corresponded with Blücher, and assisted him with money for the improvement of his estate, first in the shape of loan without interest, and then of donation. This liberality on the part of a sovereign so careful of his dollars was the more remarkable, as it by no means took the shape of a retaining fee for future military devotion. Blücher's restless spirit pined for restoration to the service, but on this subject Frederick was inexorable. In 1778 there was a prospect of hostilities in Bavaria, and Blücher became urgent for permission to re-enter the army. His first attempt was defeated by his wife, a second by the stern refusal of Frederick. He was obliged to remain an agriculturist, his farm prospered, and his hearth was surrounded by six promising sons and a daughter.

Frederick died in 1786. Blücher now set aside all connubial remonstrances, rushed to Berlin, made interest with some of his former commanders, and returned to Pomerania without positive success, but with assurances of support in due season. On the next military inspection he attracted by his riding the attention of the new king, presented his request in person, and found himself in his former regiment of Black Hussars, with the rank which he would have occupied had he continued without interruption in the service. It was soon apparent that his military ardour, which perhaps might have cooled away in the barracks, had only been nursed and kept vigorous by the long interval of domestic repose. His other old propensities were, we fear, resumed with his uniform, and his wife perhaps only consulted her own convenience and comfort by dying about this period. Except that she was beautiful, attractive, and fond enough of her husband to wish to detain him at home, we hear little of her. Blücher returned to the camp as though the interval had been a dream, and its adventures as imaginary as those of the sultan of the Arabian tale, who dipped his head into a tub of water for an instant, which by the delusion of magic was converted into years of deposition and servitude.

Some years of garrison duty were still to elapse before the great event of the French Revolution opened a career for such spirits as Blücher. The commencement of hostilities between Prussia and France found him a colonel, and thus his exercise of command dates its commencement from the fifty-first year of his age, a time of life at which many officers look to a well-earned retirement. From the period of the Duke of Brunswick's famous and fatal incursion to the peace of Basle, he was in almost constant employment. On the death of General Goltz he succeeded

to the command of the left wing of the Prussian army; and without doubt the confidence of his soldiers and the general success which attended his operations, particularly with his favourite arm the cavalry, fully justified this promotion. The corps of hussars under his immediate command, including his old regiment, is said to have lost but six men by surprise during the outpost duty of the campaigns of 1793 and '94, in which Prussian accounts boast that they captured 4000 men, 1500 horses, and 11 guns from the enemy, and he retired from the contest with the reputation of a second Ziethen. The curious in the details of such warfare may learn them from a journal which he kept and published. There are one or two anecdotes of this period which may, perhaps, tend to rescue his character from the imputation of unmitigated barbarism cast upon it by the French. While commanding within their frontier, he caused a captured officer who had died of his wounds to be buried with all military honours—an attention to the fallen so unusual as to excite the greatest astonishment among the French inhabitants, who were further edified when he administered with his own hand an exemplary threshing to the village carpenter who had given short measure and bad workmanship to the coffin. Another incident is recorded in his journal, and we give it in his own words. It occurred near Kaiserslautern in 1799:—

‘ Among the prisoners was one whose thigh-bone had been shattered. They had laid him near the fire, and offered him bread and brandy, as to the others. He not only rejected this, but refused to be bandaged, and repeatedly begged the bystanders to shoot him. The latter said to one another, “This is an obstinate, sulky Frenchman.” Muffling and myself were within hearing, and approached the group. The wounded man lay still, drawn into himself, and saw nothing of what was passing. As he seemed to shiver, I caused cloaks to be heaped upon him. He looked up at me upon this, and again cast down his eyes. Not being master of the French language myself, I made my adjutant tell him that he ought to let himself be bandaged, and take nourishment. He answered nothing, and I made them tell him further that I held him for a poor creature who did not know how to meet his destiny, and that it became a soldier least of all men to take refuge in despair, that he should not give up hope of recovery, and might be assured that he found himself among men who would do everything possible to relieve him. He looked at me again, a stream of tears burst from his eyes, and he reached me out his hand. Wine was offered him, he drank, and offered no further resistance to the surgeon. I then asked him the cause of his previous obstinacy. He replied, “I have been forced into the service of the Republic. My father was guillotined; my brothers have perished in the war; my wife and children are left in misery; I thought, therefore, that death alone could end my troubles, and longed for it. Your kindness has brought me to  
better



better reflections. 'I thank you for it, and am determined to meet my future lot with patience.' '

This incident seems to us to confirm the valuable adage that the devil is not so black as he is painted, especially where the pencil is a French one.

The peace of Basle afforded Blücher leisure for a second marriage, and he was united to a Maria Amelia von Colomb. He held for some time a command in Munster under the Duke of Brunswick, where he made acquaintance with many of the French emigrants, among whom the Abbé de Pradt was his favourite. The late King, Frederick William III., who ascended the throne in 1797, had found occasion, while serving in his father's armies as crown-prince, to remark the merits of Blücher, and in 1801 promoted him to the rank of lieutenant-general. In 1803 he was appointed governor of Munster, which by the terms of the peace had fallen to the lot of Prussia. The episcopal palace, which became his residence, now witnessed a revival of those scenes for which it has been celebrated by Sir W. Temple, in the times of the warlike and Rhenish-loving prince-bishop. High play was still with Blücher a passion which could only find its substitute in that still more exciting pastime, in which

'Kings hold the bottle, and Europe the stakes,'  
and the neighbouring baths of Pyrmont afforded dangerous summer facilities for the indulgence of this pernicious taste.

The peace was hollow. The French occupation of Hanover placed the two nations in dangerous propinquity, and a strong war-party existed in Prussia, especially in the army, of which party, as a matter of course, Blücher was a leading member.

In 1806 the drama opened at once with that great disaster of Jena, which chastised the military pride and overweening confidence of Prussia, and placed her existence as a separate state on the map of Europe at the mercy of the conqueror. The divisions and distractions of those in high command were only rendered more conspicuous by the courage which the isolated and unsupported battalions of the Prussians opposed to the admirable combinations and concentrated masses of the enemy. All the advantages of superior information and intelligence which usually accrue to those who fight on their own soil, in this strange instance were engrossed by the foreign invader, who might have been said, like Ariel,

'Now in the waist, the deck, and every cabin,  
To flame amazement.'

The spirit, not of the great Frederick, but of Ariosto's Agramant, reigned in the Prussian camp. Blücher was not in a situa-  
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tion as commander of the cavalry to control the movements or repair the errors of Brunswick, Mollendorf, and Hohenlohe. All he could do was to offer to lead his brave horsemen in a desperate attempt to retrieve the fortune of the day. This offer was at first accepted by the King, but the permission was revoked, and all that remained for Blücher was to endeavour to save as large a remnant as possible of his force by a retreat into Northern Germany. The courage and perseverance with which he conducted this attempt were such as could scarcely have derived additional lustre from success. It must be admitted, on the other hand, that nothing could exceed the vigour and activity with which Buonaparte's generals, when slipped in the chase, foiled all his efforts. Like a wild beast, he found himself alike tracked on retreat, and anticipated in every desperate rush for escape, whether towards the Elbe, the Oder, or in the direction of Hanover. Driven at length through Lubeck, which to the misfortune of that neutral city he for a moment occupied, and where he narrowly escaped personal capture, he was brought to bay in its neighbourhood—and here, suffering himself from fever and exhausted of every supply for his men, he was forced to capitulate.

Blücher retired for a season to Hamburgh on his parole. His exchange was afterwards effected with General Victor. On the occasion of his release he visited the French head-quarters, and was received with marks of distinction by Napoleon.

With the powerful assistance of Russia the contest was still maintained in the northern provinces, and the offer of Swedish co-operation induced the king to organize a corps intended to act on the rear of the enemy from the northern coast. Blücher was selected for the command of this expedition, which was, however, frustrated in the first instance by the vacillation of the Swedish sovereign, and finally by the battle of Friedland and the peace of Tilsit which succeeded. After the treaty was signed, our hero retained the command of the Pomeranian army, a post of much difficulty, for the troops of the conqueror were stationed in its neighbourhood, and frequent discussions and disputes arose between the commanders. Blücher is said to have shown much subtlety and address in this position, in which his character gave weight to the concessions he was compelled as the weaker party to make. Words, according to our English satirist's theory (adopted by Talleyrand), were invented by man as a concealment to his thoughts and a disguise to his intentions, and Blücher is said to have derived much convenience from his use of the German language in negotiation, for which his ignorance of any other afforded him a pretext. He stands, indeed, accused by French writers of having grossly misused this device on the retreat from Jena, in  
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an interview with the French general Klein. It is certain that he succeeded in persuading that officer that an armistice had been concluded, and that both Klein and Lasalle were thereby induced to postpone an attack and allow Blücher to get a day's start of his pursuers. It is very difficult to believe, that if he had committed himself in this instance beyond the allowed limits of military stratagem, Napoleon, however little scrupulous he is known to have been as to the conduct of his own officers, would have forborne to blast the character of a troublesome opponent by a formal verification of the charge—still more that he would have given Blücher the honourable reception of which we have spoken, at his own head-quarters. Klein and Lasalle had the Emperor's ear for their own story, and had every inducement to make the most of their own justification. We must confess at the same time that, but for this negative evidence, even the German account of the transaction would be suspicious. Another accusation of a similar nature has been preferred against Blücher. He is charged with having violated the armistice in 1813 by occupying the neutral ground before the day specified for the renewal of hostilities in Silesia:—but the Prussian accounts reply distinctly, that the original violation of this territory was the act of the French under Macdonald.

The French were not his only accusers. During his tenure of command in Pomerania he found occasion to defend himself against certain anonymous attacks which issued from the Leipzig press upon his military conduct in his recent arduous retreat. Blücher demanded an investigation before a court of inquiry which had been appointed to sit at Königsberg for the consideration of cases of a far more serious complexion. The evidence of that distinguished officer Scharnhorst, who had shared the toils and dangers of his retreat, was conclusive in his favour, and the result was more than his justification.

A dark period now ensued to Blücher's adopted country—four years of humiliation, of sullen submission to almost every possible variety of outrage and exaction. France should in policy either have pursued her conquest to the utter dismemberment of Prussia, or have spared her dignity. The death of the loved and lovely Queen, who was considered as the victim of Napoleon's unmanly insults, added to the general indignation. In despite of French vigilance, and of the terms of the peace which limited the numbers of the standing army, means were found silently to accumulate both soldiers and material for a future campaign. The Baron de Stein set on foot the famous *tugendbund*, and Blücher, in despite of his now advanced age, was looked up to as the future vindicator of his country's wrongs. An illness



illness which afflicted him through the greater part of the year 1808, and at times affected his reason, seems but to have added a morbid fire to his enthusiasm. He is said in moments of delirium to have 'attained to something like prophetic strain,' and to have predicted with confidence the speedy liberation of his country and the downfall of its oppressor. 'This must happen,' he said, 'and I must assist at it, and *I will not die* till it shall have come to pass.'

Blücher's education had been that of a soldier. He knew no language but his own, but he was fond of writing, and took a pleasure in dictating his despatches and proclamations. We have seen letters addressed by him to the King at this period, upon the subject of that future movement to which he looked forward with such unabated confidence, containing passages of an eloquence worthy of his theme. His hopes were revived from time to time by the Austrian war and Schill's chivalrous enterprise; but the prospect was soon clouded, and, till the two colossal powers, Russia and France, once more arrayed themselves against each other, the distant successes of England in the Peninsula could alone afford him a gleam of consolation.

Among the concessions which Napoleon extorted from his doubtful ally previous to his Russian expedition was the removal of Blücher from his Pomeranian command, a measure for which the old soldier's reckless language and deportment afforded a full justification. It was gilded on the part of the sovereign by a handsome territorial donation in Silesia, to the capital of which province Blücher, after a short residence at Berlin, retired.

It was to Breslau also that the King betook himself on the occasion of that famous defection of D'York from the French, which fired at once from one end of Prussia to the other the insurrectionary materials long and secretly stored up for such a contingency. The nature of Blücher's feelings and advice at this juncture might easily be anticipated. He was loud in favour of an immediate forward movement, louder in his scorn of more timid and dilatory proposals. The King hesitated in bestowing upon him the command which the popular voice and the general feeling of the soldiery would have at once decreed to him. There were among the court advisers not a few who looked upon Blücher as a mere fiery hussar, who would compromise by rashness and want of science the hopes of the present crisis, and by such the pretensions of Tauenzien were advocated. The opinion and advice of the deeply-skilled Scharnhorst, however, prevailed, and on the 15th of March, 1813, Blücher's long dream was realized by finding himself at the head of the Silesian army.

We have dwelt, perhaps at some length, on the earlier portion  
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of Blücher's career—as affording illustrations of his character from that part of his biography with which general readers are probably the least familiar. The subsequent incidents of his military life are so well known as to make summary revision superfluous. It is impossible, however, for any one, scientific or otherwise, to review the great struggle of 1813 and '14 without admitting that if to the Emperor Alexander belonged the political influence, and to Schwarzenberg the address, which mainly kept together the discordant elements of the coalition, Blücher was the fighting element which inspired the mass with a spirit of enterprise in action and endurance under defeat of which few coalitions have presented an example. In ordinary times, or with ordinary objects, Blücher's character and disposition would have ill fitted him for acting with the subtle and jealous Russian, or the lukewarm Swede, to whom the Germans applied the well-known line from Schiller's *Song of the Bell*,

‘Ach! ihm fehlt kein theures haupt.’

Neither the amiability of Schwarzenberg, nor the patient tact of Wellington, which neither Portuguese nor Spanish could exhaust, were natural to Blücher; but for his two great purposes, the liberation of his country and the humiliation of France, he could assume both. Defeat indeed he suffered often:—to compare him with that great captain from whom throughout his campaigns in India and Europe no enemy ever carried off a gun and kept it, would be preposterous. Few victories, however, have been more fairly won, to say nothing of their consequences, than the great battle of the Katzbach. No mere hussar inspired his troops with that sterling enthusiasm which could enable them to pursue every advantage and rally after every failure, which could retrieve Montmirail on the heights of Montmartre, and keep steadily to a programme of combined movement after Ligny. Blücher must have possessed real and high skill as a tactician, though probably not as a strategist, to which, indeed, he does not seem ever to have pretended. At the same time his supreme contempt of danger and constant recklessness of personal exposure had doubtless very much to do with his success. He possessed with Marmion and Napoleon the art

‘To win the hardy soldier's heart,  
Who loves a captain to obey,  
Boisterous as March, yet fresh as May.’

His jests, frequently of a description ill calculated for chaste ears, extorted grim smiles from lips black with the cartridge, and sent laughter through the column while grapeshot was tearing its ranks. When he checked his horse in the hottest cannonade to light his pipe at the linstock of the gunner, the piece was probably

bably not the worse served. Towards the close of the campaign in France the infirmities of age at one moment almost induced him to contemplate the abandonment of his command, and to retire into the Netherlands, but the spirit triumphed over the flesh, and though unable to remain in the saddle for the last attack on Montmartre, he gave his orders with calmness and precision from a carriage. His appearance on this occasion must have taxed the gravity of his staff, for, to protect his eyes, then in a state of violent inflammation, the grisly veteran had replaced his cocked-hat by a French lady's bonnet and veil. His health prevented him from sharing the triumphal entry of the sovereigns into Paris, and on the 2nd of April, 1814, he resigned the burthen of his military command.

The peace of Paris by no means satiated his thirst for the humiliation of France. After enjoying the reward for his services in the enthusiastic congratulations of London and Berlin, he divided for awhile his residence between the latter city and Breslau, at all times and in all places exhaling his discontent at the concessions of the allies. Unmeasured in his language, mixing freely in society of all classes, and venting his spleen on all diplomatists, but specially on Hardenberg, he became, without any personal object of aggrandizement or political ambition, but in the mere indulgence of his ill humour, the nucleus of a little Fronde, calculated to offend without influencing the sovereign and his ministers.

That Blücher looked forward to another trial of strength between his countrymen and the French is evident, but it is hardly possible that at his age he should have contemplated the probability of once more in person directing the fortunes of the contest, and of at last feeding fat the ancient grudge he bore not only to Napoleon, but to the nation. His speculations were probably more the offspring of his feelings than of any profound observation of the political state of Europe. A letter of the Duke of Wellington, however, to his brother Sir Henry Wellesley (*Gurwood*, December 17th, 1814), shows that his views were shared by one whose calmer judgment and nearer observation were not subject to such influences, and who had neither defeats to retrieve in his own person, nor insults to avenge in that of his country:—

‘I believe the truth to be, that the people of this country (France) are so completely ruined by the revolution, and they are now suffering so severely from the want of the plunder of the world, that they cannot go on without it; and they cannot endure the prospect of a peaceable government. If that is the case, we should take care how we suffered the grand alliance to break up, and we ought to look to our alliance with the powers of the Peninsula as our sheet-anchor.’

Blücher



Blücher might have long gone on smoking, gaming, and scolding without interruption, if the great event had not occurred which restored him to his more legitimate vocation. The news of Napoleon's escape found him accidentally at Berlin. His first impulse was to call on the English ambassador, to twit him with the negligence of his countrymen; his next to exhibit himself in the principal street of the capital in his field-marshal's uniform, a significant hint to younger generals not to expect that he would concede to them his place in the approaching fray. His nomination to that post of honour and danger soon ensued, and his old companion and adviser, Gneisenau, was once more at his side.

The Duke of Wellington reached Brussels from Vienna on the 5th of April, 1815, and found Kleist in command of the Prussian force, for Blücher only arrived at Liege on the 17th. It appears from the Duke's letter to Lord Clancarty, of the 6th, that he found Kleist disposed to retire, in case of being attacked, behind Brussels, a plan which the Duke warmly opposed, in spite of his own opinion expressed in his letter to Lord Bathurst, of the same date, of the insufficiency of the force at his disposal. From Blücher's temper and turn of mind, as well as from the event, we may infer that the Duke had little difficulty in recommending to the former his own views, based, no doubt, as much on political as military considerations, in favour of a position in advance of Brussels.

From the Duke's letter to Lord Clancarty of the 10th of April, it appears that he contemplated, in the first instance, taking the initiative by the end of that month or the beginning of May, at which period he conceived that the allies might throw into France a force of 270,000 men to be opposed by some 180,000. (*Gurwood*, xii. p. 297.) We find, however, that, three days afterwards, his intelligence of Buonaparte's state of preparation had already led him to abandon this prospect. In enclosing a memorandum founded on his original ideas, he says:—

‘Since I wrote to your Lordship some important events have occurred in France, which will leave Napoleon's army more at his disposal than was expected at that time, and he has adopted measures which will certainly tend to increase it at an early period. You will see by the enclosed papers that it is probable that the Duc d'Angoulême will be obliged to quit France, and that Buonaparte, besides having called for the soldiers recently discharged, amounting as I understand to about 127,000, of which 100,000 may be deemed immediately disposable, has organised 200 battalions of Grenadiers of the National Guards. I imagine that the latter will not be a very formidable force; but still numbers were too nearly equal according to the estimate I gave you in my letter of the 10th, for me to think it advisable, under present circumstances,

cumstances, to attempt to carry into execution what is proposed in the enclosed memorandum.'

The subsequent correspondence shows that neither the condition of his own force nor that of his allies could have justified the experiment. The mutinous state of the Saxon troops might alone have been sufficient to derange such a plan of action. Some officers indeed of both nations have been of opinion that it was *from the beginning* far more in the power of Napoleon than of the allies to take the aggressive course; and that by crossing the frontier, which it is said he might have done with 40,000 men, very soon after his reinstalment in the Tuileries, he would have had more chances in his favour than he found in June. It is evident that, with all his exertions, the Duke of Wellington at least had full occupation for the interval which elapsed, in collecting and adjusting the component parts of an army, which at its best was far inferior to any he had commanded in Europe. His correspondence at once shows his unceasing anxiety to anticipate the offensive movement of the enemy, in which Blücher fully shared (see *Gurwood*, 2nd June, 1815), and justifies the prudence which forbade any forward movement. It shows, moreover, that the difficulties of his position were not confined to the well-known deficiencies and imperfections of his army on which Napoleon so much relied, its raw and heterogeneous composition, the absence of the flower of the English infantry, the refusal of the Portuguese, &c. Even the article of material, which it might have been supposed Woolwich would have supplied in profusion, was slowly and scantily doled out to his pressing remonstrances; and instead of 150 British pieces, for which he applies on the 6th of April, we find him on the 21st in expectation of only 42, making up, with the German guns, some 84 pieces; while he states, from the Prussian returns, that their corps on the Meuse are to take the field with 200, and their whole force with no less than 600. With respect to drivers, horses, the heavy artillery, pontoons, &c., his difficulties are shown to have been equally embarrassing. (See *Gurwood*, 21st April, 1815).—But in addition to all these lets and hindrances, it is evident that the Duke's scheme for offensive operations was throughout kept steadily dependent upon *the movements of the allies on the Lower and Upper Rhine*. This is strikingly evident from a letter to Schwarzenberg, dated 2nd of June, 1815,\* and from the one of the same date which follows it

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\* 'Sous ces circonstances il est très important que je sache aussitôt que possible quand vous pourrez commencer vos opérations; et de quelle nature elles seront, et vers quel tems nous pouvons attendre que vous serez arrivé à une hauteur quelconque, afin que je puisse commencer de ce côté-ci de manière à avoir l'appui de vos opérations. Le

it to Sir Henry Wellesley.\* Napoleon, however, took the game into his own hands, and played it, in the first instance at least, with a skill and energy worthy of his best days and reputation.

It is probable that no extensive military operation was ever conducted to its issue, whatever that issue might be, without many derangements of the original conceptions of its leaders, arising from the casualties of the busy moment, the failure of despatches, the misconstruction of orders, the misdirection of columns, &c. The operations now in question were certainly no exception to this rule on either side. As to Napoleon, if his own account of them be believed, few commanders in critical circumstances have been worse seconded, as far as prompt obedience and punctuality were concerned. If Ney and Grouchy are to be credited in their defence, no subordinates ever suffered more from tardy and contradictory orders on the part of their chief. Captain Pringle, in his excellent remarks on the campaign of 1815, published in the appendix to Sir Walter Scott's Life of Napoleon, truly observes that, in French military works, the reader never finds a French army beaten in the field without some plausible reason, or, as Las Casas terms it, a concurrence of unheard-of fatalities, to account for it. 'Non nostrum tantas componere lites.' To an ordinary reader Grouchy's defence of himself appears difficult to answer. It is evident that in this, as probably in every other similar transaction, chance reigned arbiter over many important occurrences; nor were such accidents confined to the French army and operations. The English were not exempt; and that the fate of the contest at Ligny on the 16th of June was seriously influenced by the absence of Bulow's corps, the fourth, is known to every one. In Plotho's very circumstantial account we find the fact mentioned, that orders were forwarded to Bulow from Sombref, on the 15th,\* which were expected to secure his junction for the next day. The dispatch was sent to Hannut, where it was presumed that it would find his head-quarters established. These were still, however, at Liege, and the dispatch, appearing to be of no consequence, *unwichtig scheinend*, lay at Hannut unopened, and was found there by Bulow only on his arrival at 10 o'clock the next morning.

We shall have a word or two more to say by and bye as to the circumstances under which Blücher was brought into action at Ligny. That his infantry fought admirably against great odds on

Le Maréchal Blücher est préparé et très impatient de commencer; mais je lui ai fait dire aujourd'hui qu'il me paraissait que nous ne pouvions rien faire jusqu'à ce que nous fussions certain du jour auquel vous commenceriez, et en général de vos idées sur vos opérations.—Gurwood, xii. p. 437.

\* 'The whole of Schwarzenberg's army will not be collected on the Upper Rhine till towards the 16th, at about which time I hope we shall begin.'—Gurwood, xii. p. 438.

that



that occasion has never been disputed; with respect to the cavalry and the artillery Blücher expressed some dissatisfaction. Whatever were the merits of the position, it is clear that Napoleon was tasked to the utmost to wrest it before nightfall from the old warrior who held it. Few English narratives of the campaign have recorded the fact that it was visited by the Duke of Wellington shortly before the commencement of the action, on which occasion the two generals concerted in person their future measures for mutual co-operation, in whatever manner the first collision might end. The German accounts have not failed to record the interview, nor how the attention of the well-girded Prussians was drawn to the white neckcloth of the great commander, who, but for his cocked hat, with the cockade by its four colours bespeaking the field-marshal of four kingdoms—England, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands—might have been taken for an English gentleman on his morning ride. We believe it to be the opinion of most English officers acquainted with the ground at Ligny, that the Duke under similar circumstances would have defended it in a different manner from that adopted by the Prussians, for that the locality admitted of a disposition which would have less exposed the masses not immediately engaged to the murderous fire of the French artillery.\* We have heard that Gneisenau was sensible of the objections to this feature in his own arrangements, but had adopted his course from knowledge and experience of the habits and *morale* of his own troops, who, as he is reported to have expressed himself, liked to see the enemy. In illustration of the Duke of Wellington's opposite practice in this particular, we are tempted to quote the following passage from a French military writer. It is from an article in the 'Bulletin Universelle des Sciences' for 1825, on a history of the Russian expedition, by the Marquis de Chambray:—

'The author,' says the reviewer, 'compares the English and French methods of fighting, and the operations of the generals Massena and Wellington in 1811. Among the remarkable propositions to which the author is led by the results of this inquiry, we select the following for notice:—To defend a height, the English infantry did not crown the crest, after the practice of the infantry of other nations. Massena was repulsed, because the English employed for the defence of the heights they occupied the manœuvre I have spoken of before (that of placing themselves some fifty paces in rear of the crest, and leaving only *tirailleurs* on the slope), which is preferable to that hitherto in use.' 'This manner of defending heights,' continues the reviewer, 'is not new. It has been sometimes employed, but it had been adopted generally by the English during the Spanish war. It had even been

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\* This view is borne out by the remarks of a very able Prussian critic of the campaign, the late General Clausewitz.

taught their troops in time of peace. The infantry of other nations places itself usually on the crest in sight of the assailant. French infantry remains rarely on the defensive; and when it has overthrown the enemy, pursues with such impetuosity as not always to preserve its ranks. Hence the reverses it has suffered on some of the occasions, which are few, when it has defended heights. For on most occasions, such as Corunna, Busaco, Fuentes de Oñoro, and Albuera, it attacked.'

There is doubtless great difference between the local features of Ligny and Busaco, between a Flemish slope and a Portuguese sierra, and we are aware that the 'brunt of the former action lay in the low villages of Ligny' and St. Amand; but the principle of non-exposure is the same. It has been stated that when Napoleon mounted his horse on the morning of the 18th, seeing few signs of the British force in his front, he began to vent his disappointment at their presumed escape, but that Foy, who had much Peninsular experience, warned him not to rely on appearances. 'Wellington,' he said, 'never shows his troops. A patrol of dragoons will soon ascertain the fact, but if he is yonder, I warn your Majesty *que l'infanterie Anglaise en duel est le diable.*'

The incident of Blücher's fall under his expiring horse at Ligny, and of the memorable act of devotion on the part of his aide-de-camp, is well known. Modern warfare could probably hardly furnish a parallel case, and Froissart has recorded no more chivalrous exploit than that of Nostitz. From the Prussian accounts of this cavalry charge, at the head of which Blücher had thus exposed his person in vain, we collect that it was repulsed, not at the sword point, but by the carbine fire of the French cavalry, who stood firm in their ranks. This we imagine our officers would consider as rather an old-fashioned proceeding, and worthy of the cuirassiers of the sixteenth rather than of the present century. We find, however, that same method was again resorted to with success by the French cavalry under Grouchy in an affair near Namur on the 19th.

The victory remained with Napoleon, but Blücher, instead of obliging him by retiring on Namur, clung with tenacity to his communications with the English, and, exactly as had been agreed upon, directed his retreat on Wavre. No beaten army ever rallied quicker or to better purpose. Blücher was conveyed to a cottage, whence he dictated his dispatches and issued his orders, unshaken in spirit, though sorely bruised in body. While the surgeon was rubbing his bruises he asked the nature of the liniment, and, being told it was brandy, stated his opinion that an internal application would be far more efficacious. This was applied in the mitigated shape of champagne, and he said to the messenger

messenger who was on the point of departure with his despatch, 'Tell His Majesty *das ich hätte kalt nachgetrunken*, and that all will do well.' His order of the day for the 17th, after some reflections on the conduct of the cavalry and artillery, concluded with these words—'I shall lead you again against the enemy: we shall beat him, for we must.'

We find in the 'Life of Napoleon' published in the Family Library, a story of a second interview between the Duke and Blücher on the 17th, stated as a fact well known to many superior officers in the Netherlands. The author and his informants, however superior, are mistaken. The Duke in the early part of the 17th had enough to do to conduct his unexampled retreat to Waterloo, from before Napoleon's united force and superior cavalry—a movement which but for the trifling affair of Genappe would have been accomplished without the loss of a man. He remained at Quatre Bras so occupied till half-past one p.m., and then retired by the high road to the field of next day's battle, which he thoroughly examined, and was proceeding to dinner at Waterloo, when he was overtaken by an aide-de-camp of Lord Anglesey, with the intelligence that the 7th hussars had been engaged with the French lancers, and that the enemy was pressing his rear. He immediately returned to the field, and remained on the ground till dark. Blücher, on the other hand, was forced to keep his bed during this day.

The 18th, however, saw him again in the saddle, at the head of Bulow's newly-arrived division, urging its onward course, and his own, like Milton's griffin through the wilderness, cheering the march-worn troops till the defile of St. Lambert rang to his old war-cry and sobriquet 'Forwards'—reminding them of the rain which had spared so much powder at the Katzbach, and telling them of the promise of assistance which he stood pledged to redeem to the English. Nobly indeed was that promise redeemed, and the utter ruin of the French army is to be ascribed to that assistance. Ungrateful we should be not to acknowledge such service, though we cannot subscribe to the theories, whether French or Prussian, which give it the full merit of saving from destruction an army which had, while as yet unsupported, repulsed every attack and annihilated the French cavalry.

We know that no thought of so disastrous a result crossed the minds of those about the Duke's person, and that officers of his staff who left the field wounded towards the close of the action, did so with no other feeling of anxiety than for the personal safety of him they left behind. His servants, who, in the village of Waterloo, had the opportunity of witnessing the incidents of the rear of such a battle—which try the nerves more than those of the fray itself—



itself—knew their master well. The manœuvres of the kitchen were conducted with as much precision as those of the Footguards at St. James's. Reign what confusion there might in the avenue of Soignies, there was none in the service of the duke's table, and the honour of the Vattel of his establishment was preserved free from stain as his own.

That he ever returned to eat the dinner so prepared was certainly not due to any avoidance of personal exposure on his own part. Of Buonaparte's conduct in that respect on this his last field-day we have seen no account on which we could rely. We have no doubt of his *sung-froid* under fire; but whether Waterloo witnessed its conspicuous display we are ignorant. On divers celebrated occasions he is known to have abundantly exposed himself; but in general he would seem to have been as free as our own commander from the vulgar ostentation of courting danger, and in most of his greater battles there was little call for it. We have heard that Bertrand, at St. Helena, set much store by an opera-glass through which Napoleon had discovered the English general at Waterloo. We believe that neither the Duke nor his staff succeeded at any moment of the action in identifying the person or exact position of his great opponent, though few great battles have brought rival leaders so near. That our chief was everywhere except in the rear is well known; and the casualties among his own staff, of whom many were hit at his side, bespeak the hot service he went through. Danger pursued him to the last. After sixteen hours in the saddle, he was alighting at his own quarters, when the spirited animal, long afterwards a pensioner in the paddocks of Strathfieldsaye, as if conscious of the termination of his labours, jerked out his heels in a fashion which a slight change of direction might have made fatal to his late rider. Such an exploit would have rendered poor Copenhagen rather more famous than *the little gentleman in black velvet*, so often toasted in our Jacobite revels of the last century.

That the two allied nations should be altogether agreed as to the apportionment of the glory of the day was not to be expected. It is clear, to the lasting honour of both, that whatever feelings may have since grown up on this subject, none interfered for a moment with the cordiality of their subsequent operations. Blücher had none of the jealousies to contend with which had frequently embarrassed him when acting with Russians and Swedes; and any difficulties arising out of the diverging lines of communication with their resources, only served to show the good will and determination with which they were met by the commanders of the two armies. The following passage from a Prus-

sian pen will show that just national pride is not always inconsistent with candour:—

‘ Upon the question, who really fought and won the battle of the 18th, no discussion, much less contention, ought to have arisen. Without in the slightest degree impeaching the just share of Prussia in the victory, or losing sight for a moment of the fact that she bore a great share of the danger, and drew much of it from her allies and upon herself at a decisive moment, no unprejudiced person can conceal from himself that the honour of the day is due to the Anglo-Netherlandish army, and to the measures of its great leader. The struggle of Mount St. Jean was conducted with an obstinacy, ability, and foresight of which history affords few examples. The great loss of the English also speaks the merit of their services. More than 700 officers, among them the first of their army, whether in rank or merit, and upwards of 10,000 soldiers, fell or retired wounded from the field.’\*

We may here remark, in justice to the Prussians, that their loss on the 18th has been greatly underrated by many writers. Pringle, among others, counts it at 700 men. The Prussian returns are given in Plotho’s Appendix:† that of killed and wounded for the 4th corps alone shows a loss of 5000, of which 1250 were killed. This bloody struggle occurred principally in the village of Planchenoit, the capture of which is compared by the Prussians with that of Blenheim in the battle of Hochstett. It is a part of the action which has been little noticed, but was creditable alike to French and Prussians. The village was stormed and retaken three times. We think that the entire loss of the Prussian army on the 18th could hardly have been less than 7000, at which their authorities compute it. Especial credit is due to Thielman, who, during the day of the 18th, resisted the obstinate endeavours of Grouchy’s far superior force to cross the Dyle at Wavres. Grouchy, indeed, effected towards evening the passage of that river at Limales, but too late for his purpose of dividing the Prussian army, or forcing Blücher to concentrate his force and abandon his allies. We know not which most to admire, the determination of Blücher to redeem his pledge of succour to Wellington, or the gallantry with which Thielman enabled Blücher to carry this resolution into effect, protecting at once the flank and rear of the Prussian army, guarding one road of direct access to Brussels itself, and preventing Grouchy from marching to the assistance of Napoleon.

This struggle, so unequal in point of numbers, was continued

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\* *Geschichte des Preussischen Staates, 1763-1815.* Frankfurt, 1820. Vol. iii., p. 374.

† *War of the Allied Powers, &c.* Berlin, 1818.

for some hours on the 19th. It was not till Vandamme had advanced on the direct road to Brussels, as far as Rossières, on the verge of the wood of Soignies, thereby turning the right flank of Thielman, that the latter abandoned the defence of Wavres, and began an orderly retreat on Louvain. He had previously learned the extent of the success of the allies on the 18th, and must have been easy as to the result of any further advance of Grouchy. The news reached the Frenchman a little later, and he forthwith commenced a retreat, which, perhaps, in its execution did him even more honour than his previous exploits.

The above remarks, which we think calculated to render bare justice to the conduct of our Prussian allies, are founded on the minute and authentic official reports of Plotho's fourth volume. That some caution is requisite in dealing with the numerous narratives which have been published of these transactions may be proved from such an instance as the following passage, which is to be found in a History of Napoleon, by a M. de Norvins, published for *military* readers, and beautifully illustrated by the pencil of Raffet. Speaking of Wellington's position at Waterloo, he says:—'The post of Hougomont, on the *left* of the English, became to them of the last importance, for it was there that the Prussians were to join them.' This is only to be equalled by the change in the relative positions of the heart and liver adopted by Molière's impromptu physician. Errors so flagrant as this are, indeed, of rare occurrence, but the subject is a dangerous one to unprofessional writers, unless they enjoy the advantage, and condescend to use it, of communication with sound military authorities. An accomplished civilian of our own has lately closed with an account of this final struggle a voluminous History, which has, we know, enjoyed in its progress a very high share of popularity. Agreeing as we do with many of Mr. Alison's political opinions, and approving the spirit of his moral reflections, we have no disposition to question the general merits of a work which is at all events entitled to a formal and separate article, and which we hope to make the subject of one in due season. Meanwhile, however, since the subject of the Waterloo campaign has come in our way, we may be pardoned for remarking in general that a writer of Mr. Alison's particular qualifications would have acted wisely in compressing the military narratives and disquisitions which abound in his volumes, and in abstaining from certain conclusions, which, coming from him, possess, indeed, no other authority than that with which his mere powers of language can invest them, but may be quoted by interested persons for their own purposes—persons who would otherwise pay little attention to



Mr. Alison or his work. In his account of the Belgian campaign, he has, in our opinion, only added one to a long list of imperfect narratives,\* fitter for the pages of a magazine than for a compilation of the dignity and importance to which he aspires.

Mr. Alison (*History of Europe, &c.*, vol. x. p. 991) speaks of

‘Buonaparte’s favourite military manœuvre of interposing between his adversaries, and striking with a superior force first on the right hand and then on the left,’

as having been attempted by him and baffled in this campaign. We doubt whether the expression of interposing between two adversaries can be correctly applied to any of Buonaparte’s successful campaigns, and we almost suspect that if he had in contemplation a manœuvre of so much hazard on this occasion, it was the first on which he can be said to have attempted it. Hear Clausewitz on this matter:—

‘All writers who have treated of this campaign set out by saying that Buonaparte threw himself between the two armies, in order to separate them. This expression, however, which has become a *terminus technicus* in military phraseology, has no clear idea for its foundation. The space intervening between two armies cannot be an object of operation. It would have been very unfortunate if a commander like Buonaparte, having to deal with an enemy of twice his force, instead of falling on the one half with his united strength, had lighted on the empty interval, and thus made a blow in the air, losing his time whilst he can only double his own force by the strictest economy of that commodity. Even the fighting the one army in a direction by which it will be pressed away from the other, even if it can be effected without loss of time, incurs the great danger of being attacked in the rear by the other. If the latter, therefore, be not far enough removed to put this risk out of question, a commander will scarcely venture on such a line of attack. Buonaparte, therefore, chose the direction between the two armies, not in order to separate them by wedging himself between, but because he expected to find and fall on Blücher’s force in this direction, either united or in separate bodies.’—*Feldzug von 1815, &c.*, p. 54.

In the particular instance Mr. Alison’s supposition is so far supported, that Buonaparte’s main attack was on the right and centre of the Prussian position rather than the left. The battle of Ligny began late in the day, and it was perhaps only want of time which prevented Buonaparte from pushing a column further on their right flank at Wagnelies. Whatever his purpose, he certainly was under the conviction after his success

\* Among the battles on which Mr. Alison has, we think, most unfortunately laboured, we must notice particularly those of Assye and Toulouse. As to both, his rashness and inaccuracy are, as we shall probably have occasion to show in detail by and by, most flagrant and, after the publication of Colonel Gurwood’s book especially, most inexcusable.

that Blücher had retreated towards Namur, and his neglect in ascertaining this fact would appear to have been a singular and fatal error. But his main object was evidently to find the Prussian army, and beat it.

‘This position,’ says the historian, speaking of Ligny, ‘was good and well chosen, for the villages in front afforded an admirable shelter to the troops.’—p. 924.

The position, as occupied by the Prussians, has been considered very defective by better authorities than Mr. Alison.\* English officers are, we believe, pretty well agreed on this point; but if their judgment be questioned, no writer has pointed out some of its defects more clearly than General Clausewitz, who, having served as chief of the staff to the third corps of the Prussian army, writes with greater authority on this part of the campaign than perhaps on any other. He particularly censures the occupation and defence of St. Amand, one of Mr. Alison’s admirable villages, as a pernicious *hors d’œuvre*. It was too far advanced, and the Prussians as the action proceeded were exposed to greater loss than the assaulting enemy, in moving successive battalions down the slope to its defence. Their strength was thus consumed before Napoleon made his final attack with his reserves. Posts which cost the defenders more outlay of life than the assailants, though sometimes necessary evils, can hardly deserve the epithet *admirable*. (See *Feldzug von 1815*, p. 91.)

The cavalry action of the 17th at Genappe is briefly but incorrectly described in the following passage:—

‘So roughly had the French been handled on the field of battle the preceding day that no attempt was made by them to disturb the retreat of either army, except by a body of French cuirassiers, which, about four o’clock in the afternoon, charged the English cavalry, who were covering the retreat between Genappe and Waterloo.’—*Alison*, p. 932.

For cuirassiers read lancers. They did not in the first instance charge the English cavalry, but pressing rather close on our rear, were charged gallantly but ineffectually by the 7th Hussars, who could make no impression on the front of their column in the defile, and lost many officers and men, wounded and prisoners. When the lancers, flushed with success, debouched on a wider space, they were ridden over by the 1st Life Guards.

In discussing the *vexata quæstio* of Grouchy’s conduct on the 18th, Mr. Alison, p. 995, speaks of his force as *fully matched* by the Prussian corps opposed to him, at Wavres. No account, French or other, which we have seen, rates Grouchy’s corps at less than 32,000 men. The third Prussian corps, under Thiel-

\* We believe we may safely state that in the course of their previous interview, already noticed, the Duke of Wellington did not conceal from Marshal Blücher his apprehensions as to the choice of the position near Ligny.

man,—instead of rising, as Mr. Alison says, to 35,000—did not exceed 16,000!

‘No official account of the Prussian loss,’ says Mr. Alison, p. 994, ‘has ever been published.’

Meaning their loss on the 18th. As we have already had occasion to signify, Mr. Alison might have found the official returns most minutely given in the Appendix to Plotho’s fourth volume, distinguishing officers, men, and horses, down to what Mr. Canning called the fraction of a drummer. A separate list for Thielman’s loss in the action at Wavres is alone wanting to make these returns quite complete.

Mr. Alison says, p. 924,

‘It was in the evening of the 15th, at half-past seven, that Wellington received the intelligence at Brussels. Orders were immediately despatched,’ &c.

As Buonaparte’s first attack was on the Prussian outposts at Thuin, it was natural that the first intelligence of hostilities should come from the Prussians, but their officer met with some delay, and the news was, in fact, brought by the Prince of Orange. He found the Duke, not at half-past seven, but soon after three o’clock, at dinner at his hotel, about 100 yards from his quarters in the park, which he had taken care not to quit during the morning, nor even on the day preceding, though pressed to do so in at least one instance by a person of high consequence, who was not probably aware of his reason for remaining. The Prince of Orange, who had thus come in from the Belgian outposts to dine with the Duke, was soon after followed by the Prussian General Muffling, who brought accounts of the affair of Thuin, and orders were immediately issued for the movement of the army to the left. These, despatched about five, must have reached most of the corps by eight, and probably all before ten. The Duke’s detailed orders are not all as yet before the public; but it is, perhaps, sufficient to refer to the *Memorandum* of 15th June, 1815, as printed by Colonel Gurwood. Before ten, further accounts were received from the Hanoverian General Dornberg, showing that all was quiet in the direction of Mons, &c.,—and the after orders were issued. (*Gurwood*, 15th June, 1815, 10 P.M.)

In the not very intricate case of Waterloo itself Mr. Alison indulges himself in various decisions of a rather questionable description. As to the ground of the action, for instance, he lays down that

‘The French army had an open country to retreat over in case of disaster; while the British, if defeated, would in all probability lose their whole artillery in the defiles of the forest of Soignies.’—p. 937.

The fact is, that if the Duke fought with one defile in his rear, Buonaparte fought with two. The difference was, that while the Duke, could, in *extremis*, have maintained the wood with his infantry,



infantry, Buonaparte, if beaten, could not so well have maintained Mr. Alison's *open country*. And odd enough, but so it is, Mr. Alison states, at page 935, a conclusion rather different from that which he announces in p. 937. for the *dictum* there is

'Retreat after disaster would be difficult, if not impossible, to the British army, through the narrow defile of the forest of Soignies: overthrow was [meaning, *must be*] ruin to the French.'

We know not how to reconcile these *interlocutors*. The plain truth is that the enemy's troops could have run away on either side of the *chaussée*, and they did so; but his carriages must have been jammed in any but a very timely retreat, as they were, in the défile of Genappe. However, Mr. Alison may be assured that the Duke of Wellington did not, at any time, contemplate the necessity of a retreat from his position at Waterloo. Upon the occasion of no former battle had he taken more pains to make himself by personal inspection thoroughly acquainted with his ground, and he was, from first to last, satisfied of his ability to maintain the post until his ally should arrive to his support. Clausewitz, p. 117, expresses a positive opinion, in which every military critic but a Frenchman must concur, that, even had the whole of Grouchy's force been at Napoleon's disposal, the Duke had nothing to fear pending Blücher's arrival.

The Duke is often talked of as having exhausted his reserves in the action. This is another grave error, which Clausewitz has thoroughly disposed of (p. 125). He enumerates the tenth British brigade, the division of Chassé, and the cavalry of Collaert as having been little or not at all engaged—and he might have also added two brigades of light cavalry.

That there was, as Mr. Alison states, much confusion with the retiring baggage on the road to Brussels is true enough—such is always the case with the rear of a great army during a battle; but the baggage of the old Spanish regiments remained where ordered until sent for by the Duke, and everything reached them in safety about midnight—a remarkable instance of precision, all things considered.

Another statement is calculated, as it stands, to convey a positively false impression as to the situation and services, during the battle, of the English officer who ranks next to his illustrious leader for constant, persevering, and frequently brilliant performance of his duty.

'Wellington,' says Mr. Alison, p. 937, 'had stationed General Hill, with nearly 7000 men, at Hal, six miles on the right, in order to cover the great road from Mons to Brussels.'

And, again, in describing the state of the Duke's preparations on the morning of the 18th, he says,—

'His

‘His whole army, with the exception of the detachment under Hill, near Hal, was now assembled.’—p. 938.

From these passages an ordinary reader would certainly infer that Lord Hill was not personally engaged in the battle of Waterloo, but that he was sitting on his horse at the head of a small detached body of 7000 men, six miles out of cannon-shot. The fact is, that the whole army was divided into two corps. The Prince of Orange commanded the first, Lord Hill the second, which included in the list of its commanders of division or brigade such names as those of Clinton, Picton, Pack, Kempt, and Adam. From this corps Lord Hill was ordered to detach a part, and a part only, of the fourth division, under Sir C. Colville, to which was attached a more considerable body of Dutch troops under Prince Frederick of Orange. The whole amounted to some 17,000 men. The immediate object of this detachment was that of guarding the road from Mons to Brussels; but had the Duke been compelled to retire from his position at Waterloo, this corps would have rendered important assistance to his right, and, had the battle been undecisive, it would have been in line at Waterloo by the morning. The Duke certainly attached much importance to the position of Hal. It is a strong one, and had been occupied by Marlborough shortly before the battle of Oudenarde. If Napoleon had advanced in this direction, it is probable that the battle for the defence of Brussels would have been fought here. Lord Hill's presence, however, was not necessary at Hal on the 18th; and we will venture to say that no general officer was under hotter fire in the action of Waterloo than our late commander-in-chief. He disposed and led on in person Sir F. Adam's decisive attack on the flank of Napoleon's guard. In the despatch of the 19th to Lord Bathurst, the Duke says,—‘I am particularly indebted to General Lord Hill for his assistance and conduct on this as on all former occasions.’—*Gurwood*, vol. xii. p. 483.

‘During this terrible strife,’ says Mr. Alison, p. 947, ‘Wellington remained in his position at the foot of his tree, occasionally throwing himself into a square, or directing the advance of a line. So heavy was the fire of cannon-shot to which he was exposed that nearly all his suite were killed or wounded by his side; and he was obliged in the close of the day to the casual assistance of a Portuguese, who stood near, to carry the most necessary orders.’

The historian in a subsequent page favours us with the *ipsis-  
sima verba* addressed by the Duke to the soldiery of two of the several squares into which his Grace thus threw himself. We are, however, able to assure Mr. Alison that the story, however generally current, of the Duke's occasionally flinging himself into a square

a square is a fiction. He *never once* was in that position throughout the battle of the 18th. For *Portuguese* read *Piedmontese*. The young gentleman in question was of the family of De Salis, a subject of the Sardinian government, and in its service. The mission he undertook was *one* of danger, for his uniform made him *liable* to be mistaken for a Frenchman by the brigade to which he carried the Duke's order to advance. 'Were you ever in a battle before?' said the Duke. 'No, Sir.' 'Then you are a lucky man; for you will never see such another.'

'Blücher and Wellington, by a singular chance, met at the farm of La Belle Alliance, and mutually saluted each other as victors.'—p. 957.

They met, not at La Belle Alliance, but a short distance further on the Genappe road, near a farm called the 'Maison Rouge,' or 'Maison du Roi.' This was the furthest point to which the British advanced; at least it was here that the Duke gave orders for the halt and bivouac of his own exhausted troops, and handed over the task of further pursuit to the Prussians, nothing loth to accept it.

The above remarks have been called forth by Mr. Alison's propensity to the extraction of military details from questionable sources. We find graver cause of offence with him when he sits down in his library-chair to distribute his praise and censure between the two great commanders whom he summons before his tribunal. His parallel of Napoleon and Wellington, *after* the fashion of Plutarch, is a tissue of truisms and assumptions which must not at present detain us; but among his '*few observations conceived in an European spirit!*'—there occurs a passage on which we think it worth while to say a few words:—

'In the first place, it is evident, whatever the English writers may say to the contrary, that both Blücher and the Duke of Wellington were surprised by Napoleon's invasion of Belgium on the 15th of June; and it is impossible to hold either of them entirely blameless for that circumstance. It has been already seen from the Duke's despatches, that on the 9th of June, that is, six days before the invasion took place, he was aware that Napoleon was collecting a great force on the frontier, and that hostilities might immediately be expected. Why, then, were the two armies not immediately concentrated, and placed in such a situation that they might mutually, if attacked, lend each other the necessary assistance? Their united force was full 190,000 effective men, while Napoleon's was not more than 120,000, or, at the utmost, 140,000. Why, then, was Blücher attacked unawares and isolated at Ligny, and the British infantry, unsupported either by cavalry or artillery, exposed to the attack of a superior force of French, composed of all the three arms, at Quatre Bras? It is in vain to say that they could not provide for their troops if they had been concentrated, and that it was necessary to watch every bye-road which led to Brussels. Men do not eat more when drawn together



together than when scattered over a hundred miles of country. Marlborough and Eugene had long ago maintained armies of 100,000 men for months together in Flanders; and Blücher and Wellington had no difficulty in feeding 170,000 men drawn close together after the campaign did commence. It is not by a cordon of troops, scattered over a hundred miles, that the attack of 120,000 French is to be arrested. If the British army had from the first been concentrated at Waterloo, and Blücher near Wavres, Napoleon would never have ventured to pass them on the road, however unguarded. Those who, in their anxiety to uphold the English general from the charge of having been assailed unawares, assert that he was not taken by surprise in the outset of the Waterloo campaign, do not perceive that in so doing they bring against him the much more serious charge of having so disposed his troops, when he knew they were about to be assailed, that infantry alone, without either cavalry or artillery, were exposed to the attack of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, in superior numbers, contrary not only to the plainest rules of the military art, but of common sense on the subject.—p. 988.

‘It results from these considerations that in the outset Wellington and Blücher were out-manceuvred by Napoleon. . . . . Napoleon so managed matters that he was superior to either at the points of attack at Ligny and Quatre Bras. This is the most decisive test of superior generalship. . . . . The allied Generals were clearly out-generaled,’ &c. &c.—*Ibid.*

When the Duke of Wellington was summoned from Vienna to take the command in the Netherlands, the armies of our continental allies were distributed in different parts of Europe, while the greater part of that of England had been detached to North America; and though peace had been concluded with the United States, were not yet returned. On his arrival from Elba, Buonaparte had found a French army in France completely organized, consisting of 250 000 men, with cannon and all requisites, and capable of increase from a number of old soldiers and returned prisoners, dispersed through the country. It is obvious that, under such circumstances, the first measures which the Generals of the allied armies could take must be defensive. The armies in the Belgian provinces and on the left bank of the Rhine must have been strictly directed on this principle. They were at the outposts; it was their office to protect the march of the other armies of the allies to the intended basis of combined operations. Each of these armies, indeed, had particular interests to attend to besides those which were common to all; but the peculiar objects intrusted to ours were of supreme and paramount importance. The force under the Duke's command, consisting of British, Dutch, and Hanoverians, had to preserve its communications with England, Holland, and Germany; to maintain its connexion with

with the Prussian army; and to protect Brussels, the seat of government of the Netherlands.

Napoleon had great advantages, whether for offensive or defensive operations, in the number, position, and strength of the fortresses on the N.E. frontier of France. These enabled him to organize his forces and arrange their movements beyond the power of detection on the part of the allies, even to the last moment. They put it out of the power of the allies to undertake any offensive operation which should not include the means of carrying on one or more sieges, possibly at the same time. The country occupied by the Duke and his immediate allies was comparatively open, for the ancient strongholds of Flanders had been found in very bad condition, and though his measures were as active as judicious to put them in a state of defence, no activity could repair their deficiencies in a very brief space of time. No general ever occupied a defensive position of greater difficulty and inconvenience, and the uncertainty of the length of time during which it was to be so occupied was an aggravation of that difficulty. It is clear, from numerous passages in Colonel Gurwood's 12th volume, that the Duke could do nothing to terminate that period till the other armies of the allied powers should have entered on the basis of combined operations. The Duke could only occupy himself, as he did, in strengthening his position by pushing on the works of Charleroi, Namur, Mons, Ath, Tournay, Ypres, Oudenarde, Courtray, Menin, Ostend, Nieuport, and Antwerp. Reports of an intended attack by Napoleon had been frequent before June: and previous to the 15th of that month it was known at Brussels that Buonaparte had left Paris to take the command on the Northern frontier. This certainty, however, could make no immediate change in the position of the allied armies; it could not invest them with the power of taking the initiative. All the usual precautions for the forwarding of orders to the troops in their respective cantonments had been already adopted, but any decisive drawing together of the forces, founded on any hypothesis which could as yet be formed, might have been destructive to some one or other of the interests which it was the business of the Duke to preserve inviolate.

Mr. Alison, however, decides that the Duke was surprised because he did not know that Buonaparte would attack by the valley of the Sambre, and did not collect his troops to meet the enemy in that direction. 'It is vain,' says Mr. Alison, 'to say that it was necessary to watch every bye-road to Brussels.' Does Mr. Alison know that among the said *bye-roads* there happened to be four *great roads* leading on Brussels from the departments

ments of the North and the fortresses on the French frontier—one from Lisle, by Menin, and Courtray, and Ghent; one from Lisle on Tournay, Oudenarde, and Ghent; one from Condé on Tournay; one from Condé by Valenciennes, on Mons? Each of these were great paved roads, presenting no other obstacle than the unfinished works to which we have before adverted. On any or all of them Buonaparte might have moved his columns with the same secrecy with which he poured them on the Prussian right; and with greater ease and rapidity—for the fact is remarkable, though little noticed, that Napoleon had, at an earlier period, broken up the roads by which he ultimately advanced on Charleroi, and which he was in consequence obliged partially to repair for that advance. It was highly probable up to the last moment that Napoleon would make his main attack by one or more of these *bye-roads*: and it is now the opinion, not perhaps of Mr. Alison, but of somewhat higher strategical authorities, that if the Duke of Wellington had concentrated his troops prematurely to the left, Buonaparte would have so acted. Would it have been no advantage to him to have opened the campaign by throwing himself on the line of the English communications with Ostend, driving the Court of Louis XVIII. from Ghent, and probably occupying Brussels? We may, with General Clausewitz, think it probable that even such a start of success would have failed to avert Napoleon's ultimate ruin;—but the Duke had a complicated task to perform—it was his business to throw away no chances: he had to watch over the inclinations as well as the real interests of different populations: he had to watch over the great danger of any sudden revival of the Buonapartean *prestige*—he had sacrifices to avoid as well as objects to compass. Let us consider what would have been his position at the best, had any one of the interests intrusted to his care been sacrificed. He might have effected his junction with Blücher, and have answered a French proclamation from the palace of Lacken by the Gazette of a victory on some other field than that of Waterloo; but how many Alisons would have arisen to tell us how in the first instance he had allowed his right flank to be turned! The victory must, indeed, have been rapid and decisive, which would have silenced the opposition orators of England, and repaired the shattered *morale* of Belgium—with a French army between the Duke and the coast, and Brussels the head quarters of Napoleon.

We may further suggest to Mr. Alison that though troops do not eat more when together than when separate, it is rather more difficult for the commissary to bring their necessary supplies to  
one



one point than to many, especially as respects cavalry. Mr. Alison must be aware that these troops, quartered, and as it was, crowded, on the territories of an ally, were not fed by the Napoleonic process of compulsory requisition. Those who were responsible for their discipline, physical condition, and efficiency, had good reasons for not collecting them an hour sooner than was necessary. A nervous and incompetent commander having the fear of such critics as Mr. Alison before his eyes, would probably have been distracting his subordinates and harassing his troops by marches and counter-marches as profitable as those of Major Sturgeon in Foote's farce, while the Duke was keeping his men in hand and his counsels to himself. Such a general would assuredly not have gone to the Duchess of Richmond's ball.

We should like to know Mr. Alison's definition of a surprise. We do not ourselves profess to furnish any compendious formula including all the conditions which collectively or separately may justify the use of a term so derogatory to the reputation of any commander. We apprehend, however, that these conditions are most completely fulfilled when the party assailed is not expecting to be attacked at all. Lord Hill's attack of the French at Arroyo Molinos is an instance of this rare class of exploits. Another fair condition of a surprise is when the party attacked is prepared for defence, but when the line of the hostile approach or the point of attack is one which he has overlooked or neglected: in this way Soult was surprised at Oporto, Jourdain at Vitoria. The affair of Culm affords an instance in which two hostile bodies surprised one another, for the Prussians no more expected to find Vandamme in their front than he did to find them on his rear. We presume Mr. Alison hardly means to bring the Duke of Wellington under the first of these categories. As to the latter, we contend that Napoleon's line of attack was one embraced and provided for in the Duke's calculations, but which the circumstances of his position made it impossible for him, up to the last moment, to anticipate with precision.

It is probable that even Phormio, who lectured Hannibal at Ephesus,\* was aware that the *initiative* of operations between two armies *en présence* is a great advantage, of which either leader would be too happy to avail himself. The allies in the Netherlands and on the Meuse in 1815 were, as we have shown, necessarily on the defensive. They were waiting for the junction and co-operation of other large armies, destined for the attainment of a common ultimate object. This defensive position did not necessarily preclude all idea or plan of attack upon the enemy. The

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\* See Cicero *de Oratore*, lib. ii., cap. 18.

enemy might have so placed himself as to have rendered the attacking his army advisable, even necessary. In that case the English and Prussians should and would have taken the initiative; but the enemy did not assume any such position. On the contrary, he took one in which his numbers, his movements, his designs could be concealed, protected, and supported, down to the very moment of execution. The allies, therefore, *could not* have the initiative in the way of attack. But they might have, and they had it, in the way of defensive movement; and, with submission, we maintain that they availed themselves of that opportunity the instant that it was within their power. Their original position having been calculated for the defence and protection of certain objects confided to their care, any alteration in that position previous to the first movement of the enemy, and the certainty that that was a *real movement*, must have exposed some important interest to danger; and therefore no movement was made until the initiative had been taken by Buonaparte, and the precise design of his movement was obvious. Any movement on the part of the allies, previous to his ascertained march and purpose, would have been what is commonly called a '*false movement*,' and we believe the Duke of Wellington has never hesitated to avow his opinion, that, of all the chiefs of armies in the world, *the one* in whose presence it was most hazardous to make a false movement was Napoleon Buonaparte.

We have not the Duke's *detailed and complete orders* for the movements of his troops on the receipt by him of authentic intelligence of Napoleon's decisive movement on the Sambre. We believe that, if we had it in our power to place those orders in full before our military readers, it would be apparent that but for the occurrence of certain accidents, which we shall not characterise further than by saying that he never could have expected or reckoned on them, the left wing of his army—infantry, artillery, and particularly cavalry—must have been in position at Quatre Bras by two o'clock P.M. on the 16th of June. It was only, as has already been shown, in consequence of an accident that Bulow's corps did not join Blücher in time to take part in the affair of Ligny on that day; but since Blücher was not to be able to repel the French on the 16th, the English army, however strong it might have been, must, in consequence of what was settled between the Duke and Blücher on the morning of the 16th, have retreated from Quatre Bras on the 17th. But take things as they were:—the forces that reached Quatre Bras, and concentrated upon the position of Ligny, were sufficient to maintain the one post, and to retire from the other in good order, and fully prepared for immediate co-operation in the further carrying out of a plan deliberately framed beforehand.

beforehand. And this was the plan of the Duke of Wellington, who, with a very remarkable accuracy of prescience, had, as we have seen, predicted, as early as the 2nd of June, that his first active movement would be on the 16th of June, and who, from the time of his arrival in the Netherlands, had considered Waterloo as the ground on which, if Buonaparte should make Brussels his aim, it would be the best for the allies to fight their battle in defence of that capital. And now, wise not only after, but in spite of, the event, Mr. Alison tells the general whose business was defence, and whose defence was completely and triumphantly successful—whose defence included the entire protection of every object and interest committed to his care—the avoidance of every sacrifice and risk to which he was exposed, and the gaining of the greatest battle recorded in modern history—Mr. Alison tells the Duke of Wellington that he was ‘surprised,’ ‘out-maneuvred,’ and ‘out-generaled’ by the leader whose every aim and purpose he, in a campaign of three days, utterly baffled and for ever overwhelmed.

Mr. Alison, however, does not merely infer the fact of the Duke’s ‘surprise’ in June, 1815, from the outward aspects and results of those military operations which our historian considers himself so well entitled to criticise. He has, being a skilful lawyer, reserved the strongest part of his case for its close. He has direct and positive evidence to produce—he can show not only that the Duke was surprised, but the exact circumstances in, and by consequence of which, he was surprised. He thus puts his irrefragable witness in the box:—

‘Wellington and Blücher, at this critical period, were relying almost entirely upon secret intelligence, which was to be forwarded to them by Fouché. . . . This extraordinary delay in collecting the troops when the enemy, under so daring a leader was close at hand, cannot be altogether vindicated, and it was attended with fatal consequences; but the secret cause which led to it is explained in Fouché’s Memoirs.’

Inactivity  
of Wellington  
and  
Blücher.

Gurw. xii.  
449, 457.

‘That unparalleled intriguer, who had been in communication with Wellington and Metternich all the time he was chief minister under Napoleon, had promised to furnish the English general not only with the exact moment of attack, but with the plan of the campaign. Wellington was hourly in expectation of this intelligence, which would have enabled him to know in what direction he should concentrate his forces; and thence it was that he lay motionless in his cantonments. How he did not receive it must be given in Fouché’s own words:—“My agents with Metternich and Lord Wellington had promised marvels and mountains; the English general expected that I should at the very least give him the plan of the campaign. I knew for certain that the unforeseen attack would take place on

Fouché’s  
unparalleled  
duplicity.



on the 16th or 18th at latest. Napoleon intended to give battle on the 17th to the English army, after having marched right over the Prussians on the preceding day. He had the more reason to trust to the success of that plan, that Wellington, deceived by false reports, believed the opening of the campaign might be deferred till the beginning of July. The success of Napoleon, therefore, depended on a surprise; and I arranged my plans in conformity. On the very day of the departure of Napoleon I despatched Madame D——, furnished with notes written in cipher, containing the whole plan of the campaign. But at the same time I privately *despatched orders for such obstacles at the frontier*, where she was to pass, that she could not arrive at the head-quarters of Wellington till after the event. 'This was the real explanation of the inconceivable security of the generalissimo, which at the time excited such universal astonishment.'—vol. x. p. 921.

<sup>1</sup> Fouché.  
Mem. li.  
340, 342.

We are ready to make every possible admission to Mr. Alison and his respectable authority. When the Bavarian Wrede arrived late on the ground of Wagram, as we have heard, he apologised to Napoleon for his delay, saying 'I fear I have deranged your Majesty's plans;' to which Napoleon replied, 'I have no plan, but as you are come we will attack.' Let us suppose, however, that on this occasion Buonaparte had a plan, and that Fouché knew it in all its details. Let us take for granted still further the authenticity of the memoirs attributed to Fouché—that he not only penned the passage in question, but that the infamy of its truth, as far as his own conduct is concerned, attaches to him—and that he was the complex traitor he describes himself. Would it follow that the Duke of Wellington could or would depend on M. Fouché's accurately knowing and truly reporting whether Buonaparte had made up his mind to move on Charleroi or on Mons?

Being professionally a weigher of evidence, Mr. Alison, we conceive, ought hardly to have relied, in any case, on the statements of a work attributed to such an apostle of truth as Fouché; yet he does so without even making the inquiry whether the work is really his in all or in part, or whether it is to be classed with the biographies of those two admirable females Madame du Barri and the Marquise de Crequi. We have it in our power, however, to give a short and direct answer to Mr. Alison's solution of the mystery he has conjured up—It is totally unfounded. No decision of the Duke, whether to set his troops in motion, to keep them quiet, or to govern their direction, was in the slightest degree influenced by the promise, the expectation, the arrival, or non-arrival of any intelligence from Fouché.

The Duke of Wellington, for the reasons we have detailed, having a knowledge that his adversary was on the frontier, and expecting

expecting an attack, did wait for intelligence on which he could rely of the precise direction of that attack. He waited, however, not for a French petticoat padded with Fouché's autograph ciphers, but for reports from the British or Prussian officers at the outposts.

It is proper to observe that Mr. Alison's marginal references to Col. Gurwood's twelfth volume, pp. 449, 457, are so placed as if the Duke's papers would afford some indication at least of his reliance on Fouché. We are very sure this was a mere lapse of the pen on the part of our historian. But we cannot acquit Mr. Alison of very culpable negligence in having written a 'History of Europe' without reading the Duke of Wellington's despatches; and if he had read this twelfth volume, he would have found at its 649th page the following sentence, being part of a letter to General Dumouriez, dated Paris, September 26, 1815:—

'Avant mon arrivée à Paris au mois de Juillet, je n'avais jamais vu Fouché, ni eu avec lui communication quelconque, ni avec aucun de ceux qui sont liés avec lui.'

There was no dependence on the *espionnage* of traitors, and there was no surprise. Buonaparte, from circumstances, enjoyed the full advantage of the initiative. His skill in using that advantage, with the courage and devotion of an excellent army, gained him a partial and temporary success over Blücher, which, if Blücher had been a Mack or Hohenlohe, might have been more serious, and which, if Bulow's orders had reached him in due time, would, most probably, have been no success at all. The Duke of Wellington, meanwhile, though unable to extend so far to his left as to join in the battle against Buonaparte in person, occupied during the 16th, and repulsed before night, a large portion of his army under one of his best generals, and effectually prevented him from pursuing the incomplete advantage he had obtained over Blücher. Buonaparte could not follow the Prussians, leaving the Duke with his army collected and untouched in possession of all the passages of the Dyle, and of his communications with France by the valleys of the Meuse and Sambre. Excepting, therefore, the momentary glimpse of success at Ligny, all Buonaparte's movements in this grand system of attack were effectually checked and discomfited. The great advantage he started with availed him nothing. He had found antagonists whom neither his rapidity could surprise, nor his dexterity perplex; and he fell to rise no more.

Mr. Alison's pages bore somewhat less the impress of entire self-satisfaction with his own conclusions as to the conduct of this momentous campaign, we should be tempted to refer him to the

posthumous work of General Clausewitz, who, having served, as we have stated, as chief of the staff to the third corps of the Prussian army, and having long applied himself to the scientific branches of his profession, has at least a better claim than Mr. Alison to deal in sweeping and authoritative censures on subjects of this nature. Mr. Alison will find in that work, and we give him the full benefit of it for his argument, a disposition, very natural in a Prussian, to find fault after the event with the Duke's caution in the protection of his right. He will find him favourable to a system of closer junction between the two allies at the manifest and admitted risk of those sacrifices which the Duke undoubtedly declined to incur. He will find the Prussian most impartially severe on his own commander, especially on ground with which he is acquainted, the field of Ligny; but he will find him, when he comes to detailed criticism on the Duke of Wellington, writing with the caution which becomes a soldier cognizant of the difficulties of the Duke's position, but confessedly ignorant of his plans, intentions, and the details of his orders for the distribution and collection of his forces. General Clausewitz died in 1831; had he lived to read even Colonel Gurwood's twelfth volume we think it probable he would have modified some of his conclusions. Had he retained them we might still differ from such a critic, but we could only do so with the respect due to extensive service, the modesty which usually accompanies experience, and, we must add, the impartial honesty of a German gentleman. With regard to Mr. Alison himself, we desire also to speak with general respect, indeed, but we cannot acquit him of serious blame upon this occasion. When an Englishman darts his sting from the tail of ten elaborate volumes, at what he thinks the vulnerable part of the highest military reputation of his country, and the purest of any age, we cannot but remember that, though he may have done little, he has done his best to impair that reputation. His success, so far as he obtains it, will make him in exact proportion an useful tool in the hands of men of a different stamp, the professed detractors here and elsewhere of the greatest subject of these realms who has ever devoted himself to their service. It is time to return to Marshal Forwards.

Many swords were reluctantly sheathed on the convention of St. Cloud; but none more reluctantly than his who for a second time entered the gates of Paris as a conqueror, which he would rather have forced as a destroyer. Restrained as he was by the cooler heads and less vindictive spirit of the sovereigns whom he served, and the greater man with whom he had co-operated in the field, he was with difficulty prevented from blowing up the beautiful



tiful bridge of Jena.\* His wrath exhaled as usual in bitter sarcasms against the whole tribe of pen-and-ink men and politicians. He found also some distraction in the vice of gambling, for which under Buonaparte, and indeed down to the reign of Louis Philippe, every public facility was afforded to all classes in the French capital. Such distractions could only have assisted the process of mental and bodily decay, which was further promoted by an accident. An English garrison without a horse-race is scarcely a thing in *rerum naturâ*. Blücher, attending one of these festivities at St. Cloud, fell heavily horse and man over a rope which he was too blind to perceive in his path, and it is said that the effects of this fall were perceptible in some very curious forms of hallucination, such as extort a smile even from those who are contemplating the melancholy spectacle of the ruin of a noble mind.

The attractions of Paris were insufficient to overcome his aversion for its inhabitants. His head-quarters were for the most part established at St. Cloud, and occasionally transferred to Rambouillet and Chartres. The arrangement of the conditions of the peace of Paris afforded him the opportunity, of which he

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\* We are tempted to place here *part* of the last of the Duke of Wellington's long series of letters to Blücher on the subject of this bridge, and the whole of the immediately subsequent communication:—

‘*Mein lieber Fürst,*

‘*Paris, 9th July, 1815.*

‘The subjects on which Lord Castlereagh and I conversed with your Highness and General Comte Gneisenau this morning, viz. the destruction of the bridge of Jena and the levy of the contribution of one hundred millions of francs upon the city of Paris, appear to me to be so important to the Allies in general, that I cannot allow myself to omit to draw your Highness's attention to them again in this shape.

‘The destruction of the bridge of Jena is highly disagreeable to the King and to the people, and may occasion disturbance in the city. It is not merely a military measure, but is one likely to attach to the character of our operations, and is of political importance. It is adopted solely because the bridge is considered a monument of the battle of Jena, notwithstanding that the Government are willing to change the name of the bridge.

‘Considering the bridge as a monument, I beg leave to observe that its immediate destruction is inconsistent with the promise made to the Commissioners on the part of the French army, during the negotiation of the convention, viz. that the monuments, museums, &c., should be reserved for the decision of the Allied Sovereigns.

‘All that I ask is, that the execution of the orders given for the destruction of the bridge may be suspended till the Sovereigns ~~shall~~ arrive here, when, if it should be agreed by common accord that the bridge ~~ought~~ to be destroyed, I shall have no objection,’ &c. &c.—*Gurwood*, vol. xii. p. 552.

‘*A Paris, ce 10 Juillet, 1815,*  
‘*à 9 heures du matin.*

‘*Mein lieber Fürst,*

‘Le dîner est chez Verry aujourd'hui à 6 heures, et j'espère que nous passerons une journée agréable.

‘Je viens de recevoir la nouvelle que les Souverains arrivent aujourd'hui à Bondy, et des ordres d'y envoyer des gardes, &c., ce que je fais. Je crois qu'ils ne s'arrêteront que quelques heures à Bondy, et qu'ils pourront arriver ce soir.

‘Agréez, &c.

‘*Le Maréchal Prince Blücher.*

‘*WELLINGTON.*’  
‘*gladly*

gladly availed himself, even before its final signature, to depart for Prussia. His farewell address to the army bore date the 31st of October, 1815. The retiring forces began their march, but before Blücher himself crossed the frontier, hearing of some further diplomatic difficulties, he took upon himself to halt them as suddenly and peremptorily as if they had been a regiment on parade. The confusion produced by this parting act of authority was excessive, and was only put an end to by positive orders from Paris. Blücher reached Aix-la-Chapelle in a broken state of health on November 20, the day on which the peace was signed. Hence, with frequent delays, and harassed by the noisy demonstrations of respect with which he was everywhere received, he slowly made his way to Berlin.

The light seemed burning to the socket, but it was destined still to shine, though with enfeebled and tremulous lustre, some four years longer. He resided chiefly at Kriblowitz, in Silesia, on an estate with which, in 1814, he had been rewarded by the King, but paid occasional visits to Breslau and Berlin. A journey, dictated by medical advice, to the sea-baths of Dobberan, afforded him an occasion to visit the place of his birth, Rostock, where he recognised and received with touching amiability some surviving acquaintances of his earliest youth. Hamburgh and Altona were also gratified by glimpses of the veteran. He passed on his route the churchyard of Ottensen, in which repose the ashes of Klopstock. He had been personally acquainted with the poet, and as he passed he uncovered his grey head, a soldier's tribute of respect to the German muse, which his early patron Frederick the Great would have sneered at. He also visited Klopstock's widow, who opened on the occasion a bottle of tokay, which her husband thirty years before had charged her to reserve for some occasion of singular joy and festivity. These little incidents have their value. Napoleon's esteem for Ossian, and Blücher's for the poem of the 'Messiah,' remind us of the veneration for female chastity which has been attributed to the King of Beasts. Of the honours showered upon him from all quarters, sovereigns, burgomasters, and municipalities, it is unnecessary to speak.

We have elsewhere mentioned that Blücher was a nervous and fluent writer; his intimates also asserted that he was born an orator. At the festive meetings of the table, in which, when his health allowed him, he delighted to the last, he was Nestorian in his harangues and narrations, but failure of memory as to the order of dates made the latter very confused. He never failed to do justice to the participation of Gneisenau in all his greater military exploits. On one occasion he puzzled the society by gravely announcing his intention of kissing his own head; he

he solved the riddle by rising and embracing that of Gneisenau. This was an exploit which his English comrade in arms could not imitate. His last illness came upon him in September, 1819, at Kriblowitz. His death-bed was attended by the King, and he died calm and resigned in the arms of his faithful aide-de-camp Nostitz.

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ART. VII.—1. *Financial Statement of Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, Friday, March 11, 1842.* London, pp. 36.

2. *A Letter from Sir Richard Vyvyan, Bart., M.P., to his Constituents upon the Commercial and Financial Policy of Sir Robert Peel's Administration.* London, 1842.

3. *Guilty or Not Guilty? being an Inquest on the Conservative Parliament and Ministry.* pp. 14. London and Plymouth, pp. 36.

IT is a common saying that 'desperate diseases require desperate remedies;' and the deplorable state of commercial distress and financial embarrassment, under which the Conservative ministers were called to office, would, we are satisfied, have reconciled the country to even stronger measures than they have found it necessary to adopt. But we do not rest our humble approbation of Sir Robert Peel's policy on any such extreme grounds. The administrative affairs of a great country—except under the immediate *avalanche* of a revolution—can seldom be called *desperate*; and even when, as towards the close of the Melbourne administration, they most nearly approach that hopeless state, they require not a wild *kill-or-cure* treatment, but, on the contrary, increased caution, a cooler circumspection, and an adherence to principle the more rigid as the temptation to depart from it becomes stronger. It was, we presume, with these views that Sir Robert Peel contemplated the difficulties of his situation, and by them he seems to have been guided in the choice of his remedies—bold but not adventurous—extensive without being extravagant—developing rather than altering the existing system, and endeavouring to direct, by the lights of experience, the new tendencies and impulses of these active and *go-a-head* times. The details of these measures we shall consider hereafter, but we must, at the outset, bear our testimony to the great, statesmanlike, and, in its main features, *novel* principle, on which the system has been framed. We do not say that the details are novelties—the elements of any human work, material or moral, must be common



common to all men—the architect of St. Paul's and the mason of the Mansion-house employed similar stones and tools: the difference between one artist or one statesman and another, is in the skill and genius which direct the combination; and in this view we venture to pronounce Sir Robert Peel's budget to be as striking for the novelty of its principle as for the admirable simplicity of its structure, and, as we believe, for the ultimate convenience and efficiency of its practical working.

In order to put this in its full light we must give a short summary of the case which Sir Robert Peel had to deal with.

The Duke of Wellington's administration, on its retirement towards the close of 1830—after not quite three years' tenure of office—having during that time repealed nearly 4,000,000*l.* of taxes, in addition to more than 30,000,000*l.* which had been repealed since the war—having reduced the capital of the national debt by 20,000,000*l.* and the annual charge by 1,000,000*l.*—left to their successors a *surplus* revenue of near *three millions* (2,913,673*l.*). This *surplus* Lord Melbourne's ministry gradually changed to a *deficit* by the double operation of increasing expenditure and diminishing revenue, and in the last year of their sway the addition made to the public debt by the accumulation of successive annual deficits amounted to the enormous sum of 7,500,000*l.*, with an ascertained further deficiency for the then current year ending April, 1842, of 2,350,000*l.*, and for the year ending April, 1843, of 2,470,000*l.*, exclusive of the expenses of the wars in the East, estimated at sums that would increase the annual deficiency to near *four millions*. The deficiency of the current year could only be met by funding it; but how was an annual deficiency of near *four millions* to be supplied? The Whigs had paralysed or drained up all the ordinary sources of taxation—first they had made impolitic reductions, and then they had imposed inefficient substitutes—they had, for instance, *destroyed*, instead of *modifying* (as they might advantageously to all interests have done) the postage revenue, and threw away, as a mere *sop* to a small but urgent *elique* of their Radical partisans, a *million and a half* of the fairest, most equal, and least onerous of all taxation. Then, on the other hand, they imposed 5 per cent. on the Customs and Excise, which was a notable failure, producing, instead of 1,895,000*l.*, as estimated, only 206,000*l.*—about  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. instead of 5 per cent.; and at the very time when they made this unhappy attempt to increase the revenue by raising the duty on every article of the tariff 5 per cent., they and their partisans were preaching two contrary doctrines—one, that the best mode of raising an immediate revenue was by *lowering the tariff*!—and the other, that the state of the country required a great remission of the revenue derived

derived from import duties. And these jumbled doctrines they next year affected to make the foundation of what they called a *budget*—but which was in truth the most ridiculous and the most disgraceful abortion that was ever generated between party spite and ministerial incapacity—ridiculous, because no man believed that it could, or was even meant to, meet the pressing difficulty—and disgraceful, because it was a fraudulent device to embarrass the future administration, at the risk—nay, at the positive sacrifice—of great national interests, to the maintenance of which these very men were, by the strongest declarations, *individually pledged*. But what cared they?—they knew their ministerial days were numbered—that, for causes entirely distinct from their financial difficulties, they must soon give way to the Conservatives; and the whole policy of their two last years was narrowed to the miserable hope of embarrassing their successors, and of creating a feeling in the country against any of the modes by which it seemed possible to retrieve our finances. With a system thus partly repudiated—partly paralysed—partly exhausted—and wholly disorganised—‘how,’ they fondly asked themselves, ‘how, in the face of doctrines so popular as those we have been inculcating on the public mind, is a new ministry to raise *four millions of new taxes*?’

Sir Robert Peel asked himself the same question, and found in his own good sense and courage, and in the concurrence and confidence of his Cabinet, the Parliament, and the Country, an answer which the Whigs had not contemplated. He prudently began, as he stated in his speech of the 11th March, by examining the more obvious resources; and he boldly and honestly exposed all the difficulties which that examination revealed.

‘Shall we pursue the system on which we have been acting of late years? Shall we, in a time of peace, have resort to the miserable expedient of loans? Shall we try a re-issue of exchequer bills? Shall we resort to the savings-banks? Shall we have recourse to any of these plans, which are neither more nor less than permanent additions to our debt?’

‘We have to supply a deficiency of upwards of 5,000,000*l.* upon two years. Is there a prospect, by ordinary means, of retrieving the loss? . . . Can you calculate, do you anticipate, a possibility of reducing the amount of our next year’s expenditure? I do not anticipate that such can be the case. Is this an occasional or a casual deficiency, and for which you can easily provide? Is it a deficiency for the present year only? It is not. This deficiency has existed for the last seven or eight years. It is not an occasional deficiency. In 1838 the deficiency was 1,428,000*l.*; in 1839 it was 430,000*l.*; in 1840 it was 1,457,000*l.*; in 1841 it amounted to 1,851,000*l.*; in 1842 it amounted to 2,334,000*l.*: the amount of the deficiency in the five years was 7,500,000*l.* To that . . . I add

I add the estimated deficiency for 1843—2,570,000*l.*; making in all, for the six years, a deficiency of 10,070,000*l.*

'After the proof I have given that our financial embarrassments are not mere occasional difficulties, will you have recourse to the miserable expedient of loans? I cannot propose such a measure.....I trust that I may, with almost universal consent, abandon the idea of supplying the deficiency by the scheme of contracting fresh loans.

'If, then, it is necessary for me to have fresh taxation, shall I lay it upon articles of subsistence—upon those articles which may appear to some superfluities, but which are now become almost the necessities of life? I cannot consent to increase the taxation upon articles of subsistence consumed by the great body of the labouring portion of the community. I do think that you have had conclusive proof [in the failure of the 5 per cent. on the Excise and Customs] that you have arrived at the limits of profitable taxation on articles of subsistence.

'Is it possible, then, to resort to other means? Shall I revive old taxes now abolished? Shall I take the duties of the post-office, for instance? I will not say—speaking with that caution with which I am sometimes taunted, but which, nevertheless, I find very useful—I will not say that the post-office ought not to be a source of revenue. I will not say that it may not fairly become a means of taxation: but I say this, I do believe the late measure has not yet had its full trial; and that I am so sensible of the many advantages that result from it, that I do not think that in the present year it is advisable that we should change it.....Shall I revive taxes which were levied on great articles of consumption, and which were very productive?—shall I revive the taxes on salt, on leather, on wool? I do not know but, in respect to leather, that the reduction of that tax took place without public benefit; I fear that the full amount of the advantage did not go to the consumer.....I fear that, in this instance, you reduced a duty which benefited monopolists. But the question is not now whether we shall reduce an existing tax; it is whether we shall revive duties which have been done away with, and in the abolition of which various compacts and commercial arrangements have taken place.'

After showing by some details the impolicy and bad faith—he might, we think, have said the *impossibility*—of reviving taxes lately repealed, he proceeded to notice the various objects of new taxation which had been suggested—some impolitic, as weighing upon new industry, such as on railroads and gas-lights—others simply ridiculous, as on forte-pianos and umbrellas. He then exposed the Whig nostrum of *lowering the tariff* as a source of *immediate revenue*—and he showed (as the Quarterly Review, No. cxxv, p. 248, had done, and as everybody who ever thought on the subject must know) that the improvement of the revenue by a reduction of duty must be in most cases a doubtful, and in all a slow process, and wholly inadequate to meet the present emergency; and this obvious truth he illustrated by some remarkable examples



amples drawn, partly from the great experiment of reduction made by Lord Liverpool's government in 1825, partly from some more recent alterations. On wine, for instance, the duty was lowered from 9s. 1½d. to 4s. 2½d. the gallon—the revenue fell immediately 800,000*l.* a-year, and has never yet recovered itself; and wine we should have, *à priori*, thought to be the very most promising article for such an experiment. So of tobacco; so of sugar; so of hemp; so even of newspapers, on which the reduction was so great, that, coupled with the growing taste for newspaper reading, a different result might have been anticipated. Coffee indeed was in some degree an exception to the general failure—yet it was *three years* before the duty even on coffee recovered its former amount; and we need hardly observe that an article which, like coffee, is introduced into habitual consumption as a substitute for *other food* is an exceptional case, and would be an unsafe guide for a general system.

While the prospect of any adequate relief by the ordinary processes of taxation was thus hopeless, the general emergency had become more pressing: increased expenses—growing commercial embarrassment—aggravated distress of the labouring classes—want of work, and consequently want of food—discontent—sedition, almost insurrection! It is indeed a master-mind that could see its way through such difficulties, and a master-hand that could control them—nay, that could make the very difficulties themselves equipoise, as it were, and correct one another—and could by a skillful adaptation bring them to contribute, each its quota, to an enlarged and general system for the security of public credit and the development of national resources.

The first object, the basis of the whole operation, was to find means of equalizing the Revenue with the Expenditure. This an *Income Tax* was certain to do, and it was nearly as certain that nothing else would: remission of taxes had failed—increase of taxes had failed—per centage on taxes had failed;\* and not only failed, but had failed under circumstances that forbade a repetition of such experiments. In this position Sir Robert Peel did not shrink from the deep responsibility and supposed unpopularity of an *Income Tax*: he formed a juster estimate of the honesty as well as the ability of the country—he knew that it could, and he believed that it would, make any exertion necessary for the maintenance of public credit, and he was, every way, right. We have been told by some who affect an air of authority that an income tax is essentially and exclusively a *war tax*. We beg leave to ask *why* it should be so? and in what code that dogma is written?

\*The per centage on the *Assessed Taxes* laid on by Mr. Baring, in 1840, had not failed, as we shall more particularly notice; but everything else had.

Lord Brougham, the powerful and victorious adversary of the attempt to continue the former Income Tax after the war, holds no such doctrine; but, on the contrary, in a series of very able and argumentative *Resolutions* which he offered to the House of Lords on the 17th of March last, he places the proposition of the tax and his own acquiescence in it on their true grounds:—

‘That a direct tax on income ought never to be resorted to, unless in some great emergency of public affairs, when an extraordinary expenditure may become unavoidable for a time, or in some pressure upon the finances of the country which can be sustained by no other means.’

The *principle* of an Income Tax is this—that in great emergencies, which in an especial degree endanger *property*, it is just and natural to ask *property* to make *special* exertions to protect itself. Hitherto such emergencies had arisen only in *war*—but ten years of Whig misrule, during what Lord Palmerston called Peace, had brought the public revenue and public credit into a more serious and pressing jeopardy than our most gigantic War had done. We had had for six or seven years a growing and accumulating *deficit*—a word which was unknown to our language, as the thing was to our finances, till Lord Melbourne’s ministry—a *deficit* larger than that which had occasioned the first Revolution in France—a *deficit* which those who caused it had abandoned all hope of reducing—a *deficit*, in short, which *if not extirpated* would, like a cancer, have eaten into the vitals of every species of property. Every species of property was therefore interested in the danger and in the cure. We were engaged—to say nothing of Afghanistan and China—in a war *against national bankruptcy*, and therefore Sir Robert Peel was, even in the narrowest view of the case, sufficiently justified in calling up the only effectual aid which circumstances had left the country.

But he had higher views in proposing his Income Tax than those which would have sufficed for mere *justification*. Public credit was indeed his first and most pressing object—but he saw that there were other great interests whose claims on his attention and sympathy were very urgent, and to which, if possible, some relief should be immediately afforded. We shall not here pause to inquire whether the prodigious extension of our *Manufactures* ought to be, on abstract consideration, matter of regret or satisfaction—whether, if we were founding a *Utopia*, we should have wished so large a proportion of our national strength and our social existence to be implicated in enterprises so essentially fluctuating and precarious—whether the vast and rapid accession of wealth which these enterprises produce be not counterbalanced by the sudden and extensive distress

distress which every fluctuation of seasons, markets, and even fashion, is certain to inflict on a population factitiously created by these manufactures, and which cannot exist without them.\* These may be interesting questions for the speculative philosopher, but the practical statesman must deal with the existing facts. We might on moral and social grounds prefer, and feel it our duty to encourage, an agricultural rather than a manufacturing population—but our present lot is cast—we must take it as it is, and abide the consequences of a system which, wisely or unwisely, we have created, and gradually swelled to its present gigantic proportions.

See, then, besides the mere financial embarrassment—what a variety and magnitude of other difficulties were afloat. Trade, and particularly manufacturing trade, was low and languishing—the declared value of the exports of cotton manufactures had fallen off one million in the last year. In 1840 they were 17,000,000*l.*, in 1841 only 16,000,000*l.* The financial, and consequently the commercial, affairs of our *great partner in trade*, the United States, were deeply disordered, and reacted powerfully on our markets. France, Belgium, and Germany, were closing their doors against our industry—thus enhancing, though to their own ultimate cost, the immediate distress of our manufacturing masses. The Poor-Rates had been for the last four years rapidly increasing, and threatened, after overwhelming the town districts, to invade—by *rates in aid*—the rural ones. For much—for the greater part—of such evils no Government can be responsible—it can neither wholly prevent nor effectually cure them, and the occasions are rare in which they can be, by any administrative measures, even imperfectly relieved; and we do not remember any instance in which such a relief was generally and systematically attempted. It remained for Sir Robert Peel to take advantage of a circumstance, to the common eye, so inauspicious as a great financial difficulty, to endeavour to afford some relief to those social and commercial embarrassments: any minister might have thought of meeting the *deficit* by an Income Tax, though few would have had the courage to have attempted it; but to propose and apply it as Sir Robert Peel has done—to pay our debts, and at the same time increase our capital—to

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\* Dr. Holland, of Sheffield, has, in a series of letters, under the title of '*The Millocrat*,' exhibited in a very striking way the *concomitant* progress of *manufacturing wealth* and *popular distress*. The great mill-owners are so unscrupulous as to charge this distress to the account of the *Aristocracy*, the *Government*, the *state of the Law*, and especially the *Corn-law*. Dr. Holland, on the contrary, proves that it is produced by the *millocracy*—that is, by the overgrowth of the manufacturing system; and that it is one of the inevitable accompaniments, if indeed it be not the main source, of the prosperity of the *millocrats* themselves.



escape from imminent bankruptcy and to create by the same effort a surplus for the alleviation of distress, for the encouragement of industry, and for sowing with a liberal hand the seeds of reviving prosperity and of future wealth—this is what we pronounce to be a happy novelty in the annals of finance. May the ultimate success be answerable to so original and so noble a conception!

The public approbation and parliamentary support which enabled Sir Robert Peel to carry this great measure do honour to the national character; for, contrary to the usual course of things, the burden was most cheerfully accepted by those on whom it was expected to fall with the greatest severity. The leaders of the Opposition had at first determined to support the measure, but they soon and suddenly changed their course, and every possible impediment to its progress was conjured up—in Parliament, the warfare of vexation and delay, adjourned debates, discussions on petitions, and bye-battles on every pretence—out of Parliament, harangues, processions, placards, and every other device of agitation. No effort was omitted to excite the *middle orders* against a tax which was, they were told, a peculiar hardship on them. But in vain; the honesty and good sense of the people rendered abortive the incendiary efforts of their would-be leaders; and the sound and practical view of the case taken in Lord Brougham's *Resolutions* had undoubtedly a considerable effect upon reasonable men of all sides. But peculiar credit is due to the majorities of the Houses of Lords and Commons, and to the great Conservative party throughout the country; for it cannot be denied that it appeared, *at first sight*, that, in the new adjustment of the general burden, the *property* of the country, and particularly the *landed property*, which constitutes the most prominent strength of the Conservative party, was called upon to take the heaviest share of the sacrifice. We shall see by and by, when we come to examine the details—that this apprehension was to a considerable degree unfounded—that the sacrifice is by no means so great as it appears—that it probably may be no sacrifice at all—and that even the Income Tax itself may be looked upon as somewhat of the nature of a *temporary advance* made by wealthy capitalists to relieve and facilitate certain branches of industry which—though now suffering—will, by this *timely* assistance, be enabled to recover themselves, and to repay at no long interval their debt to the general fund.

It has been said that the series of measures were carried by fighting one interest against another, and thus overcoming, in detail, an opposition which, if united, must have been fatal to the project. But this is a very unfair view of the case, and a very  
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unjust imputation, both on the merits of the arrangements and the motives of its supporters. No doubt there was, and still remains, much difference of opinion on details so various, and affecting so many conflicting interests; but these were merged—not in a juggle or compromise of individual objects, but—in a conviction of the extensive advantages of the proposition *taken as a whole*. It was as a *whole* that this proposition was offered to the consideration of Parliament—it was as a *whole* that Lord Brougham's *Resolutions* vindicated it—and it was only *as a whole* that it could have been carried! The great experiment on the Tariff could not, we are satisfied, have been attempted if the Income Tax had not prepared a foundation for it; nor, probably, could the Income Tax have been carried if the Property and Intelligence of the country had not been persuaded that, considering the circumstances of our manufacturing population, a large modification of the Tariff on raw materials and articles of subsistence had become of urgent necessity. These are what we conceive to be the prominent merits of Sir Robert Peel's policy, and the true causes of the general approbation and concurrence which it has eventually received.

But we do not conceal from ourselves that the concurrence, though general, is not universal; the plan is too sober, too rational, too practical, to please the *extremes* of the two sects which divide public opinion on subjects of political and financial economy. The *free-trade-and-fixed-duty* men (strange inconsistency that enlists two such contradictory principles under the same banner!) are ready to raise an insurrection because Sir Robert Peel's reductions have not gone far enough. Those, on the other hand, who think that neither trade nor agriculture, however established, or matured, or flourishing, can support themselves without the *go-cart* of protecting duties—whose sleep is disturbed by visions of German pigs, Swiss bulls, and runts from Brittany\*—and who never ask themselves how our manufacturers can consume even English meat or English corn, if they cannot earn wages to buy them—are alarmed lest Sir Robert Peel may have gone too far. The former class will never be satisfied: their object is *Revolution*, and the wholesome and at once liberal and Conservative policy of the present ministry is odious to them, as being *pro tanto* a safety-valve against the fatal explosions which they are trying to provoke. But the other class—those who are inclined from ancient and respectable prejudices to hold out to the last possible

\* We notice as a curious instance of popular credulity, that there was, on the announcement of the new Tariff, a panic actually excited in some parts of the country, under which farmers sold their cattle at ruinously low prices from the dread that meat was to be imported—from Hamburgh for instance—and sold in London at 1s. 6d. a lb.; such meat having in fact never been sold in Hamburgh itself under 4d. or 5d. a lb.



moment against *any* relaxation of protecting duties on home produce—are much more accessible to reason: they are already beginning to see and, what is better, to *feel* that they are themselves consumers as well as producers, and that, if as producers they are in some degree benefited by high protecting duties on a few articles, they are as consumers mulcted to probably a greater amount by prohibitory duties on a vast majority of others.

At the first aspect of the ministerial plan there was, no doubt, a strong feeling of surprise, and perhaps of disappointment, in many respectable quarters, at the principles which it was supposed to announce. It was stated both by artful enemies and hollow friends that the Conservative ministry, having attained office by their opposition to the *free-trade* speculations of the Whigs, had deserted their own principles and adopted those of their defeated adversaries. This impression was not merely erroneous, but indeed the reverse of the fact, and was speedily removed from every mind that looked at Sir Robert Peel's measures as—what they are—a *system*. The *elements*, as we have before said, of all financial operations must be the same, the difference can only be in their application. Now the Whigs proposed to deal with the Corn-Laws—so did Sir Robert Peel; but the Whig object was to *abrogate*, Sir Robert's to *maintain* and *confirm* them. The Whigs talked of dealing with the Tariff, but ventured to approach but 3 articles out of 1150, and those only under the false pretence of *increasing* the revenue—Sir Robert did deal with the *whole* 1150 articles of the Tariff, but with the avowed purpose of *diminishing* the revenue, at least for a time. The Whig measures (though ridiculously inadequate to their object) professed to be *wholly fiscal*—Sir Robert Peel's were the very reverse; he disclaimed *all fiscal objects*, (which he effectually secured by a bolder stroke—the Income Tax,) and directed every change he proposed to the relief of distress and the increase of comfort throughout the masses of the people. Dealing, therefore, with the same materials, it was hardly possible that two systems could be more different in their objects and operations. They were, indeed, navigating the same sea, but it was on opposite tacks; they were travelling the same high road, but it was in contrary directions.

Just as this, the true state of the case, had been, as we thought, universally acknowledged, and when all minor differences of opinion in the Conservative party seemed to be arranged in a general acquiescence, the public were surprised by the appearance of the letter of Sir Richard Vyvyan to his constituents, the electors of the borough of Helstone, in which that gentleman—long known, and on several occasions honourably distinguished as a Conservative—revived, and embodied in a hostile and bitter manifesto,



manifesto, the most offensive, and, we think we shall show, the most unfounded imputations against the whole Conservative party, and more pointedly against the chief Conservative leaders. If we weighed only the intrinsic merit of this production or the effect it produced on the public mind, we should not have thought it worth the attention of our readers; but there are some collateral circumstances connected with it which appear to require special consideration. In the first place, it records the most systematic disapprobation of Sir Robert Peel's measures, both in principle and detail, that we have seen; and we find that it has been the parent of some other pamphlets *ejusdem farinae*, the title of one of which—'Guilty or Not Guilty?'—we have prefixed to this article merely for the occasion of saying that it is more absurd and violent than Sir Richard's own letter, to which, indeed, it has a strong family likeness. Now, convinced, as we sincerely are, that those measures are of vast present value, and pregnant with still greater results—we feel it to be our duty to refute imputations on their origin, and misstatements as to their operation, which, to whatever extent they might be credited, must be injurious to the practical effect of the great experiment itself—to the characters of those who proposed it, and to the force and permanence of that public opinion on which it mainly relies for its present and future success. Besides, Sir Richard Vyvyan is no ordinary pamphleteer; his character and station, his talents and accomplishments, and the principles he has heretofore professed, invest him with a share of individual authority, which we regret to find misdirected, and which we should be happy to see restored to its original course. And, finally, there are in the publication itself circumstances so peculiar as to challenge particular notice, not to say animadversion; and to these we shall begin by calling our readers' attention.

The first and most obvious question is, why the *Member for Helstone* chose to express his sentiments in this form. Sir Richard is not merely a member of parliament; he is a gentleman of studious habits, who professes to have devoted much attention to the science, as it is now called, of political economy; and he is the representative of a special class of industry, which, as well as all the other great interests of the country, are, he contends, seriously damaged, and still more seriously endangered, by the ministerial measures. Why, then, did he sit by, a silent, and, as far as the public knew, assenting spectator of measures which he so strongly condemned? Why did he not avow his opinions, make his objections, plead the cause of his own constituents and of the country in general, at the proper time, and in the place to which his constituents had, for that very purpose, delegated him? Why, above all, having such serious objections,

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or rather *charges*, to make, had he not the candour to <sup>do</sup> so in the presence of those whom he meant to arraign, and who might, and we have no doubt would, have given him an immediate and probably a satisfactory answer? Why did he bottle them up at Westminster to explode, two months later, the sour and frothy fermentation at Helstone? Half the pamphlet is employed in giving vague and obscure excuses for this strange conduct, which, as far as we understand them, the other half contradicts. For instance:—

‘ In this letter I have already stated my objections to the income-tax, and my vote is recorded against it; but had I endeavoured to deliver the *same opinions in the House, by speaking upon the subject, such a speech would have been treated by the main body of the Conservatives as an attempt to excite mutiny in their camp, and my motives would have been honestly misinterpreted by some, and unfairly misrepresented by others.*’  
—*Letter*, pp. 35, 36.

It is new to us to hear that the ‘main body of the Conservatives’ are drilled into such Turkish discipline that a calm and candid statement of a member’s opinion would be considered as ‘*mutiny*’; and we wonder that Sir Richard Vyvyan should have, even for a moment, submitted to such degrading thralldom. We wonder, too, that the example of so many other gentlemen—as good and as *steady* Conservatives as himself—who took active part in the several discussions, did not encourage him to venture on some, however gentle, expression of his opinion: and, after all, we find it hard to reconcile Sir Richard’s aversion from anything that could look like ‘*mutiny*’ with the publication of this very bitter and offensive manifesto against his leader and his party.

But, strange as is the general aspect of this conduct, it seems, in its details, still more inconsistent. Amongst the propositions of the new Tariff was a lowering of the duties on foreign metallic ores—metallic ores being, as our readers well know, the staple of Cornwall, and creating the special interest which Sir Richard Vyvyan represents. A deputation from Cornwall was instructed to wait upon the minister to propose an increase of protection for copper ore (*viz.* 10*l.*, or at least 7*l.* 10*s.*, per ton, instead of 5*l.*, as proposed by the Government\*). Sir Richard thought, it seems, that the Cornish deputation did not understand their own business,

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\* We state the matter in generals, for the details were very complicated and took several shapes—from the first proposition of 5*l.* per cent. on the value, to a scale reaching from 1*l.* 10*s.* to 7*l.* 10*s.* on the ton of metal: 6*l.* per ton of metal on the richer ores was finally adopted, with, we believe, a pretty general concurrence; but there are such various interests concerned—the miner, the smelter, the importer, the manufacturer, the consumer—that an adjustment which shall satisfy everybody is no easy matter, and

and that the proposed protection was insufficient (though he does not say what rate *he* would have recommended) :—

‘ Under this impression I declined accompanying them when they conferred with the prime minister in *Downing Street*, because my presence on that occasion would either have implied a tacit acquiescence in their opinions, had I been silent, or it would have promoted an inconvenient and worse than useless discussion in his hearing, if I had declared my disagreement and protested against their course of proceeding.’—*Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7.

Sir Richard, who does not hesitate to publish to all the world, and in very unmeasured terms, his differences with the deputation, the ministry, his friends, and his party, shrunk sensitively from even a conversation in Sir Robert Peel’s private room, lest it should have exhibited the appearance of a difference of opinion between him and the deputation! which, as it appears to us, was, and could be, no difference at all :—for the deputation only agreed to the lower sum because they could no longer hope for better terms, and would assuredly not have quarrelled with Sir Richard for endeavouring to convince the minister that a higher protection was necessary. What followed is still more surprising. We have the evidence of the successive alterations in the printed copies of the Tariff that there was no item of the whole catalogue more modified—we presume on discussion with these deputations—than this very article of copper-ore, and none therefore on which the personal intervention of the member for Helstone could have been more desirable for the interests of all parties. If Sir Richard had any *personal* reasons for not attending a meeting at the prime minister’s office—if, peradventure, he may have thought that his proper place in *Downing Street* would have been to *receive*, instead of attending, deputations—no such reasons could exist for his not attending the discussion in the House of Commons :—there, of course, he would take his natural part; he would explain the importance of the interests confided to his guardianship; he would urge the inadequacy of the proposed protection; he would state the amount which he thought necessary—the arguments against the lower rate; but if he could not persuade the House to adopt his own rate (the amount of which he never states), he would have fallen back upon those who advocated a 10*l.* duty; and if that should also fail, he would concur with the other Cornish representatives in trying to obtain their proposition of 7*l.* 10*s.* This, surely, was the natural and proper course; but what did Sir Richard?—

\* In the unsatisfactory debate which took place in the House of Commons, all the other members representing the British mining interests contended



contended for no greater protection than the 7*l.* 10*s.* It is my belief that most of our deep copper-mines will be seriously injured, if not altogether abandoned, unless the importers of foreign copper be compelled to pay a much higher duty; and this conviction is based upon statistical documents, the accuracy of which has never been questioned. But to have insisted upon it in debate, in opposition to the language of other Cornish representatives, would have exposed me to the *imputation of being an alarmist*, and of affecting to know more and to see farther than those who opposed the ministerial propositions; for such is the certain result of every man's endeavour to urge his own individual opinion in a popular assembly like the House of Commons when he is unsupported by the concurrence of members who are at least as much interested as he is in the matter under discussion.

'The only justifiable motive for speaking on such a question was the hope that other gentlemen might have been thereby induced to vote in favour of a higher rate of duty,—a hope which, under the circumstances of the case, it would have been absurd to entertain. By giving utterance to opinions which would have placed me in *direct opposition* to the members who had conferred with the minister, I might indeed have convinced you that I am not unmindful of your interests, and of those of my native county; this object, however, can be attained by addressing you in writing, and by offering my deliberate advice to the miners in general upon the conduct which seems the best suited to their *present perilous position*.

'Such a course enables me to make an unreserved declaration upon the *alarming prospects of calamity to which not only the miners of Cornwall but almost every productive class in the nation are exposed by the policy of the present government*. In thus stating my views without disguise or hesitation, it is necessary to commence by directing your attention to the circumstances under which they obtained office: unless you calmly reconsider the events of the past year you will be unable to form an unprejudiced estimate of the *approaching danger*.'—*Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8.

Was there ever such a tissue of inconsistencies? He abandons his own proper duties, in his own proper place, lest he should be called an *alarmist*, and then volunteers—without mission and without excuse, and when it was too late to do any good, though it might do much mischief—he volunteers, we say, to sound a general alarm on every possible topic, and to endeavour to create a panic in every possible quarter. He suppressed, he says, his opinions, because they were 'in *direct opposition*' to those of his colleagues. The government proposal was 5*l.*; the Cornish members were sticking for at least 7*l.* 10*s.*; and for 10*l.*, if they could obtain it. Sir Richard was for some higher rate, which he enveloped in mysterious silence, but say 12*l.* Can going the whole length of one's friends, and even a good deal farther, be called '*direct opposition*?' If he had said to his colleagues, 'I

prefer 12*l.*; but if I cannot carry that, I shall unite with you in trying to obtain 10*l.*, or even 7*l.* 10*s.*, in preference to 5*l.*’ would that have been ‘*direct opposition*’ to those colleagues? Then he offers to the Cornish miners and to the nation at large his ‘*deliberate advice*’ on their ‘*perilous position*,’—*deliberate advice* meaning, it seems, advice that comes too late; but he would not give them his assistance in the discussions in Downing Street—nor a speech, nor even a vote, in the House of Commons, while there was yet time to have *diminished* at least the ‘*peril of the position*.’ During the whole of this transaction, Sir Richard was—for such reasons as he gives—absent from the deputation; silent in the house; reserved with his colleagues; mysterious as to his own views; and, above all, averse from being an *alarmist*; and then he turns right round, and publishes this letter, because ‘*such a course enables him to make an unreserved declaration upon the alarming prospects of calamity to every productive class of the nation*,’ and of ‘*stating these views without disguise or hesitation*.’ In the midst of all these contradictions it has escaped Sir Richard Vyvyan that this last assertion seems to *admit* that, however ‘*unreserved*’ the character of his *letter* may be, his previous conduct in the whole affair was not unlikely to be charged with ‘*hesitation and disguise*.’

The freedom with which Sir Richard treats the motives and the actions of other gentlemen not only justifies, but requires, our directing these observations *ad hominem*, and the more so, because we find that the chief practical object of his letter is a suggestion that the country in general, and Cornwall especially, should petition her Majesty to dismiss from political life both her present and her late ministers—‘the two rival sections [factions?] wrangling for office’—and to call to her councils some third party, as yet unborn, whom Sir Richard does not directly describe, but by many mysterious hints indicates, we think, as being centered in, if not confined to, the individual person of Sir Richard Vyvyan himself. The process by which all the rubbish of Tories and Whigs—the Peels and Stanleys, the John Russells and Palmerstons—are to be thrown aside, and the Vyvyan administration suddenly erected on their ruins, is ingenious and easy:—

‘The nation itself has a duty to perform in the present emergency. It must inform the Sovereign of the danger to which almost every interest is exposed. Unless our Cornish miners approach the throne with statements of the grievance about to be inflicted upon them by her ministers, the Queen cannot be aware of their condition.’—p. 44.

And the Cornish miners, it seems, are peculiarly fitted for taking the lead in this great political regeneration, because

‘In the first naval action of the last war, a British frigate, commanded by Lord Blenheim, captured a vessel in every respect its superior, although a great portion of its crew were Cornish miners who had never before been at sea, and were brought into action in a few hours after their embarkation.’—p. 45.

Some readers may not see the force of this argument—but we read it thus—that, as Cornish miners became, within a few hours, able and victorious seamen, so a Cornish member would become by as short a process an able and triumphant minister. One difficulty only presents itself—the petition *if* it reached the Queen must be infallible—but ministerial despotism would endeavour to intercept it. Against that obvious danger Sir Richard has provided a remedy remarkable for its novelty and ingenuity:—

‘There are constitutional methods of submitting their grievous complaints to the Queen, without consigning it to the care of a minister. *Every peer of the realm is privileged to ask for an audience.* With proper precautions, the working miners of Cornwall may rest satisfied that their petition will be placed in her Majesty’s hands, however their enemies may endeavour to keep the Queen in ignorance of their deplorable prospects.’—p. 46.

We were not aware that any other ‘precautions’ were necessary for such a purpose than that Sir Richard himself should have put on a dress coat and gone to one of the Queen’s levees, where he might have ‘placed the petition in her Majesty’s hands,’ without incurring much danger from the machinations of ministers. The passage, however, is valuable on another account, as conveying an important intimation that the new party which is to be charged with the future administration of affairs does not consist—as from the rest of the pamphlet might be supposed—in Sir Richard Vyvyan alone, but that he has *a peer* ready to work the omnipotent petition into the Queen’s presence. We are thus assured that the new administration would have at least one voice in each house of parliament; but, Sir Richard having some modest misgivings that he and Lord Blank alone could hardly make head against the united force of Whigs and Tories, suggests to those who might not be disposed to support his administration, a patriotic sacrifice which would effectually relieve him from all rivalry or opposition:—

‘I believe that many representatives of their fellow-subjects would gladly retire into private life, and vote for the election of their successors, if such a sacrifice on their part would enable the Queen to look for ministers beyond the narrow circle to which her Majesty is confined by the present system.’—p. 43.

This really exceeds all the rest! Gentlemen who will not  
now



now so much as listen to Sir Richard Vyvyan's advice about a duty on ores, would nevertheless 'gladly' commit political suicide in favour of this modern *Salmoneus*, who hopes to make his way to the government of the empire by a bridge of copper!

But, closing here, as we are glad to do, those personal observations which the tone and temper of Sir Richard's letter irresistibly invited, we shall now proceed to examine what is more important—the facts which he has alleged as the excuse of his 'mutiny,' or, as it may, we fear, be more properly called, his *revolt*.

His first and main charge against the ministry and the whole Conservative party in parliament is a very serious one indeed, affecting not only their policy, but their honesty and their honour. The country, he says, is

'exposed to poverty and ruin, by an administration calling themselves *Conservatives*, but differing only in degree from their predecessors, against whose policy they invoked the aid of the *too confiding* electors of the United Kingdom, within the last twelve months.'—pp. 5, 6.

Again:—

'The leader of the opposition [Sir R. Peel], who had originated the vote of distrust before the dissolution, was commissioned by the Queen to form a new government, and the constituencies looked forward with confidence to an immediate cessation of ministerial endeavours to unsettle existing regulations affecting agriculture and trade, while they hoped that some of the obnoxious changes effected by the Whigs, more especially as regarded the *Poor Law Commission*, might be reconsidered. They were fully justified in entertaining these expectations: appeals had been made to them upon such questions, against the Whigs; and they had laboured with zeal to promote the election of members, in whose assurances of opposition to the measures of the late government they had full reliance. Under such auspices, Sir Robert Peel became her Majesty's prime minister.'—pp. 11, 12.

And again:—

'Last year the productive classes believed their interests were in jeopardy when parliament was dissolved, and they were wearied by the constant attempts of the Whig administration to disturb the existing laws. At the present moment they are equally alarmed; but they are more disgusted with the conduct of public men, because the leaders of the Tory party, if not chargeable with deceptive promises before they became ministers, allowed the constituencies who returned the majority of the House of Commons to deceive themselves. Mr. Palmer, one of the members for Essex, has lately declared in parliament, that had his constituents been certain that the present administration would act as they have done, and had he declared his intention to support such measures previously to his election, he could not have obtained the votes of fifty Conservative electors in his county: and no minister who heard this declaration ventured to contradict it.'—pp. 39, 40.

The object and result of all this—and of sundry incidental epithets

epithets and expressions scattered through Sir Richard's letter, as well as through the pamphlet of his disciple, the self-elected coroner, who has held, it seems, an 'Inquest' on the Conservative party, and finds it '*Felo-de-se in a fit of duplicity*'—the sum and substance, we say, of all this is to charge the ministry with having obtained their position and their majority by professions and pretences which they have since shamefully abandoned, and by a general delusion of the constituencies—particularly on the three great measures of the *Corn Laws*, the *Tariff*, and the *New Poor Law Commission*. The proceedings, says Sir Richard Vyvyan, of the Whigs on these subjects had alarmed the constituencies, and the Conservative candidates were enabled to eject their rivals by pledging themselves on the hustings, 'some in one place, some in another,' against *any* alteration in the two former of these points, and for the repeal, or, at least, the reconsideration, of the latter. Now we think we may venture to assert that this imputation is not more strange in the mouth—we beg pardon—from the pen—of Sir Richard Vyvyan, than it is unfounded in the facts and substance of the case. We certainly cannot presume to answer for all the opinions which every individual candidate may have expressed or been supposed to express, in the excitement and confusion of a general election, 'some in one place, some in another,'—a vague phraseology by the bye, which contradicts the imputation, which it was meant to convey, of a general and systematic attempt to delude the constituencies—and amounts to no more than this very obvious truism—that different candidates in different places urged different arguments on different constituencies. But, moreover, hustings speeches seldom enter into details, and are generally imperfectly heard and loosely reported. Hustings audiences, too, are apt to generalise, and it is therefore very probable that some candidates, adverse to the *particular* alterations proposed by the Whigs, may have appeared to deprecate *any* alteration whatsoever; and there can be no doubt at all that there were, amongst four or five hundred Conservative candidates, many various and some even opposite shades of opinion on the specified questions; but that either the Conservatives, as a *Party*, could, or that any eminent Conservative leader *did*, pledge themselves that there should be no alteration in the *rates* of *Corn* or *Custom duties*, or that the *Poor Law Commission* should be abolished, we absolutely deny—and are, we think, peculiarly bound and authorised to deny it.

We trust that it will not be thought presumptuous in us to say that *we too are Conservatives*; and we have been led, by the testimony of both friends and adversaries, to hope that—within the  
humble

humble limits of literary co-operation—we have been honoured with some share of the confidence of the Conservative party, though we have never affected to be the *organ* of that party. We know not indeed who could confer, but we know that we do not pretend to, any such mission—our opinions are our own, and it is only by *coincidence*, and not from *authority*, that we can be supposed to speak the sentiments of the Conservative leaders. But the fact of such a general coincidence of opinion is enough for our present purpose, and will, we flatter ourselves, establish by testimony—humble because it is our own—but indisputable in point of fact—that the propositions of Sir Robert Peel's Government—for a modification of the rates of duty on Corn—for a revision and reduction of the Tariff of Customs—and for the continuance of the Poor Law Commission—are no new projects—neither an imitation of the Whigs nor a deception on the Tories—but the natural result of principles distinctly avowed and clearly explained on the part of the Conservatives *prior* to the change of Government, and more especially—*before* the last general election—during its progress—and at its close!

In June, 1841, while Lord Melbourne's ministry were still in office, and at the moment when they were about by a dissolution to appeal to the people on the relative merits of their policy and that of the Conservatives, we published an article '*on the Budget and Dissolution*,' which was considered at the time as a kind of Conservative *manifesto*—which was extensively adopted as such by the periodical press—and which was, we believe, frequently referred to (as we in truth hoped it might be) by Conservative candidates on the hustings. Now in that article, while showing that the Whig budget was a gross deception, we carefully distinguished between the sound principle which it abused, and the fraudulent pretence which it advanced. We admitted that the scale of corn duties might be advantageously modified, though we deprecated the ministerial juggle of what they called a *fixed duty*, by which they meant *no duty* at all; we expressed also our approbation of a general revision of the Customs Tariff, with a view to the reduction of the rates, though we scouted partial experiments on *two or three* articles, under the ridiculous pretence of raising by any such process an *immediate* revenue sufficient to relieve the pressing financial emergency. Let us be permitted to repeat what we said on that occasion—and first, as to the duties on the importation of Foreign Corn: did we say that they should never and in no circumstances be lowered?—no, on the contrary, while we insisted on the principle of a graduated scale, we contemplated the probable expediency of some lowering of the rates:—

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'The existing law acts on the principle of a graduated duty varying according to the variations of the home supply—the duty rises as the price falls, and falls as the price rises—so that importation is discouraged as it becomes superfluous, and encouraged as it becomes desirable.

. . . . We omit for the moment the consideration of the RATES of duty now established; we at present confine ourselves to the principle—it is the principle only that the ministerial plan affects to supersede, and it is of that principle that we are desirous to record our entire approbation.'—*Quarterly Review*, No. cxxxv, pp. 256, 257.

We then took the liberty of suggesting to 'CANDIDATES who might be reproached on the hustings for opposing the Ministerial plan for cheap bread' (*ib.*, p. 258), certain reasons in favour of a graduated in preference to a fixed duty, and certain answers to the objections usually made against the sliding scale—and we added

'But, moreover, if experience has shown that the present scale of duties affords opportunities for such practices, it would be easy to regulate them so as to render such operations very difficult and very rare; as, for instance, by taking the averages in longer periods, and making the scale of duty LESS RAPID, and perhaps somewhat LOWER.'—*Ibid.*, p. 259.

Here then, in a paper written before the elections, and for the avowed purpose of being referred to on the hustings, we suggested the very measures which are now characterised as an afterthought—a surprise—a deception on the Constituencies: and in our article of September, 1841, on the 'Prospects of the New Ministry,' we said,—

'We believe that the Corn-Law agitation has so signally failed, and that most men are so satisfied of the necessity of some protection, while all are so entirely convinced of the impossibility—that is the plain truth—of any fixed duty, that this question will not constitute any serious difficulty to the new Government, whether it adheres to the present scale, or contemplates—as we, and many other friends to the principle, suggested long before the change of Ministry—some MODIFICATION OF THE RATES, or any alteration in the mode of taking the averages.'—*Quarterly Review*, No. cxxxvi, p. 530.

Here again, even before the new Ministry was fully installed, we repeated the suggestion, 'long before made by ourselves and others,' of an alteration in the manner of taking the averages, and of a modification of the rates; and we did so, because we saw that some alterations had become expedient, and we felt it to be our duty not to lead the public to suppose that, while advocating the principle of the existing scale, we were pledging our opinion to the immutability of all its details.

The Tariff case is, if possible, still stronger.

The Tariff question was opened on the part of the late Ministry by an able article in the *Edinburgh Review*, for January, 1841, by which we were led to expect that Lord Melbourne's government

government had resolved to go into the *whole* of that important question; and we believe they had at one time come to that resolution, but, with their usual cowardice and bad faith, they abandoned the general measure, and shabbily, and for mere party purposes, restricted themselves to three articles, sugar, timber, and corn, to which—as we showed in our Number for June, 1841—the principle happened to be, from local, temporary, and other peculiar circumstances, singularly inappropriate. But did we in that article censure the ministry for having thought of modifying the Tariff? No, quite the reverse; we censured them for *not* having persisted in their intentions, and for having—instead of doing a public good, which we considered that a revision of the Tariff would be—thought only of gratifying a party spite and creating embarrassment to a future Ministry. On this subject we said in that article—

‘We do not deny—on the contrary, we are well aware—that the principle of a further modification of the Tariff of import duties had been under consideration—not of this ministry alone, but of every ministry since 1825, and not of ministries only, but of many individual writers, and of the public at large.’—*Quarterly Review*, No. cxxxv, p. 243.

We added—

‘The essay in the *Edinburgh Review* points rather to a general *inquiry* into the subject of Tariffs than to the possibility of any immediate or sudden experiment on any two or three articles. *In much of what is said in that essay we concur*—on some points we doubt—on others we should be decidedly adverse; but *all*, we admit, were *deserving of calm and deliberate consideration*.’—*Ibid.*, p. 244.

We further stated that

‘we were far from deprecating a *bonâ fide plan of revising and modifying the Tariffs*’ (ib.)—

We confined our objection to the partial and deceptive attempts of the Ministry, who, if they had been *sincere*, ought, we said, to have

‘*recommended from the Throne the consideration of the general system of import duties*.’ (ib.)

And we added very distinctly our opinion on the general principles by which *Protecting Duties* should be treated:—

‘Protecting duties are *in their nature* and by the very principles on which they were originally founded, liable to revision, alteration, and even EXTINCTION. Our predecessors, when induced by motives of commercial or national policy to *protect* any individual branch of trade, never intended that the *protection* should last beyond the occasion. The *go-cart* would naturally be laid aside as soon as the child was strong enough to walk alone. We are aware that in some instances this wholesome rule was forgotten or neglected: in others, powerful influences may

may have prolonged *protection* beyond its proper bounds : in all cases it is hard to hit the exact moment of transition, and still harder to accommodate existing interests and old habits to a change of system. But though protection has thus a natural tendency to last too long, that is no valid argument against its existence within proper limits, and certainly is rather an additional reason why any alteration rendered necessary by the alteration of times and circumstances should be made gradually, cautiously, and with nice discrimination.'—pp. 248, 249.

Can it be said with any colour of truth that those who, on the eve of a general election, published or countenanced such declarations as the foregoing, *deceived* the constituencies into a belief that they were pledged against any modification of the Tariff or any interference with protecting duties?

As to the Poor Laws, Sir Richard's chief objection, indeed the only one specified, is to the *central Commission* in London. Now it is remarkable enough that in our article of September, 1841, after suggesting some amendments in the practical details, we insisted on the advantage, indeed the necessity, of the *central Commission*; and as the subject is still of undiminished importance and interest, we are not sorry for an occasion to repeat our strong opinions on that point:—

'Our readers know that we supported some of the leading principles of that measure on its first introduction; and that, though pained and grieved by many details of its operation during subsequent years, we have never joined in the violent reprobation of it which has been turned very generally against its authors. We knew that some change in the old practice was necessary—and believed that the Whigs had acted with courage and sincerity in applying what they thought the most efficacious remedy—and were willing to hope that they themselves would alter details wherever these were condemned by experience. . . . . But, moreover, who in his senses would think of suddenly pulling down a mansion built only ten years ago, because some of the details were unsightly or inconvenient—even if there were no grave differences of opinion, as there notoriously are in the poor-law case, as to the extent of the inconvenience or deformity? . . . .

'We cordially agree (with the friends of the bill) on the question of what is called *centralisation*—that is, the existence of a central authority in the metropolis, to ensure a unity, or, at least, similarity, of principle and practice throughout the whole country. That the large class of individual and local cases ought to be and must be individually and locally determined, is unquestionable; and that the existing rules as to cases of extreme and sudden urgency are far too narrow, we are strongly inclined to believe; but who can be so unreasonable as to deny that some broad and general principles, founded on broad and general consideration and experience, ought to pervade the whole? Why should one county or one parish have one principle, and another another? Why should not that which is best and fittest and most beneficial be extended to all?

We



We really cannot believe that any serious difference of opinion does or can exist on so self-evident a proposition ; and accordingly we find that the strongest adversaries of the central *Board* would only replace it by an equally central authority under another name.'—*Quarterly Review*, No. cxxxvi., pp. 530-532.

We trust we shall be pardoned for the apparent egotism of thus reproducing our own opinions, as we really do not know where else we could find so short and yet so full a refutation of Sir Richard Vyvyan's charges—such direct and tangible proof that *before the formation of the present ministry*—nay, *before the dissolution* that produced it, and *during the elections*—the very measures which are now characterised as *surprise, deception, and duplicity*, were, by a portion at least of the Conservative party, contemplated as probable, and publicly recommended as expedient.

But though these imputations are made against the Conservative party generally, they are pointed with peculiar zealotness, and with many personal insinuations, against Sir Robert Peel. If the member for Helstone had ventured to make his charges in the proper place and the proper presence, Sir Robert Peel would assuredly have saved us the trouble of taking any notice of them. Whether he had treated them with the indignation which their injustice, or the ridicule which their absurdity deserved, he would have left us nothing to say. As it is, we need do no more than repeat the clear and explicit declarations which Sir Robert Peel himself has over and over again made in the face of the country. Indeed, after every possible allowance for what we may call the *involuntary* errors of temper, prejudice, and, perhaps, *pique*—we are still at a loss to understand how a writer of Sir Richard Vyvyan's position and information could be led to make assertions which we should have supposed every man who hears, and every man who reads, the proceedings of parliament, must know to be unfounded. Is it not notorious that Sir Robert Peel has, ever since he became the acknowledged leader of the Conservative party, stated, with perhaps more than necessary frankness, the system on which *alone* he would ever consent to conduct a government ? and is not that system—from the highest *principle* down to the *minutest detail*—the *same* that he has promised and accomplished in *all* his recent measures ?

Read his address to the electors of Tamworth in 1834-5 :—

' Now, I say at once that I will not accept power on the condition of declaring myself an apostate from the principles on which I have heretofore acted ; at the same time, I never will admit that I have been, either before or after the Reform Bill, the defender of abuses, or the enemy of judicious reforms. I appeal with confidence in denial  
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of the charge to the active part I took in the great question of the currency—in the consolidation and amendment of the criminal law—in the revival of the whole system of trial by jury—to the opinions I have professed and uniformly acted on with regard to other branches of the jurisprudence of the country—I appeal to this as a proof that I have not been disposed to acquiesce in acknowledged evils, either from the mere superstitious reverence for ancient usages, or from the dread of labour or responsibility in the application of a remedy.’

His speech on Sir J. Yarde Buller’s motion on a want of confidence in the then government, May, 1840, is an answer, by anticipation, to some of the chief allegations of Sir Richard Vyvyan’s letter, which has, indeed, the singular ill luck of containing nothing, absolutely nothing, that had not been refuted before it was written. One of the points on which, he says, the constituencies were ‘*fully justified*’ in expecting redress from Sir Robert Peel, was the ‘*new poor-law*.’ Now, we ask, whence could any such expectation have arisen, and how could it be ‘*fully justified*?’ The same charge had been made several years ago; and was thus indignantly refuted by Sir Robert in May, 1840:—

‘I have been distinctly accused of having maintained silence on the subject of the poor-law, for the express purpose of gaining support at the late general election, on account of the unpopularity of the law, and the clamour directed against it. I have disdained to notice these and all similar accusations of the public press, false and malignant as they may be, in any other place than the House of Commons. I supported the poor-law in parliament, when brought forward by a government which I opposed. . . . I shall continue to support the law; and in saying this, am I making a tardy declaration in its favour? Am I justly chargeable with having declined my share of the responsibility attaching to it, or with having sought to profit, for party purposes, by the tacit encouragement of a cry against it? My own election was among the earliest at the general elections of 1837. I had to address my constituents in the open air upon the hustings. Then was the time for reserve about the poor-law, if I had wished to set the example of encouraging agitation for election purposes. Here is the speech which I delivered on that occasion. In the course of it I was interrupted by a cry, “Did you not support the poor-law?” This was my answer. “There is no question of public concern from which I wish to shrink; and I tell you frankly that I did support the poor-law, and further than that, I admit that my opinion of its leading enactments and provisions is not changed.”’—*Speech*, pp. 40, 41.

Still more distinct, if that be possible, is Sir Robert Peel’s prophetic vindication of his alteration of the scale of corn-duties. In the same speech of May, 1840, he says—

‘On the great question of the corn-laws my opinions remain unchanged. I adhere to those which I expressed in the discussion of last year.’

year. *I did not then profess, nor do I now profess, an unchangeable adherence to the details of the existing law,—a positive refusal, under any circumstance, to alter any figure of the scale which regulates the duty on foreign corn.*—pp. 47, 48.

These opinions he repeated early in the session of 1841, and again more fully in the debate on the Address (28th August, 1841),—a solemn occasion, which decided the fate of the Whig ministry, and the accession of Sir Robert himself to office. He then repeated his opinion on the corn-law question, and stated the grounds on which only he could accept the confidence of parliament, in these words:—

*‘Previous to the late dissolution of parliament I said, and I now repeat it, that I think the sliding scale a preferable method of settling the duty. I then said, I would not pledge myself to the details of the existing law, but that I would reserve to myself the unfettered power of considering and AMENDING those details. I hold that same language now. I still prefer the principle of a graduated duty, but if you ask me whether I bind myself to the maintenance of the existing law in all its details, and whether that is the condition on which the landed interest gives me their support, I say that, ON THAT CONDITION, I CANNOT ACCEPT THEIR SUPPORT.’—Speech, 27th August, 1841.*

And this remarkable declaration, strongly enforced by many illustrative details, was followed by that celebrated division in which 362 Conservative representatives—including Sir Richard Vyvyan himself—accepted Sir Robert Peel’s conditions, and called him by the unexpected majority of 91 to execute as minister, *inter alia*, the amendment of the Corn-Laws, to which he had so emphatically alluded.

Need we, or indeed could we, add any argument to give strength to this statement and this fact? Sir Robert Peel declared boldly, almost arrogantly, the conditions on which alone he would accept the support of his party—those conditions were accepted—that support was given with unexpected enthusiasm—and now Sir Richard Vyvyan—himself a party to the vote—turns round upon us and upon himself, and with the most perfect coolness seems to forget that this remarkable scene—the most remarkable of our times—had ever happened! If there has been duplicity and deception, it is Sir Richard himself who must answer for it. Ought he not—with such opinions as he now professes—to have said in his place, ‘I cannot vote with Sir Robert Peel upon his conditions?’ Was he justified, in common fairness, in allowing Sir Robert Peel to suppose that he had his concurrence in the great task he was about, on the strength of that night’s majority, to undertake? Suppose any considerable number of gentlemen had acted as Sir Richard Vyvyan has done—look  
to



to the consequences. Sir Robert Peel would then have been betrayed into accepting office from which he must have been speedily expelled; by his own supporters, and on a point which he had openly and explicitly, and in the presence and amidst the acclamations of all those supporters, made the *sine quâ non* of his acceptance.

These are not merely personal questions—they involve the characters of public men and the strength and stability of the government to a degree that justifies, we think, the notice we have taken of them; but we admit that a more substantial and important question still remains for discussion—not whether Sir Robert Peel's measures have displeased this member or disappointed that constituency (of real displeasure or disappointment we have seen very slight symptoms), but whether, on a large and general consideration of the state of the country, they were wise in their principle, just in their application, and likely to be successful in their result.

We shall begin by the simplest part of the question, the direct taxation. Sir Richard Vyvyan denounces the Income Tax as a '*most obnoxious tax*,' '*a war-tax levied during peace*,' '*an inquisitorial impost*,' '*an intolerable burthen*;' but we must here again ask Sir Richard why he did not state these objections *virâ voce* in parliament? His excuse in the case of the *ores* does not apply here—namely, that he wished to avoid the appearance of dissension—for he exhibited his dissent by one or two votes. But even now, why does he not indicate what other line of policy, what other form of taxation, he would have recommended? On ordinary occasions it might be unreasonable to ask an individual member who opposes a ministerial measure to propose a substitute; but when a gentleman thinks himself entitled to advise the Crown and the country on their most vital interests, and to propose a new administration on principles entirely different from those which have hitherto directed our public councils, we think that we have some reason to complain that he has not given us even a hint of what those new principles may be; and particularly, that, censuring so harshly what the actual minister has done, the minister *in petto* does not vouchsafe us a glimpse of any other possible extrication from the difficulties which he admits and even exaggerates. The only hint that tends that way is his statement that the deficit was '*altogether occasioned by the voluntary reduction of productive taxes*' (p. 16). Does this imply that the best mode of reducing the deficiency would be the re-imposition of the repealed taxes?—a proposition which, extravagant as it appears, Sir Robert Peel had, as we have seen, patiently examined, and proved both by reasoning and experience to be inadequate and impracticable. But

But Sir Richard Vyvyan is here again lamentably misinformed on the fundamental facts of his case—the deficit was not ‘altogether’ occasioned by the *voluntary* reduction of productive taxes.’ It is true that there had been a successive and, as we have always thought, an improvident reduction of taxation, but we can hardly call it ‘*voluntary*’ on the part of the late ministers, for they were, in fact, bullied into it by a coercion which they had not the honest courage to resist. Nor was that reduction, even if it could be called *voluntary*, ‘altogether’ the cause of the deficiency—the reductions would not of themselves have had such fatal results, but they were unhappily concomitant with sudden and rapidly increasing expenditure abroad and at home. The neglect of the Whig ministry to equalise the revenue and the expenditure was indefensible; but it does not justify Sir Richard’s mis-statement of the fact, nor his forgetting that Mr. Baring did, in 1840, make an effort to meet the deficiency by the additional per centage on the excise, customs, and assessed taxes, and other sources, to the total amount of 2,200,000*l.*, which, though inadequate to the object, exceeded the recent reductions, to which alone Sir Richard is pleased to attribute the deficiency. We rather insist on this mis-statement because it is connected with that other very important mistake—that the Income Tax is ‘a WAR-TAX, which it is the *determined will* of the nation at large should not be levied during peace.’ We know not where Sir Richard has found the record of this *determination of the nation at large* that the Income Tax should not be levied during peace; not certainly in any expression of popular feeling during the progress of the measure through parliament. We admit, however, that, with Lord Brougham, we strongly incline to that opinion; but Lord Brougham did not forget, as Sir Richard Vyvyan has done all along, that we have been waging four distant and very expensive wars. War in Canada and war in Syria we have had—war in India and war in China we still have;—and we think we may venture to say that the sum proposed to be levied by the Income Tax will not much, if at all, exceed the expenses, past, present, and future, of these wars, every one of which has been inflicted on us as well as on the objects of our hostility, by the impolicy, the injustice, and the incapacity of the late ministry.

But we do not, as we have already said, rest the defence of the Income Tax on any such narrow and, as it were, technical excuse. The country accepted it as Sir Robert Peel offered it, as a great resource in a great emergency, as effecting, and as being the only measure capable of effecting, the combined purpose of liquidating our financial difficulties and contributing to commercial relief. The re-enactment of repealed taxation was out of the question—

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the utter failure of the per centage on the customs and excise proved that those duties on articles of consumption had reached their limit, and that any further pressure could only produce further retrogradation; but, on the other hand, Mr. Baring's per centage on the *assessed taxes* had exhibited the phenomenon not merely of realising the estimated amount, but of a substantial increase of the revenue itself. Now the assessed taxes are very analogous to an income tax—they are in fact the representative—though in some respects an inadequate and partial one—of income. Sir Robert Peel therefore concluded, most judiciously we think, that he had in the advance of the assessed taxes a practical argument in favour of a tax upon income;—and by exempting incomes under 150*l.* per annum from the operation of the tax, he spared the classes which are, at the moment, most in need of relief, and affected the easier and richer orders in the direct proportion of their means.

Even the objectionable character of the tax affords on this occasion some recommendation to its adoption. We are called upon to meet a difficulty which, though sharp, may, we trust, be short. The imposition of taxes on general objects, whether of production or consumption, cannot fail to disturb in some degree commercial interests—and after they have been, as it were, amalgamated with the system, the remission of them has a similar effect; it is, therefore, highly impolitic to lay on permanent taxes for a temporary emergency—but *an Income Tax stands alone*—its influence on trade and the markets is so circuitous and so slight as to be almost imperceptible, particularly at so small a per centage as 7*d.* in the pound. It, therefore, can be imposed in 1842, and may be remitted either at the end of three or five years, when its special purpose shall have been fulfilled, without any derangement of other interests—without affecting stock in hand—orders—bargains—buildings—speculations—or any of the variety of circumstances with which taxes on *commodities* are necessarily blended. The unpopular nature of the tax, also, suits it peculiarly for a temporary purpose, for the country, patient as it has been of its imposition as an urgency, will be very watchful to see that—agreeably to Lord Brougham's *Resolutions* and the Duke of Wellington's declaration—it be not continued one hour longer than shall be absolutely necessary.

We have already ventured to express our humble admiration of the disinterested patriotism of the members of both Houses of Parliament, who have accepted cheerfully and almost unanimously a burden which presses in a peculiar degree on themselves and the classes to which they belong, but from which the lower orders are proportionably relieved. But even upon the wealthier classes



classes the sacrifice will not, we are satisfied, be in fact so great as the nominal amount of the tax they may pay. Sir Robert Peel stated, in the outset, his hope—and he repeated, in his brilliant recapitulation at the close of the session, that his hope was increased to confidence—that to persons of moderate fortunes, who spend a large proportion of their incomes in the necessaries of life, the Income Tax, 3*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* on every 100*l.*, would be fully compensated by the decreased price of commodities influenced by the improvement of the tariff—we say *influenced* rather than *produced*, because we believe that the indirect effect of the tariff will be still more beneficial than any direct lowering of prices. There is another circumstance which deserves a passing word. We stated in our article of October, 1839 (p. 572), on the Penny Post, that the postage duties were substantially an Income Tax—and so in the vast majority of cases they were: 1,600,000*l.* of that revenue has been abandoned; and, much as we disapproved that *excessive* reduction, and fully as all our prophecies and anticipations about it have been realised, we concur with Sir Robert Peel that the system should not be at present altered—but as this was 1,600,000*l.* remitted to the *income* of the country, it may be considered as a set-off *pro tanto* against the new Income Tax. And, finally, the Income Tax has the great and peculiar merit of being collected at a moderate expense, and requiring no permanent creation of machinery for a temporary purpose. On the whole, therefore, we are not surprised at, and do most cordially join in, the general concurrence—we had almost said satisfaction—with which the Income Tax has been received.

With regard to the modifications of the Tariff there is little to be added to Sir Robert Peel's masterly exposition in the House of Commons of both its principles and details, which all who will read anything on the subject must have already read. A short summary, however, of the general object, and a few words on some articles that have been prominently criticised, will not, we trust, be considered superfluous. The first and natural object of a tariff is to raise a custom revenue; but there has been engrafted on it, in England as in most other countries, the different and almost opposite design of encouraging particular articles—either of home manufacture or the produce of some favoured country—by laying—even at *the sacrifice of revenue*—prohibitory rates of duty on similar articles imported from other quarters. The extent to which the English Tariff has been applied to the object of *protection*, independently of *revenue*, is curiously shown in the report of the Import Duties Committee, 1840. It there appears that, of the total Customs revenue of 22,962,610*l.*, *seven* articles alone,

alone, out of 1150 articles comprised in the Tariff, produce no less a sum than 19,148,629*l.*, viz. :—

Sugar . . . . .	£4,827,018
Tea . . . . .	3,658,800
Tobacco . . . . .	3,495,686
Rum, &c. . . . .	2,615,443
Wine . . . . .	1,849,709
Timber . . . . .	1,603,194
Corn . . . . .	1,098,779
	<hr/>
	£ 19,148,629

And that *ten* others produce 2,552,301*l.*, viz. :—

Coffee . . . . .	£779,114
Cotton Wool . . . . .	416,257
Silk . . . . .	247,362
Butter . . . . .	213,077
Curran <i>g</i> . . . . .	189,291
Tallow . . . . .	182,000
Seeds . . . . .	145,323
Sheep's Wool . . . . .	139,770
Raisins . . . . .	134,589
Cheese . . . . .	105,518
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	£ 2,552,301

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£ 21,700,930.

So that *seventeen* articles out of 1150 produced the enormous proportion of 21,700,930*l.* out of a total of 22,962,610*l.*; and of the remaining 1133 articles, we believe we may safely say that above 1000 would not repay the expenses of collection. The adjustment of these duties, and particularly of the large *protective* class of them, has always been a very complicated and difficult affair; every foreign power and every domestic interest availing itself of every natural, accidental, or even occasional influence, to obtain an advantage over their competitors. It is, therefore, not surprising that tariffs so frequently altered and modified, *pro re nata*, and to satisfy this or that importunity, should be frequently erroneous in policy and principle, and inconsistent and anomalous in their operation.

It is a remarkable coincidence that just 130 years ago, after the treaty of Utrecht, the Tory ministry proposed a tariff for the reduction of duties, which was opposed and ultimately defeated by the Whigs upon exactly the same kind of objections which have been—fortunately so ineffectually—made against the present arrangement. It was on that occasion that Addison wrote—with less, we think, than his usual good sense and pleasantry, but with considerable party success—his ‘*Trial of Count Tariff*.’ It is, also,

also, curious that the main object of that tariff—the balancing our commercial favours between France and Portugal—should be at this hour, as it was then, the subject of separate and conflicting negotiations with those countries.

These negotiations and the prohibitory duties recently imposed by France on a great and growing branch of our manufactures have necessarily prevented any reconstruction of the scale of wine duties; and considerations connected with the slave-trade have had the same effect on the sugar duties;—to both of which important subjects Sir Robert Peel has stated that he directs an anxious attention;—but he did not therefore postpone those measures of relief which were within his power. The first duty of a statesman is, to provide, as far as human means allow, for the cheap and regular subsistence of the people. Providence has indeed reserved to its own mysterious councils the chief share in the solution of this problem. The main elements of the demand and the supply of food man cannot command—nor on any very large scale regulate—the growth of population and the produce of harvests, though the result of human means, are practically beyond human control. Governments can do but little towards increasing the one or checking the other, but Governments may estimate the probable occurrence and extent of local or temporary pressure, and may, by precautionary measures, divert or alleviate its effect; but, above all, they may and are therefore bound to take care that no measures of theirs shall increase the natural difficulties, and add to providential vicissitudes the irregularities and partialities of human legislation.

These are the principles on which we rest our humble support of Sir Robert Peel's measures—his maintenance of such a protection to the cultivation of corn as may ensure, as far as human means can, a certain and regular supply—and the diminishing, as far as circumstances permit, of duties on all articles of food or comfort not requiring so high a degree of protection—and on raw materials, the plenty and cheapness of which may develop additional industry, and thereby enlarge the means of subsistence for the great masses of the people.

The new Tariff, in pursuance of these principles—which were powerfully expressed and elucidated by Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons—attempts for the first time, we believe, a classification of the several articles it includes, and a systematic apportionment and application of the various duties which it imposes.

Having stated that the protecting duties in favour of various branches of home produce were laid on from time to time, and



under temporary and local influences, we need hardly say that the old tariff had little regard to consistency or system, and individual interests had obtained individual protection, often delusive to themselves, and always in some degree injurious to their fellow-subjects: let us take, for instance, the question of the metallic ores, of which Sir Richard Vyvyan has made his stalking-horse. Copper-ore is what we may call a *natural monopoly* of the Cornish peninsula—the only other considerable supply being, we believe, from the distant mines of Cuba, or those, still more distant, of Chili. Would not one suppose that the mere *freight* round half the globe of an article of which the available part is not, on an average, one-fifth of its weight or bulk, would be a sufficient protection to the Cornish miner, who has his smelting-house at the pit's mouth? The mining interests of Cornwall, however, did not think so; and in the days in which it—with the private interests of the Crown representing the Duke of Cornwall at its head—was one of the most powerful interests in Parliament—a prohibitory duty was laid on copper-ore. This did not at first sight seem very important as a domestic question, because Cornwall already supplied more than enough for home use, and we did not seem to need importation from Cuba or Chili. But see how it worked. To the natural monopoly, this fiscal monopoly being superadded, the mine proprietors were enabled to put their own prices on the article, and to enter (as it is said to happen sometimes among the *Coal* proprietors) into a combination not to sell for home consumption under a certain price—though obliged of course to send their surplus abroad for what it would fetch, where it had to meet the competition of foreign ores *smelted in England*; for ores were allowed to be imported and smelted *under bond* and then exported. By these means the foreigner obtained the article cheaper than ourselves—for instance, we are informed that a short time ago the *French* Government bought copper-sheathing for its navy at 12*l.* the ton cheaper than the *British* Government was obliged to pay at the same moment for the same article, drawn from our own mines, and smelted in our own furnaces. Could it be a wholesome or rational system which made an article manufactured in Cornwall dearer at Plymouth than at Toulon? But this is not all. The prohibitory duties cut off the shipping interest from an obvious source of profit, while they increased the expenses of naval outfit, and they also deprived *all* the manufactures of the country of the additional outlet which the unrestricted exchange of their copper-ores might have created in Cuba and Chili. England possesses facilities for the smelting of ores beyond any other country in the world—the prohibition of im-  
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port deprived *pro tanto* our home consumption of this natural advantage. Consider also how much this prohibition must cramp that great portion of our internal industry that makes any use of copper—how much more, of all that are employed in it as a distinct manufacture; and how it must check the application of copper to new and experimental purposes. Iron has been made, chiefly from its cheapness, to supply the place of *wood* and *stone*—in fences, in houses, in ornamental architecture, in furniture, in roads, in carriages, and in *ships*—nay, we have *iron* substitutes for *wool* and *horse-hair* in cushions and mattresses! We believe copper to be capable of a—less general indeed, but still—very extensive application to purposes for which it is at present rarely or sparingly applied; and we doubt whether the Cornish proprietors themselves will not find, on the long run, their own profits increased by the extended use of the article both at home and abroad which greater cheapness may create. Sure we are that, for one individual whose immediate income it may curtail, it will open or enlarge the sources of profitable industry to a hundred of his neighbours. We therefore should hardly on principle have complained if the protecting duty had been wholly repealed—but, as we have formerly and recently said, a violent recurrence to principles is almost as impolitic, and in general more immediately injurious, than the departure from them. The long and complicated discussions—in which Sir Richard Vyvyan declined to take any part—were employed, as we before stated, in adjusting between four or five important classes some common and equitable measure of protection, the Government being in fact little more than an umpire between them. Sir Robert Peel seems to us, in this case of the *ores*, as throughout the whole tariff, to have taken a most judicious practical course—he has not abrogated existing protection, but moderated it to the degree that promises a considerable alleviation to the consumer, without materially disturbing the condition of the producer.

Much alarm was felt, or at least expressed, on the part of the agricultural interest, on the diminution of the duties on the importation of cattle and other articles of animal food. We have already alluded to that absurd panic—but we wish to say a few words on the subject to show that even in this case the principle of reduction is as just, as the application of it promises to be *universally* beneficial. Our first observation is, that, while the duties on salt meats were protective, those on cattle and fresh meat, which would most affect our own people, were absolutely prohibitory, and they were imposed in former times when our population was, as compared with the present day, scanty and well

well fed. Surely the mere growth of our population would of itself have justified the repeal of a *prohibitory* duty on meat. And here, in reference to this point, as well as to the Corn Laws, it cannot be unimportant to exhibit the growth of our population in the five decennial periods of which we have any exact enumeration. The population of Great Britain was in

1801,	10,472,048	Decennial increase.
1811,	11,969,364 . . . . .	1,497,316
1821,	14,073,331 . . . . .	2,103,976
1831,	16,260,381 . . . . .	2,187,050
1841,	18,656,414 . . . . .	2,396,033

We are under no apprehension—quite the contrary—that meat will become too cheap; and we are satisfied that meat and many other articles of agricultural origin might become much cheaper than we fear the tariff will render them, without doing any real injury to the agricultural interests. It has been tauntingly asked—how it is possible that the general consumer can be benefited without injuring the individual producer? In the article of meat, as well as of some others of analogous character, there is one preliminary answer—prices had risen, and were *still rising* so high that, if the tariff should only have the effect of keeping them where they are, or even of lowering them in some reasonable degree, the consumer will be benefited without any sensible change in the actual condition of the producer. But there is that still more important reason to which we before alluded, and which is of general application, affecting the income tax, corn duties, and the whole tariff—namely, that the PRODUCERS—of the neglect of whose special interests we hear so much—form also the main body of the CONSUMERS, to whom Sir Robert Peel is reproached with being too partial.

Take, for instance, the case of the landowner—whether he farms himself or by the hands of a farmer, the result will be nearly the same—he is a *seller* of corn, of cattle, of wool, but he is a *buyer* (generally speaking) of bread, of meat, and of clothes. If he loses something by *selling* cheaper, does he not gain something, at least, by *buying* cheaper in their manufactured shape these articles of his own growth? To the class of farmers who are wholly agricultural, and deal little in *cattle* or *wool*, the cheapness of meat and clothes will be an unmixed advantage. So he, who does not rear but fattens cattle, will be proportionably benefited the cheaper he can buy the lean beast. All this, however, might, we admit, be an inadequate compensation; but if, in addition, spirits, coffee (by and bye, we hope, wine and sugar), furniture, and



and the whole apparel of himself, his family, and servants, are all reduced in cost, is there not reason to infer that he must receive a very considerable compensation, a compensation which in many, probably in most cases, will exceed the nominal loss of income, while there will be a real increase of comfort and enjoyment? And let us go a step further; a farm cannot be tilled for nothing:—labour, buildings, repairs, implements, seeds, must all be paid for. If the diminished prices of provisions keep labour cheap—if the diminution of duties on timber, iron, copper, leather, seeds, make buildings, repairs, implements, and general culture cheaper—will there not be a further and very considerable benefit?

In short, we are of opinion that the measures have been so cautiously selected, so carefully balanced, so judiciously combined, that no sudden shock or injury will be felt by any one of the various interests concerned. Those who hope as well as those who fear some very immediate and remarkable consequences, will be, we think, equally disappointed. The improvement will be general, but it will be gradual and progressive: the pressure on a few individual interests will be found to be slight in itself, and so distributed and compensated as to be, we trust, hardly perceptible. The most early and probable result that we look to is, that, by the gradual operation of the Tariff and the blessing of God in a promising harvest, the prices of provisions may be reasonably lowered, and a feeling of comfort and a spirit of enterprise and industry revived throughout our manufacturing population, without any sensible injury to the agricultural interests. A bad harvest would, of course, have raised agricultural prices; yet no farmer wishes for a bad harvest; and though plenty may lower his prices, it must increase his profits; and fortunate it is, that, at the moment when some reduction in the value of farming produce may be expected from the season, the operation of the Tariff will effect a concomitant diminution in other articles of consumption, by which the farmer in common with every other class must be benefited.

This leads us to offer a few words on the new scale of corn-duties. We beg our readers to recollect that the strongest advocates of the agricultural interests do not dream, at this day, of a *fixed protection*. It is notorious and avowed, that the enemies of all protection propose a fixed duty only because it would be wholly illusory, and would lead directly to the removal of all protection. Hence the opposition of the Anti-Corn-Law League to the sliding-scale—the best, nay, we will add, the only practicable safeguard that agriculture can rely on; hence also the arts by which

which it was endeavoured to raise popular prejudice against the principle of a sliding-scale, by exaggerating some inconveniences and anomalies with which the details of the old scale were chargeable, such as the mode of taking the averages, and some sudden and arbitrary transitions in the rates of duty. These objections, though not of the importance attached to them for party purposes, were not unfounded; and it therefore was not only justice but good policy in the friends of agricultural protection to amend those details, and thus take away from their adversaries one class of their pretences. But the main question was, what should be the amount of the protection; and here the struggle lay between a formidable association, acting on and by the strength of popular prejudices and passions, and clamouring for the abolition of all duty—and that great and respectable body, including most of the property and intelligence of the country, who—adhering to protecting duties as the best, and, indeed, only mode of insuring a constant and regular supply—are well aware that the rates ought to go no higher than will suffice for that object. We therefore believe that there are very few of even the most exclusive agriculturists who would contend that the rate of duties established in 1828 was not now fairly susceptible of some diminution, and that it would have been politic, or even *possible*, to have maintained them at so high a scale.

The following tables, compiled from several parliamentary returns and public documents, will not only elucidate the present discussion, but afford some statistical *data* which are worth preserving, as well for the facts they establish as for the doubts\* they here and there excite.

We shall begin by exhibiting at one view the Old and New Scales of duty on *wheat*, to which all other grain is generally proportionate. Our readers will observe that 8*d.* appears in each rate of the old scale; this was not so at first;—but 8*d.* was added to the scale in consequence of the change from the Winchester to the imperial measure, made subsequent to the original act.

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\* There are many discrepancies as to details, and even as to totals, in the various documents from which we have compiled these tables, arising, no doubt, from the different periods and different objects for which the accounts were made—some from different modes of computation—but none are considerable enough to disturb the general results.

OLD SCALE.					NEW SCALE.				
WHEAT.					WHEAT.				
Average Price per Quarter.			Duty per Quarter.		Average Price per Quarter.			Duty per Quarter.	
s.	s.		£.	s. d.	s.	s.		£.	s. d.
At 36	under 37	.	2	10 8	At 50s.,  and at  all  prices  under  50s.				
37	" 38	.	2	9 8					
38	" 39	.	2	8 8					
39	" 40	.	2	7 8					
40	" 41	.	2	6 8					
41	" 42	.	2	5 8					
42	" 43	.	2	4 8					
43	" 44	.	2	3 8				1	0 0
44	" 45	.	2	2 8					
45	" 46	.	2	1 8					
46	" 47	.	2	0 8					
47	" 48	.	1	19 8					
48	" 49	.	1	18 8					
49	" 50	.	1	17 8					
50	" 51	.	1	16 8					
51	" 52	.	1	15 8					
52	" 53	.	1	14 8					
53	" 54	.	1	13 8					
54	" 55	.	1	12 8					
55	" 56	.	1	11 8	55	" 56	.	0 17 0	
56	" 57	.	1	10 8	56	" 57	.	0 16 0	
57	" 58	.	1	9 8	57	" 58	.	0 15 0	
58	" 59	.	1	8 8	58	" 59	.	0 14 0	
59	" 60	.	1	7 8	59	" 60	.	0 13 0	
60	" 61	.	1	6 8	60	" 61	.	0 12 0	
61	" 62	.	1	5 8	61	" 62	.	0 11 0	
62	" 63	.	1	4 8	62	" 63	.	0 10 0	
63	" 64	.	1	3 8	63	" 64	.	0 9 0	
64	" 65	.	1	2 8	64	" 65	.	0 8 0	
65	" 66	.	1	1 8	65	" 66	.	0 7 0	
66	" 67	.	1	0 8	66	" 69	.	0 6 0	
67	" 68	.	0	18 8	..			..	
68	" 69	.	0	16 8	..			..	
69	" 70	.	0	13 8	69	" 70	.	0 5 0	
70	" 71	.	0	10 8	70	" 71	.	0 4 0	
71	" 72	.	0	6 8	71	" 72	.	0 3 0	
72	" 73	.	0	2 8	72	" 73	.	0 2 0	
73 and upwards			0	1 0	73 and upwards			0 1 0	

We have begun the foregoing view of the old scale at 36s. price and 2l. 10s. 8d. duty, because they were the extreme points *practically* attained during the operation of that scale; but by law there was an increase of 1s. duty for every fall of 1s. in the price,



so that, if, we could suppose the price to have fallen to 10s. a quarter, ~~the~~ duty would have risen to 3l. 16s. 8d.

Sir Robert Peel intended by his new scale to make a considerable diminution of the duty, and has done so; but the difference between the two scales is much greater in appearance than in reality—the *higher protections* of the old scale being in fact nominal, and, we may almost say, delusive. A vast proportion of the duties received under it was at the rates which are not altered—viz. 1s. and 2s. duty on 73s. price; and the proportion received *beyond* the point where the new scale terminates—viz. 20s. duty on 50s. price—was, compared with the total amounts, inconsiderable. On the other hand, the protection afforded by the new scale, though lower and more limited, will be found more steady, and, we believe, more effective—as it will greatly diminish, if it does not wholly prevent, those frauds which were equally injurious to the producer and the consumer.

We next give a return of

Average Prices and Total Quantities of Foreign Wheat and Wheat Flour entered for Home Consumption, with the Average Rate and Total Amount of Duties paid thereon, with the Average Prices of Flour for each year during the operation of the Act 9 Geo. IV. c. 60, from the 15th July, 1828, to the 29th April, 1842.

Years.	Average price per qr.		Quarters entered.	Net amount of duties paid	Average rate of duty on foreign wheat.		Average price of flour per sack paid by Greenwich Hospital	
	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Half of 1828	60	5	807,031	68,825	1	9	46	6
1829	66	3	1,374,963	624,258	9	3	55	10
1830	64	3	1,672,200	535,077	6	7	54	11
1831	66	4	1,408,999	325,113	4	8	60	1
1832	58	8	184,081	215,040	23	3	54	7
1833	52	11	1,368	963	11	1	43	4
1834	46	2	294	322	19	10	39	5
1835	39	4	141	170	20	10	31	0
1836	48	6	1,054	852	14	6	32	4
1837	55	10	210,859	295,889	28	1	39	10
1838	64	7	1,822,991	141,895	1	7	43	6
1839	70	8	2,702,848	670,054	4	11	52	2
1840	66	4	2,329,991	883,346	7	2	52	8
1841	64	4	2,392,061	399,611	3	5	52	5
1842 to 29th April	60	2	4,616	3,385	14	8	..	..
14 years	59	0	14,914,547	4,154,800	5	7		

This

This table shows that averages, spread over wide periods of time, may be very fallacious in several ways. The total import in fourteen years being about 15,000,000, writers have stated that we import *annually* somewhat more than a million of quarters of corn, and as our total annual consumption (for seed and food) is calculated at about 24,000,000, the import has been stated at a *fortnight's consumption*. Now this, if true, would imply both a regular import and a regular supply at home, and in that case something might be said for a fixed duty; but, in fact, we see that, in the first four years, the average importation was about 1,200,000 quarters; the next four, only 700 quarters; and the last four, as much as 2,300,000 quarters. It is quite clear that, for a country that sometimes requires to import a *tenth* part of its annual consumption, and at other times needs little or no importation at all, a fixed duty would be an untenable absurdity, which would alternately ruin the producer and ~~save~~ the consumer. The reader will also observe that the general ~~average~~ <sup>average</sup> given by the sliding scale is 2s. 5d. less than the 8s. fixed duty proposed by the Whigs; so that this scheme for *cheap bread* would have raised the price of the loaf in the proportion of about *one-third* for the last fourteen years. We confess, however, that we do not much rely on these yearly averages of duty; they are liable to individual disturbances, which render them unsafe guides when there have been great fluctuations. Let us take, for example, a case which happened in 1839, and which happens in a greater or less degree every year—14,000 (in round numbers) quarters of wheat were imported early in the year at 1s. duty; 700 quarters were also imported late in the same year at 20s.—the duty on the whole would be 1400%, and the average of the whole would be stated at 1s. 10½d. Yet who can doubt that the 1s. paid on 14,000 quarters would be, for all practical purposes, a fairer measure of the effect of the duty on the general market than 1s. 10½d.? Again; we have now before us an official document which states the average duty for Michaelmas quarter, 1841, at 16s. 8d., to which is appended a note to say that the real average was only at 1s. 6d. This enigma we suppose means that there was during all the earlier part of the quarter a very high duty, at which little was entered, which in the very last days fell to 1s.—when a large importation was effected; and we shall see more fully by and bye that the stated average of 5s. 7d. on the whole period is very much higher than the real and *effective* rates of duty. We must also notice in this table that the price of wheat and flour in the great markets does not influence, as directly as might be expected, the price of flour in detail. In 1828, when wheat and flour were at 60s. 5d., Greenwich Hospital paid

paid for the sack of flour 46s. 6d.; when in 1832 wheat had *fallen* 1s. 9d. the quarter, the sack of flour rose 8s. 1d.; and in 1839, when wheat had risen to 70s. 8d., flour fell to 52s. 2d. In the deluge of papers which have been called for in this corn-controversy, we are surprised not to find any return of the successive prices of *bread*—which, being really what the lawyers call the *gist* of the whole case, we should have expected to find a prominent object of inquiry; but it has not been so, and the imperfect information we have privately gathered, coupled with the strange discrepancy between the prices of wheat in the official averages and of flour in the Greenwich books, induces us to suspect that the actual prices of bread might offer very different results from the official prices of corn.\*

The following account, which ranges the whole of the quantities of wheat imported under the respective rates of duty actually paid, is more valuable—it rests neither on averages nor on any

\* The price of *bread* has recently—while this article was printing—~~attracted~~ considerable notice, and a kind of controversy has arisen as to the fairness of ~~the~~ bakers' prices. We extract from the *Times* of the 8th of September the following interesting statement of the relative prices in London and Paris:—

'The fairest mode of investigating this matter appears to be, to take a large city, such as Paris, where an assize or legal price of bread exists, and which has continued for many years to work well in detail; and to compare the prices now prevailing there and here, both of the manufactured article and the raw material, and then see where the difference arises.

'The highest price of white wheat of the first quality in Paris is 38 francs per 1½ hectolitre, which is equal to a price of 58s. per quarter English; and the highest price of white wheat in London being 60s. per quarter, it follows that wheat is 3½ per cent. higher in London than in Paris.

'The highest price of the finest wheaten flour in Paris is 70 francs per 159 kilogrammes, which is equal to a price of 41s. per sack of 280 lb. English; and the highest price of flour in London being 47s. per sack, it follows that flour is nearly 7 per cent. dearer in London than in Paris.

'The price of wheaten bread of the first quality in Paris is 38 cents. per kilogramme, which is equal to a price of 6½d. per 4lb. loaf English weight; and the price of bread at most of the full-priced bakers' in London being 8½d. per 4lb. loaf, it follows that the price of bread is 30½ per cent. higher in London than in Paris. If the price here is taken at 8d., as stated by some bakers, the price in London will still be rather more than 23 per cent. higher than in Paris.

'The price of bread of the second quality in Paris is 30 cents. per kilogramme, which is equal to about 5d. per 4lb. English weight; and the price at which bread is sold in London by some of the low-priced bakers being 6d. per 4lb., it follows that bread of this description is 20 per cent. higher in London than in Paris.'

These are very remarkable facts—and particularly the statement that in France, a country generally so cheap as compared to England, and where there are no corn-laws, wheat is at a price equivalent to 58s. per quarter English. We very much doubt whether the current price here was higher on the same day: we know that in some markets it has been lower.

As to the variations in the price of bread, it is clear that they cannot, fortunately, be so rapid as those in the price of corn, and that, for many reasons, bread must be somewhat dearer than even the average price of wheat might seem strictly to warrant: every step in the process—from the wheat-field to the baker's counter—operates as a *rest* which tends to level and to steady, though at the same time to raise, the retail prices.

other



other conjectural *data*, but is the exact statement of the real operation.

The total quantity of foreign wheat and flour imported between 1828 and 1841 was 15,034,794 qrs.,\* of which there came in

At 1s. duty,	6,392,258 qrs.
2s. 8d.	3,177,016
6s. 8d.	2,175,666
10s. 8d.	903,915
13s. 8d.	710,084
16s. 8d.	376,131
18s. 8d.	92,542
20s. 8d.	412,425
At all rates of duty from 20s. 8d. to 25s. 8d.	572,201
„ „ 25s. 8d. to 30s. 8d.	217,827
„ „ 30s. 8d. to 40s. 8d.	4,688
„ „ 40s. 8d. to 50s. 8d.	221
„ „ 'above 2l. 10s.	none.

We think this account shows that, for all practical purposes, the *New scale*, varying from 1s. to 1l., has a sufficient range, and there is reason to believe that it will afford a sufficient protection. We see that 9,569,274 qrs., considerably above *three-fifths* of the whole importation, came in at the prices of 72s. and 73s., and at the two lower rates of duty, *which are not altered*; and that considerably above *four-fifths* (12,648,855 qrs.) came in at the four lowest rates of duty, which are the least altered, and which are altered merely by following out the general principle of advancing one shilling each step, and thus removing the chasms and *jumps* which did so much mischief and afforded the most plausible objections to the system. As to the entries at the highest rates, they were obviously accidental and of no importance either as affecting prices or protection. In short, it is clear that the chief business—that which alone can, in ordinary times, operate in a large way—must lie among the lower rates, and *there* was certainly the defect of the former scale, which *jumped* 4s. on each of its second and third steps—from 2s. 8d. to 6s. 8d., and from 6s. 8d. to 10s. 8d., and then at 2s. each step up to 20s., after which it went on at the regular increase of 1s. We need not now examine why Mr. Huskisson permitted these *jumps* in the earlier and more important stages; suffice it to say that experience has shown, and all parties are agreed, that they have had an injurious effect. The possibility of making a profit of 4s. and 8s. in

\* The difference between this sum and the total of the foregoing table is one of those discrepancies to which we have alluded. It arises from this account including some amounts damaged or exported which were excluded from the former account of the net duties received—but the variance has no importance.

the duty, on the rise of 1s. and 2s. in the price, was a strong incentive to fraud of various kinds—frauds which we admit appeared to be generally in favour of the consumer by tending to the introduction of corn at a lower duty, but which were in truth injurious to everybody, by artificially deranging the trade, discouraging the fair trader, frequently ruining the speculator himself, and defeating the main object—a *constant and steady* supply. It became, therefore, absolutely necessary that these *jumps* should be removed, and that the slight and equable advance of each step of the scale should be introduced to diminish, if not wholly prevent, all fraudulent disturbance of the market; and when *that* was to be done, it would have been, as we have already said, *impolitic*—even if it had been *possible*—to evade a general revision of the scale so as to fit it to the prices at which experience had shown us that it was likely to be called into operation. We believe that considerable improvements—although no great extension of *arability*—have been made and are in progress in practical agriculture; and we venture to anticipate much benefit from the influence of the recently formed Agricultural Association, which, we trust, will direct the application of science to the first and most important of the Arts; but, looking at what has been practically done, we do not think that any one is sanguine enough to suppose that the increased supply from the British soil has as yet been at all proportionable to the increasing demand. Whence are the *four or five millions* of additional mouths that have grown upon us since 1821 to be fed? ‘Art,’ says the sage, ‘is long—life is short!’ Can we wait for the slow experiments of the Davys and Liebig? Here are the people *swarming* upon us! And will any rational man—be he farmer or be he landlord—say that we should not endeavour to create increased facilities for meeting an increasing deficiency? The strongest advocates of the agricultural interest admit, we believe, that in the most favourable season Great Britain can do little more than feed herself; and we most readily admit, nay, insist, that for all that she *can* raise she ought to be secured, as far as human means can do so, a remunerating, and, we will even add, an *encouraging* market; for as the home supply is the only safe and certain supply, it should be, we say—more for the interests even of the consumer than of the producer—not merely remunerated but *encouraged*. The question then is as to the degree of encouragement necessary to maintain—and to *stimulate*—the exertions of the home producer.

The solution of that question must be always in a great degree conjectural and experimental. A Cabinet of able men, long practised in public affairs, some of them parties to the former arrangement, and essentially and almost exclusively belonging

to the landed interest, have recommended a scale which the representatives of the landed and all other interests throughout the country have passed with little objection, and we therefore indulge a very confident hope that it will be found sufficient to fulfil its object.

Our experience is as yet too short to enable us to speak decidedly of its effect, but *as far as it has gone* it has produced some singularly satisfactory results, as the following table of the weekly operation of the new Act will show:—

Account of Wheat and Wheat Flour entered for Home Consumption at *ten of the principal ports* of Great Britain in each week since the passing of the New Corn Law, with the Average Price and Rates of Duty.

Week following	Quarters entered.	Average Price.	Rate of Duty.		Amount of Duty.
		<i>l.</i> <i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>
April 28	36,159	59 1	13	0	4,683
May 5	31,072	59 3	13	0	10,131
" 12	7,033	59 8	13	0	3,952
" 19	30,600	60 0	12	0	17,064
" 26	19,591	60 5	12	0	10,178
June 2	7,511	60 9	12	0	3,882
" 9	19,121	61 3	11	0	10,055
" 16	8,424	61 9	11	0	4,112
" 23	32,411	62 3	10	0	13,257
" 30	53,978	63 0	9	0	21,973
July 7	17,204	63 7	9	0	7,084
" 14	95,610	64 1	8	0	34,816
" 21	62,209	64 5	8	0	21,800
" 28	71,644	64 7	8	0	25,382
Aug. 4	364,073	64 7	8	0	137,914
" 11	1,354,797	64 2	8	0	535,012
" 18	155,761	63 0	9	0	66,347
" 25	96,733	61 10	£1	0	45,788
18 weeks	2,457,931	62 1	8	4	£974,024

Thus we see that from the 28th of April to the 3rd of September, the latest possible date, the importation of foreign wheat and flour at ten principal ports has been no less than 2,457,931 qrs., being considerably more than was imported in *all* Great Britain in any *whole* year (except 1839) of the existence of the late law; and be it observed that this importation has been made in face of a most promising harvest, and with less irregularity than in any corresponding period. Well, then, here is at least a very unusual supply of food for the people—but does it ruin the



the farmer? We see by this return that, during the progress of this extraordinary importation, the price has been in the home market comparatively steady—affording, however, a considerable advance from the starting-point—the price for the first week, ending 5th of May, having been 59s. 1d., and the average of the seventeen succeeding weeks has been 62s. 1d.—the average of fourteen preceding years having been only 59s. The farmer, therefore, has, as yet, lost no protection as to price from the new scale\*—nor, on the other hand, has the Revenue suffered, for the average duty paid during the existence of the late scale was only 5s. 7d. per quarter, while the average of the late importation has been 8s. 4d.; but, without reckoning by the fallacious test of averages, the duties actually received in these eighteen weeks is nearly a fourth part of the duties received in the whole of the last fourteen years. So that we are, for the present at least, enjoying the three greatest advantages that any state of the corn-market can produce,—advantages hitherto supposed to be incompatible, namely,—

1. A great supply of food for the people, without
- 2.—any serious injury to the farmer; and
- 3.—with a vast addition to the revenue.

These results are for so short a period and so unexpectedly favourable to our view, that we do not venture to rely upon their continuance in the same satisfactory degree, but they are very encouraging, and they at least negative some of the sinister anticipations which the enemies of the new corn-law foreboded.

We do not pretend to say that times and circumstances may not hereafter affect it, as they have done its predecessors; but we do say that it seems to offer the best combination and adjustment of all interests that our position admits, and the fairest promise of permanent protection to the farmer, and permanent plenty to the people:—we insist on the expression *permanent* in both cases—for we are convinced that exorbitant protection would soon be swept away, leaving the farmer to hopeless ruin, while the abolition of all protection would give the people a temporary glut, to be grievously expiated by early and frequent vicissitudes of scarcity and starvation.

Concurring, as we did from their first announcement, in the general and, we might say, abstract policy of Sir Robert Peel's measures, we confess that recent events have stamped them with

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\* There can be little doubt that, if the harvest fulfils its promise, prices must fall; and the dealers evidently expect this, as they have made such large entries at 8s. and 9s. duty; but we still hope and believe that the farmers will find a remunerating market, and we are quite sure that their position is, on the whole, safer than it would have been under the former scale.

a character of more immediate and practical utility than we had anticipated. The extensive insurrections which have recently taken place in the manufacturing districts, so alarming in their aspect, but hitherto so easily repressed—can any one venture to say to what more lamentable extent and excesses they might have suddenly proceeded if the sympathising and paternal feelings of the Government towards the manufacturing classes had not been expressed so early in the session in those powerful addresses of Sir Robert Peel—not more powerful—not perhaps so powerful—in influencing the legislature, as in conciliating the feelings, encouraging the hopes, and fortifying the patience of a deeply distressed working population? Was there ever before a popular commotion in England, of which the chief violence and virulence was not directed against the Government—its neglect of, and even its contempt for, the comforts and happiness of the people? In the recent disturbances we have hardly traced a word or a thought of this tendency. In vain did the real instigators of the mischief endeavour to give it a political and seditious character—in vain did the Chartists brawl for the *rights of man*, and the Anti-Corn-Law League preach a *cheap-bread* crusade against property: the masses, retaining, even in their excitement, a degree of sagacity and good sense that is really very surprising, rejected all such provocations, and confined their irregularities to the single point on which they had originally turned out—the amount of wages. We deeply regret that these poor people should have been driven or deluded into those violent and criminal excesses, of which the most serious portion of the injury must fall upon themselves; but we must repeat our satisfaction at such unexampled forbearance from political offences, which we can attribute to nothing but the force of public opinion created by the previously announced measures of the Government—measures that, by a combination of foresight and good fortune, were—may we venture to say?—*providentially* calculated to meet the emergency. Sir Robert Peel had stated in a few plain but potent words the principle of his policy:—‘I will tax the rich, and spare the poor—I will endeavour to cheapen the price of food to the whole population, and to assist especially the working classes by placing more plentifully within their reach the materials of industry, and, of course, the sources of comfort and content.’ We are as thoroughly convinced as we can be of any moral problem that these disturbances were created by those on whose own heads the explosion will ultimately recoil—the anti-corn-law leaguers; and that the deep-laid schemes of these greedy incendiaries have been hitherto defeated solely by the common sense of the people themselves, awakened by their

knowledge of and their confidence in the wise and benevolent policy of their Government.

We know not how long these salutary impressions may last. We are well aware that such scenes as have afflicted the North must entail on the working classes additional misery and consequent liability to further disturbance. The sacrifices that these misguided people have been compelled to make, the dissipation of their little funds from the Savings Banks, and the permanent ill feeling and struggle now established between them and their employers, will all tend to keep alive social discontent and to create political disaffection; and we confess we look forward with no inconsiderable alarm to the further consequences of these anti-corn intrigues. We have, we fear, only *scotched the snake, not killed it*: we expect that great uneasiness will survive, and cannot but fear the possibility of a long and gloomy crisis of distress and disquiet; but, for the present, we have only to repeat our belief that the measures of the Government have mainly conduced to diminish, though they could not wholly avert, a serious and imminent danger.

We cannot doubt that the great Conservative party will see in this remarkable circumstance additional grounds of confidence in their leaders, and of self-gratulation on the prudence and the patriotism with which they resisted every effort, insidious or avowed, to disunite them. There were many matters on which an honest difference of opinion must have existed, and may even still survive; but we think we may assert that experience, short as it has been, has gone far towards removing the most serious doubts that were originally entertained of the policy of the ministerial measures, and that some gentlemen, who may have given a hesitating assent to this or that individual detail, are now satisfied that their confidence was not misplaced, and that the well-regulated vigour and conciliatory energy of the Government have probably saved us from an awful convulsion. It cannot, at least, be doubted that they have already alleviated the pressure of distress, and have opened a prospect of peace abroad and prosperity at home, in which at the beginning of the late session the most sanguine amongst us hardly ventured to indulge.

We had intended to have added to this review of Sir Robert Peel's *financial* and *economical* policy an exposition of various *administrative* and *legal* improvements introduced by the members or friends of his administration, and which, though some have been postponed, and some rendered less perfect, have exhibited a striking contrast to the *poca curante* and *fur niente* apathy of his predecessors. We should have particularly wished to notice some measures of legal reform—the best and most necessary



sary of all reform—introduced by Lord Lyndhurst, for expediting and cheapening proceedings in Lunacy, in Bankruptcy, and in the general practice of the Court of Chancery. These bills were all passed, not without some, though *noiseless*, difficulty from individual interests ; and we believe they will be found very valuable. The County Courts Bill was reluctantly postponed to another session. We do not greatly regret it. The bill is certainly of great importance, and something of the kind is much needed ; but much difference as to its details existed even amongst the friends of the measure, and we believe that the delay may be turned to good account. But the most important legal measure of the session was undoubtedly the *Cessio Bonorum* bill introduced by Lord Brougham, and passed, with the assistance of the Chancellor and the Duke of Wellington in the Lords, and the support of the Solicitor-General and the Ministry in the House of Commons. This bill abolishes virtually the practice of *imprisonment for debt*,—a serious experiment, we admit, but one which in the present state both of the law and of public opinion we think it is both safe and expedient to try.

We should also have wished to have noticed Lord Palmerston's clever—but rather unlucky—speech at the close of the session, and Sir Robert Peel's still more clever and overwhelming reply ; and we should have been particularly glad to have made some observations on the improved aspect of our foreign relations. But this is beyond our present scope. Upon the whole—whether we look abroad or at home—to diplomatic or financial affairs—to public credit or public opinion—to social ameliorations or legal reforms—it cannot be denied that the present Cabinet has, under all its disadvantages, done more of real and useful business in one session than its bewildered predecessors had even attempted in the six or seven years of their paralysed existence which they drawled and dragged out—

‘ Letting *I dare not wait upon I would*—  
Like the poor cat in the adage !——’

The country was wearied and ashamed of such a contemptible phantom of a ministry—and, whatever question there may be as to this or that measure of the present Cabinet, there is a universal satisfaction throughout the country—and we believe throughout the friendly nations of Europe—that England, after a long and disgraceful interregnum, has at last an administration that can do its business, and a Government that ventures to govern.



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being subscribed to by each Member on admission, to be kept with the records of the Chamber, and another to be forwarded to the Secretary to Government and to such other authorities, abroad as it may appear desirable to make acquainted with the institution of the Chamber.

It was then proposed by Mr. McKilligan, seconded by Mr. Morrison, and carried, "That the Committee be requested to act provisionally for the reception of the names of candidates and subscriptions, and for the arrangement of preliminaries pending the opening of the Chamber."

Mr. McLean next proposed "That as soon as fifty names be enrolled the Committee be requested to appoint a time and place for the election of a General Committee, President, Vice-President and Secretary," which was seconded by Mr. Joseph, and carried.

It was then proposed by Mr. Morrison, seconded by Mr. Harding and carried. "That the Committee be authorized to defray all contingencies and necessary expences."

It was next proposed and carried "that the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Goddard, for the great pains he has taken in drawing up the rules."

The Chairman then read a letter from Mr. Goddard, requesting to be relieved from the duties of the Secretaryship as soon as possible, and hoping that some arrangement might be made for the appointment of some one to that office.

The meeting then broke up with the usual vote of thanks to the chairman.—*Bengal Hurkaru.*

At a meeting of the Members of the Chamber of Commerce held on the 16th April at the Exchange Rooms, for the purpose of electing their Committee and Secretary,—William Bruce, Esq. in the chair,—the following resolutions were adopted:—

1st—On the proposition of Mr. Harding, seconded by Mr. McLean—

That Messrs. J. N. Lyall and A. Beattie be scrutineers.

2d.—On the motion of Mr. Harding, seconded by Mr. Willis,—That in cases of divided votes for different members of the same firm, the aggregate numbers of votes for all members of such firm be reckoned for such member of that firm who may have a greater number of votes than his partners.

The following gentlemen were elected Members of the General Committee of twenty-one:—

R. H. Cockerell, Esq. *President*; B. Harding, Esq. *Vice President*; R. J. Bagshaw, Esq.; Alexander Fraser, Esq.; William Carr, Esq.; William Colville, Esq.; J. Cowie, Esq.; G. C. Arbuthnot, Esq.; J. Dougal, Esq.; William Mackenzie, Esq. James Kyd, Esq.; D. Mackintyre, Esq.; J. N. Lyall, Esq. M. Montefiore Joseph, Esq.; A. Muller, Esq.; Rustomjee Cowasjee Sett.; Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore; A. Beattie, Esq.; Joseph Willis, Esq.; J. Maclean, Esq.; J. Stewart, Esq.

William Limond, Esq. was unanimously appointed Secretary to the Institution.

3d. Proposed by Mr. Carr, and seconded by Mr. Cockerell,—That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Provisional Committee for their services, and that they be relieved from their duties, and the papers delivered over to the General Committee now elected.

While the scrutineers were taking the votes, some conversation arose on the subject of the rate fixed for the monthly subscription. As the number of members on the list already amounted to eighty, it was the opinion of several gentlemen that so large a subscription as twelve rupees per month would not be necessary. A paper was therefore put in with ten signatures to it, expressing that opinion, and recommending to the consideration of the Committee, that the rate should be reduced to eight rupees as soon as the finances of the institution should be deemed to afford that reduction.—*Calcutta Courier*.

## PUBLIC MEETING—RAMMOHUN ROY.

Pursuant to a requisition signed by Mr. Pattle, Mr. McFarlan, and a number of other highly respectable individuals, a public meeting was held at the Town Hall on Saturday afternoon the 5th April for the purpose of taking into consideration the most suitable manner of commemorating the public and private virtues of the late Rammohun Roy.

On the motion of Colonel BECHER, Sir JOHN GRANT was called to the chair.

The learned chairman opened the proceedings of the meeting by the following address: Gentlemen! In having consented to take this chair, in which it has been your pleasure to place me, I can assure you that I was not at all insensible of my own unfitness for the duties which belong to it. It is my misfortune that I did not know the illustrious individual, the best means of commemorating whose public and pri-



vate virtues you have met to consider. I am well aware that there are many who could fill the chair much better than I can; and I am also aware that there is nothing personally applicable to myself which can induce a wish for me to take the chair but the situation I have the honor to fill. I should therefore have declined taking it if I did not consider it the duty of every Englishman who fills a situation of any distinction in India to show in his own person the alacrity with which all Englishmen are ready to come forward on fitting occasions with the natives of India to commemorate Indian virtue and Indian talent. Virtue and talent I can assure my native friends, when possessed by Englishmen, are not more highly appreciated by Englishmen than virtue and talent when possessed by their fellow subjects of this country. I also thought that I could not better comply with the wishes of the sovereign who placed me in the situation I have the honor to fill, or of those at whose recommendation he was pleased to accept my humble services, than by uniting in the desire that all must feel to join with you in the testimony I have mentioned; and I have thought that an English Judge could not be better employed than in assisting at the celebration of the memory of such a person as that distinguished individual. What judgement can be more solemn than to determine on the merits of the dead? than to declare our opinion of a man who overcame the almost inveterate prejudices of education?—who braved the mistaken and bigotted, though sincere, opinions of his countrymen? defying slander, and encountering dangers which to most men would appear insupportable, for the love of knowledge, and for the purpose of witnessing with his own eyes the effects of civilization; for promoting the interests of his country; for seeing how a more enlarged system of knowledge can promote the happiness of a people; and for seeing how these advantages could be introduced into the country of his birth. For these purposes and with these views he disregarded all the dangers I have mentioned, and has at last done that which his friends feared would be the result, deposited his remains—not in a country of strangers, because he was there surrounded with friends and admirers—but in a country otherwise strange to him, at an almost immeasurable distance from the home of his birth. I leave it to others who are more capable to express the reasons upon which the meeting is founded. They will suggest what are the most proper means of expressing their admiration of the individual, and handing

down his name to posterity. It is my duty only to explain to you the cause of the meeting. The most suitable manner of effecting that object will rest with you. I never felt myself placed in a situation of more interest or more honor than that which I have now the pleasure,—the happiness to fill.

Mr. PATTLE said the honour has been conferred on me of proposing the first resolution. I feel quite inadequate to add any thing to the able exposition of the object of the meeting delivered by our chairman; and I hope my feelings, which I am not able to restrain, will not weaken the effect of his eloquence. We are not merely met to do honor to the memory of that great man Rammohun Roy, it is not merely for that purpose that we are come here. I say we are come to do honor to ourselves. I hope a Calcutta public will never be found who will not eagerly assemble to celebrate transcendent merit. It is on these grounds that I venture to offer my sentiments. It has been said elsewhere that Rammohun Roy was not, in the acceptation of the term as we understand it, a great man. It is true that he was not a great warrior, a great statesman, a great poet; nor was he pre-eminent in European science, but yet I venture to submit, he was a very great man. His fortitude and enlightened mind must call forth admiration in any part of the civilized world; and no one knowing his merits can refuse him this tribute of praise. From the earliest dawn of his reason—when his mind was allowed full exertion, he at once by his intellectual light discarded the prejudices of his birth, and would not allow himself to be dissuaded, either by the bigotry of the priesthood or the entreaties of his friends from seeking that information which they represented would entail on him perdition in the next world, and render him an outcast from society in this. He rejected all their terrors, all the endearing persuasions of his parents, because his enlightened mind told him he had a great purpose to perform—to remove the darkness from his benighted countrymen—to give them the light he had obtained—the moral and intellectual world he had discovered—to make them quit practices abominable to human nature and such as his enlightened mind could only look on with abhorrence and disgust. There were the purposes of his ambition—these were the purposes for which he devoted a life of toil to acquire foreign languages to enable him to be as useful as he contemplated. When he was about to return to this country to continue the labors he so long conducted, and when about to be crowned with success, it pleased

divine Providence to stop all his earthly labors. I would ask you if any can resist paying the highest tribute of praise and panegyric to merits of this transcendant nature. If it had been the good fortune of Rammohun Roy to have lived in ancient Roman or Grecian times, I say the historian, the poet, the painter, the sculptor would have vied with each other in immortalizing his name. It is for us to consider how we can best perpetuate that name. There are many here better able to give advice than I am; but I would suggest that our best guide on this occasion would be to reflect what would have been his wish if we could have consulted him. He would desire no greater honor than to contribute towards the education and civilization of his countrymen, or in other words, he would have earnestly desired that we should continue that meritorious labor which, if he had lived, would have rendered our endeavours unnecessary. Gentlemen, I will now with your permission read the resolution.

"That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the name of Rammohun Roy should be perpetuated by whatever means will best indicate the high sense entertained of him by this meeting as a philosopher and a philanthropist, and of his unceasing endeavours to improve the moral and intellectual condition of his countrymen, and to advance and promote the general good of his country."

RUSSIC LAL MULLICK said, being as I am a Hindoo, and accustomed from my earliest infancy to convey my sentiments in my native tongue, it cannot be expected that I should deliver them with the accuracy of an Englishman. Being as I am a foreigner I must throw myself on your indulgence for any imperfections in my style, because I am delivering my sentiments in a foreign tongue. Rammohun Roy was a man of an extraordinary character—his like we shall not see again. He arose up amidst all the horrors of superstition to proclaim that he was capable of doing much more than his countrymen at that time thought. It will be interesting to this meeting to know the occasion which led Rammohun Roy to reject Hindooism and to think of all those improvements which procure him so celebrated a name, the remembrance of which we are met to commemorate. I have the misfortune not to have been personally acquainted with him; but I have heard that in his family, while he was young, an ascetic went to his father's house and claimed his protection. His father complied with the ascetic's request, and maintained him in his family. Rammohun Roy was then young, and as great and as orthodox a Hindoo as ever existed. His father thinking that



the sum devoted to the support of the ascetic, might be made to yield as fair return, recommended him to his care as a pupil; and it was thus that that Rammohun Roy was induced to learn the *Vedas*. It was the perusal of the *Vedas* that first opened his mind, and induced him to reject that abominable system of superstition; and to think of the future regeneration and improvement of his country. It was this which made him proceed further till he accomplished many of those things which he had in his mind. It has been observed that Rammohun Roy had three principal objects in view, namely, the abolition of the suttee, the freedom of the press, and the education of the natives. On these I shall offer a few remarks to show that he was an ardent admirer of virtue, and consequently of happiness. No doubt most of my countrymen will object to Rammohun Roy on account of the pre-eminent part he took in the abolition of the suttee. It has been well observed that he was almost alone in the cause of humanity. It may be said that he thereby injured the religious feelings of his countrymen, and induced the Government to do that which it had no right to do,—to encroach on the religious rights of the country. Whatever may be the opinion of my countrymen on the subject, it will not, I hope, be doubted that even in this he was not only the great man he was supposed, but also a good man, the friend of humanity and of his country; the saviour of the lives of many of his species. Ill could the benevolent heart of Rammohun Roy bear to see so many thousands of his countrywomen, the better half of our species, burnt in fire; and this meeting will therefore rejoice that he not only attempted to accomplish its abolition, but actually lived to see his desire accomplished. There can be no doubt that this showed that he was a good man, susceptible of the noblest and highest feelings. He was led by benevolent feelings,—feelings which led him more and more to seek the good of his country. The second subject that engrossed him was the liberty of the press,—a subject in which all mankind should join. The liberty of the press, it has been well observed, is the palladium of the rights of mankind, it is the noblest gift that God has given us. If we have this we may expect a great many improvements which otherwise we could not obtain. Only conceive, if the liberty of the press were taken away from England what great mischief would ensue. With the greatest tyrant and the worst of ministers, give us but the liberty of the press, and we care not, for that will be the means of defending our rights.

This was a subject he had earnestly at heart, and his appeal to the king on behalf of the Indian press is well known to you all, thus assisting in the cause of virtue and happiness. It was a subject that his mind could not leave uninvestigated, and he tried all in his power to see it re-established in India. That under the liberal administration of Lord William Bentinck, it has been in some measure established is most true; but yet it is to be regretted that it is not wholly so. It would be the greatest boon that could be conferred on this country, and it is to be hoped that the benevolent individual who now holds the reins of Government will give us that in full which we now enjoy partially, so as to prevent the chance of a successor depriving us of that which he has so liberally granted. The third point which Rammohun Roy had peculiarly at heart was the education of the natives. In this his opinions were very correct and forcible. It is not known to all that Rammohun Roy tried all he could to enlighten the minds of the natives. He not only had teachers to instruct them, but he kept a school where he had Hindoo boys taught; and his works on theological subjects show that he was desirous of imparting that knowledge to others which he had found to be so beneficial to himself. Not being held in that respect that he should have been by his bigotted countrymen, he was prevented from doing all the good which he would have done. I allude to his not being allowed to join an institution in which he might have been of the greatest service to his country. If he had been admitted, his benevolent mind might have suggested many measures which might have done still more benefit to his country. His views on education were profound and just. He was an advocate for imparting the blessings of English science and literature to the natives of this country, and for this purpose, when Lord Amherst wanted to establish a Sanscrit college for the perpetuation of that jargon in our country, he entered a protest against such a measure, as not calculated to lift the character or provide for the happiness of his countrymen. In this manner did he come boldly forward; at a time when his name was not so influential as it has since been; and in this manner did he do all in his power, and enter a protest against the measure, thereby showing that he was a friend to his country, a friend to improvement and knowledge. These are the three points, three most important points, which it was Rammohun Roy's object to accomplish. The first has been accomplished, the second has been so parti-

ally, and the third has not. I hope some measures will be taken and that Rammohun's voice even from the grave, will determine the Government to do that which in former times they would not condescend to listen to. This however, was not all that Rammohun Roy did. He did more. Before his time there was scarcely such a thing as Bengallee prose writing. We owe its establishment to him, and he himself acquired in it a great degree of perfection. There is not a writer in the Bengallee language so polished as he was. It is certainly a great thing that he not only showed his countrymen how to write in prose, but acquired great degree of proficiency in it himself. But he did more. He went to England; and even in this he did a great deal of good for his countrymen. To his going there we are in a great measure indebted for the best clauses in the charter, bad and wretched as that charter is [laughter.] Though it contains but a few provisions for the comfort and happiness of the millions that are subject to its sway—for the interests of millions were sacrificed to the interests of a few tea-mongers—yet bad and wretched as it is, and it is certainly very bad, the few provisions that it contains for the good of our countrymen we owe to Rammohun Roy. I therefore say that his going there was not only going to see the beauties and grandeur of England; but it was also beneficial to this country, for he went at a time when his presence was specially needed. I have further heard it said that a great many there are of opinion that the natives of this country are constitutionally incapable of that improvement for which the nations of Europe are so famous. If it did nothing else, his going there did away with such a prejudice. He showed them that natives of this country were capable of thinking of lofty and noble subjects—of comprehending the good of their country. Think upon all this, and then say is there any one who will be bold enough to come forward and say that Rammohun Roy lived in vain? that he did no good for his country? Such a thought would be sacrilege. He did not live in vain. He did a great deal of good. It is no doubt the opinion of many that he might have gone much farther; but before we pass such a sweeping sentence it is to be remembered that he was alone in the business of reform—exerting himself without any assistance from others. Bring to mind the prejudice raging at that time—conceive the bigotry of his countrymen. At that time to have thought, far less to have acted, against the Hindoo religion would have brought



not only discomfort here, but fear of condemnation hereafter. The Hindoos could ill bear to see him oppose sentiments imbibed from their very childhood. Considering the times then in which he commenced his work of reformation, I say he deserves every credit for going so far as he did. With these observations I conclude, trusting you will excuse the imperfections of speech I have betrayed in addressing this meeting. I should not have attempted to do so had it not been to comply with the wishes of some respectable friends; and had I not felt it a duty I owed to myself, to Rammohun Roy, and to my country. [Much applause.]

The motion was then put from the chair and carried unanimously.

Mr. PARKER said that he had been requested to move a resolution, which he could have wished had been in better hands; but he was happy to do any thing which would combine his name with the proceedings of the meeting. He had not had the honor of knowing Rammohun Roy to any very great extent, but he had learnt sufficient of his public and private career to enable him to honor and esteem his character. After the very eloquent addresses that had been made it would be unnecessary for him to take up the time of the meeting: and he would therefore content himself with reading the resolution, first observing that whatever tribute they bestowed on the memory of so distinguished an individual, it would not be more than his public and private virtues richly merited.

“That a subscription be opened to forward the object of this meeting in such manner as may be determined by a majority of subscribers, they to vote by proxy or otherwise after six weeks’ notice which shall specify the plan or plans proposed.”

Mr. TURTON said, —I have been requested to second this resolution, and if I thought an intimate personal acquaintance with the deceased was necessary towards doing so, I should not have offered myself on this occasion. If I thought it necessary to say any thing in his praise, I should shrink from the task, for I am certain that I could say nothing that could elevate him in the opinion of those whom I address. I had not the honor of an intimate personal acquaintance with the distinguished individual whose memory we are met to commemorate; but thus much I may say, that I had the pleasure, the satisfaction of seeing a man, in spite of innumerable difficulties, and without any natural advantages, neglecting and despising all personal interests for the exalted and patriotic purpose of

promoting the interests of his countrymen at large. A very short time after my arrival in this country an act was passed by the Government which met with the general reprobation of those who were governed ; but no one came forward with the manliness and boldness that Rammohun Roy did to express his sentiments on the odious measure. A man born and bred in Britain could not have come forward more completely heart and soul in support of that which was the cause of his country, than Rammohun Roy did in 1823. I then made his acquaintance in the first instance, and was surprised, delighted, to see an inordinate love of liberty in a man reared and bred in the spirit of dependance, if dependance could exist in such a mind ; and it is therefore that I have come forward to assist with my endeavours, humble though they be, the objects of this meeting. If any thing that I could say could lead any of his countrymen to follow so bright an example, I should deem this the happiest and proudest moment of my life. I sincerely hope he will be to them a guiding star of emulation and I hope they will be convinced by his career that it requires no fortuitous circumstances of rank or fortune to make a man useful to his country. The promotion of the interests and happiness of his countrymen were the objects that he always kept steadily in view ; and from which he would not be turned aside, either by flattery or bullying. I beg my native friends to recollect what he did, and the means by which he did it. By his own good sense and strength of mind he overcame the prejudices in which he had been reared made himself what he was. It has been said that we owe something to Rammohun Roy in the charter that has been recently passed by parliament. I wish we could trace more of his philanthropic and liberal views in that charter ; and I quite agree with my native friend who addressed you on that subject that, if he had lived longer, we might have profited more by his exertions. If however the people of India desire to accomplish any thing towards their own benefit, they must express their wishes, as Rammohun Roy did. The limited extent of benefit conferred on the country by the new charter may in a great measure be attributed to the little knowledge of the wants of the country possessed by the ministry ; and if the people will not bestir themselves for their own benefit, it is needless to expect others to do it for them ; they must befriend themselves if they wish others to befriend them. On that account I look on the death of Rammohun Roy as a great loss to his countrymen. He

was a mouthpiece to them to promote their interests. I am no admirer of what the ministry have done for us, but I attribute it to their want of knowledge of the country that they have done no more; and it is to that want of knowledge alone that I attribute their leaving that power in the hands of a Governor General that should be alone vested in the Parliament of England. However, since there is to be a Legislative Council, I hope the natives of this country will not hesitate, when measures are likely to be adopted that may be disadvantageous to them, boldly to come forward and protest against them, as their patriotic countryman Rammohun Roy did against the odious press regulation. They should not keep their complaints to themselves, for even in this much abused charter (the deficiencies of which is attributable to the ministry's ignorance of the wants of the people of India) a desire may be traced to improve their condition and promote their happiness. They who wish to benefit their country must not wait to see who will support them in their endeavours; but boldly come forward as Rammohun Roy did, and set an example, rather than wait to follow on. It is in that point of view that I admire Rammohun Roy. It has been said that he was no great statesman, that he was no great politician, that he was no great poet; but I say that he was greater than all these, for he was a philanthropist of the noblest nature, a man who braved difficulties innumerable, and who would not have hesitated to brave as many more, to advocate the interests and promote the happiness of his countrymen. To found a code of laws is no proof of greatness; it has been done by many; but to get rid of one which has been fixed for ages in the minds of the people by bigotry and superstition, belong to him alone. His ambition was to be, not a great man, but a just, an useful, and a humane man. The great character of Rammohun Roy was his utility. There was no single individual who appropriated so much of his time and his talents towards promoting the benefit of those around him; and if that is not a sufficient reason for all to come forward, both European and Native, to show that they are not indifferent to worth and utility, I know of no other reason for which a public meeting should assemble. He deserves still more admiration for the modesty and retirement of his manners. Only mark his course, devoid of all ostentation or exhibition. Did you ever hear any thing of him, except as stage by stage he forwarded plans for the good of mankind. Look at his long voyage,



which with nine-tenths of the Hindoos was considered a greater wonder, even than his rejection of Hindonism; and are we to be told that he is not a man who deserves commemoration? If he is not, then I really do not know who is; and if we do not unite together heart and hand to express our admiration of such patriotic and noble conduct, it will reflect but little credit on the patriotism or gratitude of the people of India. I apologize for having said so much, and for having said it in a manner so unworthy of the subject [cries of no! no! hear! hear!] you all know the claims the deceased has on your gratitude, and when you come forward to honor him and commemorate his memory, you will thereby confer honor on yourselves. I have much pleasure in seconding the motion, gentlemen, and have no doubt that it will be carried as unanimously as the last.

The resolution was then put from the chair and carried unanimously.

Mr. JAMES SUTHERLAND said,—A resolution of a very simple nature has been entrusted to me, which, after the very eloquent addresses that have been made, requires nothing from me in support of it; but peculiar circumstances placed me in situations in which I had the best opportunities of forming an estimate of the character of the individual we have this day met to commemorate; and I could ill reconcile it to my feelings to propose a resolution, however trivial, without making some attempt, however faint it may be, to record my sentiments on this occasion. It was my good fortune, I may say honor, to go to England in the same vessel with that distinguished individual, and there are few stations in life in which men have better opportunities of estimating each others characters than during the close contact of a long voyage of five months; and during that period I may safely say that I never heard from Rammohun Roy a sentiment that did not do honor to his feelings as a man—that did not do honor to human nature. He always expressed a fervent desire to benefit his country; and he was at all times ready to make any sacrifice of comfort or convenience to aid that patriotic and philanthropic purpose. He only looked forward to the benefits that India might derive from his voyage, and whenever any delays occurred his mind seemed only to rest on the ill consequences that might be entailed by them on the success of his great object. So much has been said, and so eloquently said on his merits, and I feel so deeply on the occasion, that it is too

painful for me to dwell on his virtues, public and private. I feel that I should ill acquit myself on such a subject, and will therefore pass over it without trespassing on your patience; but I cannot sit down without saying a few words to my native friends. I fully concur in all that has fallen from Mr. Turton; but there is one topic on which he has not touched, and which, for the sake of cordiality and unanimity, I would press upon their attention. There are many of them no doubt around me who entertain different sentiments, on some subjects, from our departed friend, and to those I would say, whatever you may think, whatever may be your particular opinions on those disputed points, nevertheless here is a case in which you may without any sacrifice of duty or principle unite with us in a tribute to his memory. It has been admitted—but he be right or wrong in his religious opinions,—that he has placed you (the natives) in a more elevated political position than without his exertions you were likely to have been placed in, at least for many years to come. The advantages he has secured to you are not limited to any particular creed, but are applicable to all, and claim equally from all a tribute of approbation. On these grounds I trust that you will not only unite in holding up your hands in favor of the resolution, but that you will all be equally ready in furnishing the means to render it effective. There is another point on which I must touch, which is perhaps not quite so well adapted to insure conciliation as the last. There has been an attack of a most atrocious character made on your countryman. Now it so happened that years ago, when the circumstance to which it alludes took place, I read the whole of the proceedings; and I have also, since the publication of the attack, seen a civil servant who is acquainted with all the particulars. I am authorized by that gentleman, who is now here, to say that the accused is entirely innocent of the conduct imputed to him; and I further say, when I look at the respectable character of this meeting, and when I observe the distinguished individual who so ably fills the chair, that those circumstances alone would be a full answer to such a calumny cast upon the memory of the distinguished dead. It is unnecessary for me to say more in a case in which we are called on to take the opinion of a single individual against the decision of a solemn tribunal; and indeed if I were to dwell on the subject, my feelings might lead me to utter that which it would be as well for the sake of peace and harmony to avoid. I will therefore abstain from saying

any more on that head; but I will state that, from the moment when Rammohun Roy stood forward as the advocate of the liberty of the press,—as the champion of the oppressed and the injured, I have watched his career up to the time of his going to England and after his arrival in that country; and I know and can safely affirm, that his whole soul was absorbed in the one single desire to benefit his countrymen. He therefore deserves much at the hands of you all; and I trust that, whatever may be your religious or political opinions, you will unite in commemorating this most enlightened philosopher and philanthropist. Mr. Sutherland then read the following resolution, which was seconded by Dr. Bramley and carried unanimously.

“That the following gentlemen shall constitute a Committee to collect Subscriptions and to call a Meeting of the Subscribers as soon as sufficient time shall have elapsed for the receipt of contributions from all parts of India.”

*Sir John Peter Grant.*

*John Palmer, Esq.*

*James Pattle, Esq.*

*T. Plowden, Esq.*

*H. M. Parker, Esq.*

*D. McFarlan, Esq.*

*Thomas E. M. Turton, Esq.*

*Longueville Clarke, Esq.*

*Colonel Young.*

*G. J. Gordon, Esq.*

*A. Rogers, Esq.*

*James Kyd, Esq.*

*W. H. Smult, Esq.*

*David Hare, Esq.*

*Colonel Becher.*

*Dwarkanauth Tagore.*

The following names were added on the proposition of Mr. Turton, by consent of the Meeting:—

*Rustomjee Cowasjee.*

*Russick Lal Mullick.*

*Moothernauth Mullick.*

*Bissonant Mootee Lal.*

*James Sutherland, Esq.*

Mr. TURTON then said to the chairman,—I have had imposed on me, I will not say the task, but the pleasure of conveying to you the thanks of many of my native friends and of all those here this day, for your kindness in taking the chair. It was their object to have in the chair a person who by his station would add weight and consideration to the proceedings of the meeting of this day, and I know of no one, Sir, so well qualified for the office as yourself. Connected as you have been with the natives of India, and standing as you do high in the opinion of all, it was their wish that, though unknown to the individual whose memory they met to commemorate, you should preside over the meeting. In these



sentiments I beg to participate most cordially, and to thank you in the name of the meeting for your able and impartial conduct in the chair.

Sir JOHN GRANT said in reply,—<sup>o</sup>It is extremely gratifying to me to receive the thanks of my native friends, and I should think that I had very ill discharged my duty if I did not take every occasion consistent with duties of a more important nature of attending on all occasions in order to forward the wishes of the native community, and doing all I could towards the promotion of that intelligent independence which I hope always to see exercised by them.—*Bengal Hurkaru.*

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## PUBLIC MEETING—LAUDABLE SOCIETIES.

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Tuesday being the day appointed for the adjourned meeting of the Laudable Societies, a number of the subscribers assembled between three and four o'clock at the Exchange Rooms; but as it was expected that conciliation would be the order of the day, the meeting presented nothing like so formidable an appearance as on the last occasion, when the different parties were at open hostilities.

Mr. Reid, the Chairman of the former meeting, having been called upon to preside, Mr. Turton stated that it had been thought desirable to place before them the present state of the funds of the societies, in consequence of which the Secretary had drawn up, about a week ago, a report to be submitted to them. It was not necessary for him to say much on the occasion, except that he was happy to state that he believed that a spirit of conciliation had been shown by those who had been for some time opposed to the late proceedings, which spirit he hoped and believed was reciprocal. Whatever differences there had been in the societies, he sincerely hoped that they now no longer existed. Mr. Cullen, he was sorry to say, was prevented from attending by indisposition; but with their permission he would supply his place by reading the

### REPORT.

With reference to the discussions which have taken place, the Directors think it desirable to lay before the shareholders the following brief Report on the state of the Societies:—

## SEVENTH LAUDABLE SOCIETY.

According to the statement made up to the 31st of December last, and submitted to the half-yearly meeting, the funds in cash and Company's

paper amounted to Sa. Rs. 2,53,960 0 4

Interest due in Government securities including premi-

ums, &c..... 8,009 5 4

Estimated value of the securities assigned by Messrs.

Alexander and Co..... 2,67,828 6 9

5,29,792 12 5

Add—Amount of Subscriptions realized since 1st January last,.....

2,01,787 0 0

Amount recovered on securities assigned by Messrs.

Alexander and Co. since

ditto,..... 3,321 6 8

2,05,108 6 8

Less—Regulated

advance on  $3\frac{1}{2}$

shares on laps-

ed lives paid

since 1st Janu-

ary last,..... 14,000 0 0

Law charges, ad-

vertisements,

printing charg-

es, commission,

&c..... 1,706 2 2

15,706 2 2

Sa. Rs. 1,89,402 4 6

Invested as follows:—

In Government securities,.. 1,86,265 0 0

In Cash in the Union Bank, 3,137 4 6

1,89,402 4 6

Total amount of funds.... Sa Rs 7,19,195 0 11  
which divided among  $212\frac{1}{2}$  shares on lapsed lives, gives Sa. Rs.  
3,374 per share above the regulated advance.

But it must be observed that this amount is partly, and to a considerable extent, dependent on the correctness of the estimate of the value of the securities assigned by Messrs. Alexander Co.

### THIRTEENTH SUPPLEMENTARY LAUDABLE SOCIETY.

Total amount of funds as per Statement made up to 31st December last, and submitted to the half-yearly meeting,.....Sa. Rs. 2,12,451 7 6

Add—Amount of subscriptions realized since 1st January last,.....Sa. Rs. 1,87,942 0 0

Less—Regulated advance on  $9\frac{1}{2}$  shares on lapsed lives paid since 1st January last,.....38,000 0 0

Printing charges, advertisements, commission, refund of subscription, &c.. 2,639 0 0

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40,639 0 0

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Sa. Rs. 97,303 0 0

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Invested as follows:—

In Government securities .. 96,660 0 0

In cash in the Union Bank.. 643 0 0

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97,303 0 0

Total amount of funds....Sa. Rs. 3,09,754 7 5  
which divided among 133 shares on lapsed lives, gives Sa. Rs. 2,244 per share, above the regulated advance.

The Directors have great pleasure in informing the meeting that the recent discussions have not occasioned withdrawals of subscriptions to any considerable extent—nearly the whole of the former subscriptions have been paid up, but under the circumstances the Directors have not thought fit to insist on any forfeitures for non-payment prior to the 1st of April. For this they hope to receive the sanction of the meeting.

The realizations on the securities obtained from Messrs. Alexander and Co. on account of the Seventh Laudable So-



ciety during the past three months have been very inconsiderable,—only two of the debtors having made payments, while others with whom arrangements had been entered into, or were in progress, have declined fulfilling them, in consequence of having received notice from the Attorney of the old Directors not to pay except to Mr. Wright. With one of these, however, they believe arrangements will be made under which his payments will immediately be resumed. Both Societies are sustaining considerable loss in interest in consequence of the inability of the Treasurers to recover such as is overdue on the Company's paper standing in the names of the former Directors, who, in conformity to the resolution passed on the 18th of February last, have been called upon by the Secretary to endorse the papers to the present Directors—Mr. T. Plowden and Mr. W. F. Fergusson, retired Directors, have met the wishes of the shareholders, but Mr. A. Colvin who was elected a Director in January 1833, and resigned in May following,—as also Mr. T. Dickens and Captain Gavin Young have for the present refused to do so. But the funds of the Societies at the disposal of the Directors have been amply sufficient to meet all just claims upon them.

The Directors, however, are not without hopes of being able to come to a satisfactory arrangement with some of the debtors alluded to, without the necessity of having recourse to legal measures, and trust that the proceedings at the present meeting, will bring about a settlement of all existing differences.

The directors are anxious to do all in their power to put an end to contention, and to avoid all contest as to their authority, they beg to place their resignation in the hands of the present meeting, the competency and legality of which, called as it has been by assent of all parties, it is to be presumed will not hereafter be questioned. In case this expectation should unfortunately not be realized, it would be expedient that the meeting should provide for the emergency, and authorise the new Directors to take such steps as circumstances may render necessary, whether as to the debtors to the Societies, or as to the endorsement of the Government securities.

The Directors have only further to state that the Secretary has tendered his resignation in a letter under date the 8th instant, a copy of which is annexed, and which the Directors, under the circumstances in which the societies are placed, have thought it right to accept, requesting Mr. Cullen however to continue his services to the Societies till the date of this meet-

ing, when the election of a Secretary would be submitted to the members at large.

They cannot close their Report without expressing their strong sense of the services of Mr. Cullen during the period in which they have been entrusted with the direction of the affairs of the Societies, and they do not hesitate to say that in their opinion the retirement of Mr. Cullen, he being also a trustee for the securities assigned by Messrs. Alexander and Co., would be a loss to the Societies, and one severely felt by any member of the present direction who may be continued in office.

(COPY.)                      Calcutta 8th April, 1834.

TO R. H. COCKERELL, T. E. M. TURTON, W. BRUCE,  
AND B. HARDING, ESQRS. CAPTAIN J. W. J. OUSELEY  
AND BABOO DWARKANATH TAGORE, *Directors of the  
Laudable Societies.*

Dear Sirs,—I am afraid we are no nearer a settlement with the old directors of these Societies than we were two months ago, and unless something is done on our parts, however unmerited on theirs, the meeting on the 15th will most probably do no more than its predecessor has done towards putting an end to the degree of doubt and uncertainty as to the Societies' interests existing for the last three months, and that indefatigable opposition to all our proceedings, to support and prolong which I believe you have been satisfied, no possible available means, be their nature what they may, have been spared.

I have reason to fear too, that any thing short of my "*abdication*" will effect little towards a perfect and amicable settlement; and accordingly their wish to express my desire to resign the Secretaryship of the Societies into the hands of the shareholders, as soon as arrangements can be conveniently made for relieving me of the charge.

Until then every attention will continue to be given to the interests of the Societies on my part, as heretofore, and I hope you will understand that this communication arises solely from a desire to see the Laudables flourishing, and from no diminished sense on my part of the importance of the trust, or the kindness that gave it into my hands, rendered invaluable to me from the particular time and spirit in which the act was done.

I am, dear sirs, your obliged and faithful servant,

(Signed)                      J. CULLEN.

During the reading of the above report there were some slight objections made by Mr. Dickens, but they were satisfactorily explained by Mr. Turton.

It was then proposed by Captain Forbes, seconded by Mr. Plowden, and carried unanimously :—

“ That the Report now read be approved and confirmed, and that the resignation of the Directors and Secretary be received.”

The following letter from the old Directors was then read by the Chairman :—

Calcutta, April 15, 1834.

*To the Chairman of the Meeting of Shareholders of the Laudable Societies.*

Sir,—We request you will do us the favor to read to the Meeting the subjoined letter as soon as you conveniently can after taking the chair.

We have the honor to be,

G. YOUNG.

T. DICKENS.

J. PATTLE.

JOHN COWIE.

*To the Shareholders of the 7th Laudable Society and of the 13th Supplementary Society.*

Gentlemen,—We the undersigned Directors of the Laudable Societies desirous to prevent, if possible, further contest and to leave the shareholders perfectly free to act according to their will in the future management of their affairs, tender our resignations of the office of Directors.

Mr. Wright the Secretary appointed by us resigns his office for the same reasons.

We do not doubt that the shareholders at large will perceive it to be convenient, and most plainly just both to us and to such shareholders as have acknowledged us to be Directors, and have paid premiums on policies through Mr. Wright to recognize the acts done by us, or on our behalf in the conduct of the business of these Societies from the 11th January last to the present day.

As the situation of Director cannot, however be resigned in such a manner as to exempt those who have once acted as such from legal responsibility, except by the express consent of every shareholder, we shall be under the necessity of requiring from the new Directors who may be appointed by the present Meeting an engagement to indemnify us from legal consequences should our right to resign be hereafter disputed.



These reasonable condition being assented to by the Meeting (which the undersigned cannot doubt) Captain Young and Mr. Dickens will immediately endorse over to the new Directors, who may be appointed, all the Government securities now standing in their names, and the undersigned will withdraw the notices which have been given to the debtors of the Societies not to pay to any other persons than the undersigned, and the affairs of the Societies can proceed without further difficulty.

We have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your very obedient servants,

G. YOUNG.

T. DICKENS.

J. PATTLE.

JOHN COWIE, *Directors*  
of the 7th Laudable and 13th Supplementary  
Laudable Societies.

It was then proposed by Mr. E. Macnaghten, seconded by Captain Forbes, and carried unanimously,—

“ That the resignations conveyed in the enclosed paper, be accepted.”

Mr. Greenlaw said, that the resolution that he intended to propose required but little comment. They had adopted the report of their directors and thereby acknowledged their services. Though they had all resigned to promote cordiality, he had no doubt that they would cheerfully devote their talents again to the benefit of the societies if re-elected. He would therefore propose without further preface,—

“ That Messrs. Cockerell, Turton, Bruce, Harding, Capt. Ouseley, and Bahoo Dwarkanath Tagore, be elected Directors of the two Societies until the half yearly meeting in January next.”

After some discussion of no great importance the next half yearly meeting in July was substituted for January, in which amended form the resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously. In the course of the discussion, which was extremely desultory, Mr. Pattle drew attention to an observation used in one of Mr. Turton's communications or publications, that the societies had been placed in jeopardy, trusting that he did not mean thereby to infer that they had been in jeopardy by the directors. Mr. Turton stated that he alluded to the dissensions which were then going on, which were calculated to place any institution in jeopardy, which explanation perfectly satisfied Mr. Pattle.

Mr. Clarke said that he had to propose a resolution without which the exertions of their directors would be crippled. The resolution was as follows :—

That the Directors be authorized by the present meeting to take such steps with reference to the securities assigned by Messrs. Alexander and Co., and any compromises thereon, as they may think fit and circumstances require."

It must be evident to them that compromises might be extremely beneficial to the society; but these they could not effect without the sanction of the subscribers; and it would be useless to summon a meeting for that express purpose when the matter might be settled at once. If they had sufficient confidence in their directors to elect them, they ought also to have sufficient confidence in them to entrust them with the powers proposed in his resolution.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Adam Smith, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Adam Smith then proposed the appointment of Mr. Cullen to the Secretaryship of the societies,—when Mr. Clarke called for a ballot. He distinctly avowed his intention of voting for Mr. Cullen himself; but thought it would be more regular and more satisfactory to all parties to have a ballot. Several gentlemen thought it unnecessary to proceed to a ballot when there was no objection by any to the candidate proposed; but Mr. Turton coincided in the opinion of his learned friend; and observed in addition, that if it were necessary to ballot for a Secretary, it was equally necessary to ballot for Directors. The question was finally disposed by a show of hands (which proved unanimously in favor of Mr. Cullen), with an understanding that a ballot should take place for both Directors and Secretary, as soon as the rest of the business of the meeting should be disposed of.

Mr. Turton then read the following report of the Committee appointed on the 18th of February last to enquire into the best mode of consolidating the two Societies :—

*Report of the Committee appointed at the Meeting of the Members of the Laudable Societies held on the 18th of February 1834, to inquire into the expediency and the best mode of uniting the two Societies.*

We find that in the 7th Laudable Society the number of lives at present insured is only 320 and in the Supplementary Society 240, of which latter eighty are also insured in the 7th Laudable. In the two Societies therefore there are only 480

lives insured in all, and on these the risks amount to 1,755 shares, viz. in the 7th Laudable 1,054 in the supplementary 701.

The most numerous of these two Societies consists of by far too few members to afford a probability of an equal annual mortality; and even after the blending of them together, the numbers of both united will still be much smaller than could be desired.

We are therefore of opinion not only that the Societies ought to be united, but to make up for deficiency in their aggregate number of members that the term of their duration should be extended, and judging from past experience, we infer, that 7 years will not be found more than sufficient to supply the want of numbers so as to equalise the rates of dividends on lapsed shares. On the same grounds, but looking too in some degree to the probability of a deterioration in the average description of risks insured, we would recommend that the maximum of dividend shall, on the renewal of Societies, be taken at Rs. 6,000 per share, but instead of the existing rule of the Supplementary Society which provides that the surplus funds of one Society shall be carried to the next Society in succession, we recommend that such surplus shall be divided amongst the surviving members of the Society rateably, according to the amount of premium they have paid.

The advantages we expect to flow from the adoption of these measures are, first, the high degree of probability, amounting almost to moral certainty, that the funds of the Society will on an average of 7 years, be fully adequate to the payment of dividends to the extent above limited—whilst,

Secondly, by the return of any eventual surplus to the survivors, they will be as far as possible indemnified for any over-payment of premium which the result may prove to have been in so far disproportioned to the risk insured. The great certainty of the ultimate dividend too will afford a facility not hitherto possessed by the holders of lapsed certificates to discount the balance after receipt of the first dividend.

As to the terms on which the two Societies may be united, we must advert to the facts; that the 7th Laudable Society, which expires at the end of the current year, must pay over to the new or eighth Society ten per cent. of the sum that it may then have in hand. It seems but fair that the members of the Supplementary Society should on their amalgamation contribute a similar amount. It is impossible at present to



state with any accuracy what this might require per share, but assuming as probable that one thousand shares insured in the 7th Laudable will carry with them Rs. 50,000 to the eighth, the 700 shares held in the Supplementary Society ought to pay 50 Rs. per share to make up a corresponding contribution to the united funds.

We would further beg to suggest, that the following provisions shall be adopted for the new Society.

As we have already proposed that the whole of the surplus funds shall at the end of seven years be distributed rateably amongst the surviving members, there will be no per centage made over to the 9th Society commencing 1st January 1842.

The affairs of the 8th United Society shall be conducted by nine Directors and a Secretary.

Of the Directors there shall be chosen

- 1 from the Civil Service.
- 1 from the Military Service.
- 1 from the Legal Profession.
- 1 from the Merchants.
- 1 from the Tradesmen.
- 1 from the Natives.

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6

the remaining three may be of any class. In case no suitable person of any particular class will accept the Direction, his place may be supplied from any other class indiscriminately.

The Directors shall go out annually, but any of them may be re-elected.

They shall be chosen by a majority of those present at the regular annual meeting convened for the purpose, provided two-fifths of the shareholders be represented at the meeting; if not, another special meeting shall be called for the purpose at 14 days' notice—the decision of which second meeting shall be final.

No person shall be considered qualified for the Direction, who does not hold at least one share in the Society—unless a majority of the whole shareholders shall specially vote for his election, notwithstanding his holding less than one share.

The Secretary shall in like manner be elected by a majority of votes, but in case 2-5ths of the shareholders shall not be present or represented at the meeting, another shall be called by the Directors, with 14 days' notice, the decision of which shall be final.

The Secretary shall continue to hold his office during the pleasure of the Society.

A majority of the votes at any meeting at which 2-3ds of the Society shall be represented shall be conclusive upon all subjects brought before it; and the votes of a majority at a meeting so constituted, shall be requisite for the removal of a Director or Secretary from office.

Any three of the Directors or any ten members having individually an interest in the Society to the extent of one share each, may call an extraordinary meeting of the Society at any time by public advertisement with seven days' notice; but no resolution passed at such shall be conclusive until confirmed by another meeting called for that purpose, unless the purport of it shall have been specified in the advertisement convening the meeting.

All shareholders to be entitled to vote either in person or by proxy signified in writing.

The printed regulations to remain in other respect in force except in so far as they have been altered by the resolutions of the late meetings of the Laudable Societies.

Should these suggestions be adopted by these meeting, we would recommend that the Directors be empowered to fill up the details of the plan and to make all the subsidiary arrangements necessary for carrying it into effect.

G. J. GORDON.

JOHN LOWE.

W. N. FORBES.

C. B. GREENLAW.

THOS. E. M. TURTON.

JOSEPH WILLIS.

Mr. Turton then proposed the two following resolutions, which were duly seconded, and carried unanimously:—

“That the Report of the Committee be referred to the Directors now elected for correction and completion in conjunction with the Directors, and that the further consideration of it be postponed till the next half yearly meeting.”

“That the recommendation contained in the Report of the Committee, as to the holding of meetings, the appointment and election of Directors and of Secretary, be adopted as the regulations of these Societies for the residue of their respective terms, and that the Directors be requested to draw up rules in conformity therewith.”

The meeting then broke up with the usual vote of thanks to the chairman.—*Bengal Hurkaru.*

## BENGAL PROVIDENT SOCIETY.

A general meeting of members of the above Society was held at the office of the assignee of the late firm of Cruttenden, Mackillop and Co. Secretaries and Treasurers, on Saturday, the 19th April, for the inspection of accounts, the election of office-bearers, and the consideration of the interests of the society, as affected by the failure of Messrs. Cruttenden and Co.

Mr. Leighton opened the business of the meeting by stating that he attended there as the representative of a considerable number of absent subscribers, and being entitled, in that character, to take a part in the proceedings of the day, he would beg leave to move that Mr. Bruce be requested to take the chair.

The motion having been seconded by Mr. Palmer and carried, the Chairman briefly stated the objects of the meeting, and called upon Mr. Macintyre to produce the accounts.

Mr. Macintyre stated that, on the failure of Messrs. Cruttenden and Co. he had committed the management of the affairs of the society to Mr. Leighton, and being consequently unprepared to afford the information that might be required by the meeting, he had deputed that gentleman to act on his behalf.

The Chairman then called on Mr. Leighton to produce the accounts.

Mr. Leighton informed the meeting that the accounts would be found copied in the books lying upon the table, but apprehending that it would be tedious and inconvenient to the gentlemen present to proceed at once to their investigation in detail, he would move—

“ That the accounts of the several classes of the Bengal Provident Society, as rendered by Mr. Macintyre, assignee of the estate of Messrs. Cruttenden, Mackillop and Co. be submitted to the following subscribers, now present, and that they be requested to examine and report on them, at their earliest convenience, through the medium of the public papers:—

*Mr. Bruce, Mr. Cowie, and Mr. Palmer.”*

Mr. Dickens seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Bruce moved that Mr. Dickens be requested to become a member of the committee just appointed which was seconded by Mr. Cowie and carried.

Mr. Leighton produced the Company's paper and mortgage securities and proposed the following resolution, which



was supported by Mr. Macnaghten, and adopted by the meeting:—

“ That the committee of gentlemen, who have consented to report on the accounts, be requested to examine the Company's paper and title deeds of the landed property mortgaged to the society, reporting at their earliest convenience whether the former stands in the names of the Directors, and whether the latter are in any way defective;—and, further, to obtain from a competent professional person an estimate of the present market value of the houses so mortgaged.”

Moved by Mr. Leighton, seconded by Mr. Macintyre, and carried unanimously:—

“ That the proprietors of the Union Bank be requested to act as the Treasurers of the society, and that the Company's paper be forthwith deposited in their hands.”

Moved by Mr. Leighton and seconded by Mr. Cowie:—

“ That all advertised dividends, remaining unclaimed after the limit of time prescribed by the fundamental rules of the society, be declared forfeited.

Mr. Palmer opposed the motion on the ground of its illiberality and the probable hardship of its operation in many instances, and he adduced a strong case in point where the claimants were orphans residing at the Mauritius, who could hardly be supposed to have access to the *London or Indian Gazette*, announcing the payment of a dividend.

Mr. Leighton explained that his motion was founded on one of the original regulations of the institution, which were declared to be *immutable*.

Mr. Dickens suggested, by way of amendment, that the motion should be modified in the following manner, in which form it was put to the meeting and adopted:

“ That the committee be requested to report whether it would not be proper that all advertised dividends, remaining unclaimed after the limit of time prescribed by the fundamental rules of the society, should be now declared forfeited.”

Moved by Mr. Palmer, seconded by Mr. Macnaghten, and carried unanimously:—“ That in conformity with the recommendation of the Directors, Mr. Leighton be elected Secretary to the society, and that he be remunerated for his services by a commission of one per cent on receipts, and one per cent on payments, all incidental charges being, as heretofore, borne by the respective classes in the ratio of their interests.”

Mr. Leighton begged to offer the meeting the expression of his thanks for their ready attention to the recommendation of the Directors.

Mr. Dickens enquired of Mr. Palmer whether it was the intention of the Directors to tender their resignation to the subscribers.

Mr. Palmer replied that, so far as he was individually concerned, it was not his intention voluntarily to relinquish the administration of the affairs of the society, especially at a moment when they appeared to require the exercise of peculiar vigilance and attention on the part of the existing management.

The meeting then separated, after a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

There was a good deal of desultory conversation on points affecting the interests of the society, but our limits only admit of our furnishing a report of the more important proceedings of the day. We understood it to be stated that the committee would incorporate in their projected report such observations, as might occur to them, in respect to the distribution of funds immediately available for the payment of dividends.  
—*Englishman*.

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## SLAVERY AT SYLHET AND ASHAM.

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(*From a Correspondent of the Englishman.*)

There is a difference in the state of slavery as it exists in Asham, and as it exists at Sylhet. The slave in Asham performs service on account of having received the price of his servitude;—the slave in Sylhet is forced into servitude by another who receives the price of his servitude. In the latter case it is the worst species of robbery; in the former it is the result of poverty or vice. The slave is robbed of freedom, the debtor-slave foregoes it, because he cannot help it. The antiquity of the practice of tolerating either description of servitude, does not alter the fact that, in the former case it is robbery, and in the latter case inability to pay a debt, or some circumstances which forces a man to give up his liberty.

That the debtor-slave voluntarily resigns his freedom, no one will maintain in opposition to universal experience. Imprisonment for crime or debt has always been, and always will be, regarded as extremely repugnant to natural feeling; hence on the one hand it is deemed punishment sufficient to deter from the commission of crimes; and on the other as sufficient

to compel payment of debts due from one individual to another. Whether, therefore, a man is found in the condition of a slave, or that of a debtor-slave, it is perfectly opposed to nature and reason, that in either of those states he should be pleased with his lot, or in other words could have voluntarily consented to be deprived of liberty during the remainder of his life.

Because the custom of purchasing slaves, and reducing debtors to slavery is agreeable to the Hindoo and Mahomedan laws, is still in force and pledged to be respected by the British Government, some have doubted the propriety of attempting to abolish slavery at Asham and Sylhet, unless compensation could be made to the holder of slaves. The amount of compensation, it is calculated, would be thirty or forty lacs of Rupees.

We shudder to make a calculation of the slaves as valued by Mr. Scott in the aggregate ; for taking a slave at Asham and Sylhet to be worth 50 Rupees, we have 80,000 as the number of slaves in those countries. What must be the sum total of all the districts in the British territories ! Taking this additional number into account, will our projectors continue to maintain the propriety of the measure suggested by them ? But be the number of slaves what it may, there is no avoiding their freedom, for so the parliament of Great Britain has enacted.

A most extraordinary reason has been given for continuing the practice of slavery, and that is in the form of a comparison drawn between the spendthrift class in Asham and England. The spendthrifts in the latter country undergo two forms of slavery—the slave in the shape of a felon transported beyond seas, and the debtor-slave in the shape of a soldier in the army and a sailor in the navy. It is rather odd, that there should be occasion to go so far for arguments in support of slavery at Asham and Sylhet ; and my reason for thinking so is founded on the fact that the bulk of the slave population of Sylhet are not purchased, but the descendants of slaves originally purchased, and transmitted by the purchasers to their heirs from generation to generation, multiplying like common live stock. Are these to be compared with the spendthrifts of England finding their way into the ranks of a glorious army, and to the decks of our invincible navy ? or to the felons transported from England to the colonies ? The difference in the condition of the spendthrift in England, and the spendthrift in Asham may be thus stated. The spendthrift bondsmen in the British



army and navy, are bound to serve his majesty for a limited period, for which they are well fed and clothed, and have prospects of plunder and promotion ever before them, which things taken together, form a combination of comforts that are usually beyond the reach of a multitude of our fellow-subjects, who have never been spendthrifts. The Ashamese debtor-slaves are enslaved in most cases for the whole term of their lives, for debt, which is equal to perpetual slavery; they have wretched fare; the females of their families become prostitutes; their males beggars or robbers, some on the roads, others transported as felons! The soldier may purchase his discharge for a certain sum of money, which if sober, he could gather together by the sale of his allowance of a *dram*, and by carrying on sundry petty specs in the cantonments, or camp, among his comrades. What can a miserable Ashamese, toiling all day, do to collect the price of his discharge from his master, who, of course, is interested in taking care that his bondman shall not possess ought wherewith to emancipate himself? To make the comparison just, the parties should be placed on an equal scale of comforts and casualties; and were that done on the present occasion, I do not hesitate to say that I should be happy to oppose the deliverance of the Ashamese debtor-slaves from their happy lot.

Pursuing my arguments against the project of purchasing the freedom of slaves and debtor-slaves, I ask whether a regulation will be enacted to prevent the purchase of slaves, and the holding of bondsmen, in a *prospective* point of view? The answer will doubtless be in the affirmative. Then the pledge must be abandoned, and the Hindoo law sanctioning the purchase of slaves must be set aside. Nobody must have slaves of any description. The right of inheriting is founded on that of acquiring property; for if it is prohibited to acquire property, it naturally follows that there will be no property to be inherited: in other words, if you forbid a man to purchase a slave, or to acquire him in any shape, (for such the regulation must be,) the death of the purchaser ought legally to set the slave free, as the purchaser cannot dispose of his slave in any shape, nor can the heir inherit him. If the mere purchase of a slave is only to be provided against, slaves would still be acquired by other means, and the object of the regulation would be defeated. In short, the right of holding a slave, and inheriting him, must by one and the same act be annulled in spite of the pledge and the Hindoo law of inheritance. To annul

the right of a father to acquire a slave, will put it out of the power of his heir to inherit a slave. To annul the right of possessing and to annul the right of inheriting, may be regarded as one and the same thing. If then the future regulation is to effect that object, away goes the majority of slaves at once. Where then is the necessity of throwing away thirty or forty lakhs of Rupees in the purchase of the freedom of slaves, at the expense of the public?

But the proposal to purchase the liberation of the slaves would be founded on purely arbitrary principles, if it is meant that the right of refusing to sell is to be taken away. If a slaveholder refused to sell his slaves, would the government force him to do it? A plain answer in the affirmative must be given, and then it must no less unequivocally be admitted, that government have a right to force people to part with their property, or the question must be begged. It would answer no purpose to urge that Government would purchase the *right* of individuals in the persons of their slaves. Admit that a slave is to be regarded as a species of property, and you place him on a level with property of every description which the existing regulations of Government declare cannot be wrested from the possession and inheritance of individuals. Make an exception with reference to one species of property; and you make a formidable breach in the right of the subject, in property of other descriptions, which may, whenever the government chooses it, share the same fate as the other. It will not do to talk of right and justice, while at the same time we proceed to invade the rights of others by an act of arbitrary violence.

The future regulation respecting slaves, in my humble opinion, must be enacted on the principle, that whatever the Hindoo law of possessing slaves, or that of inheriting them, may be, the person of the subject is the property of the public, placed in the custody of the public functionaries, *i. e.* the Government and as such cannot become the property of private individuals; and it would be far from unjust to mulct the holders of such property in the sums which that illicit property cost them. I do not see how otherwise the right of individuals in their property acquired by money can be justly invaded. If such a right is to be admitted, I cannot perceive how, without injustice, individuals can be deprived of their slaves. I conclude that Government will proceed on the soundest principles; and none appear so just as that of allowing the public

to claim individuals as their peculiar property, which is in effect done when offenders are punished for the general weal of society.

Slaves are of two sorts; 1st, such as have been purchased for money, 2ndly, such as have been born of those slaves and become the property of the holder of the parents. If it be allowed that a slave has a right to purchase his freedom, it would be placing him on a footing with a debtor-slave, who may, whenever he has the means, procure his liberation by discharging his debt. In other words he is to be regarded as a debtor, who is engaged to pay what he owes before he can demand his release from bondage. If a slave may legally purchase his freedom, then, regarding that price is no other light than as a debt, I maintain that the second class of slaves ought forthwith to be freed, for, even according to the Hindoo law of inheritance a child is not bound to pay the debts of his father or mother, if the creditor of the latter cannot show property belonging to them which the former has inherited. The children of slaves, according to the Hindoo law of inheritance, may demand their liberation at any time; and as so much stress has been laid on those laws, it is rather strange that the slaves of the second class should not immediately receive their liberty, seeing it may be done legally! We trust that this fact will not be lost sight of in enacting the forthcoming regulation.

Take the case of this class of slaves in another point of view, no price was paid for them, so that if we do not reduce them to a level with horned cattle, the government may demand their freedom simply on that ground. Government would not be justified in devoting lacs of Rupees for that purpose, when this class of slaves, who are the most numerous, are legally entitled to freedom. Nor indeed is it necessary to lay out a single rupee for the redemption of the 1st class, as I proceed to show.

Let a regulation be enacted, requiring the holders of such slaves to pay them 2 Rs. per month in lieu of food and clothing, the allowance thus awarded by law to them being recognized as their property. Let it further be provided that the proprietors shall deduct 8 annas monthly from the above allowance, and pay the same into the Collector's or Judge's *Kutcheree*, where a saving fund is to be opened for the deposit of such amounts for the purpose of covering the price which the holders of such slaves paid for them. On this



plan 8 years' collection would suffice for the redemption of every slave of this class any where. But as casualties will frequently occur among the slaves, let the sums deposited on account of those who have died, be carried to the account of the survivors, which would produce the desiderated amount of general redemption, I think in almost one half of the above period. Of course it would be left optional with holders to discharge their slaves in preference to paying them the prescribed amount in lieu of food and clothing, and I am confident multitudes would do it forthwith. Moreover let a gold medal, by way of an honorary reward be offered to any body that will benevolently purchase the freedom of a certain number of slaves; and also let the Collector or Judge, that has the custody of the saving fund, be empowered to receive and place in it, the voluntary contributions of the benevolent public at large in any amount. By the united operation of these means, every slave in the British dominions in India may receive his freedom in less than four years.

### HINDOO BENEVOLENT INSTITUTION.

The third annual examination of the pupils of the Hindoo Benevolent Institution took place on the 7th April at the Bishop's Palace. The examination commenced a little after ten o'clock. The classes were principally examined by the Rev. Mr. Bateman, Chaplain to the Lord Bishop, and by his Lordship. The fourth class were first called up; they were examined in reading, spelling, multiplication, outlines of geography, and grammar. The third class in reading, meaning of words, geography, first and second parts of grammar, and multiplication. The second class in reading, parsing, geography and history. The first class read Homer's Iliad, giving a history of the principal characters of the fable; they were examined in history, mechanics, and solved some of Euclid's Problems.

The following is a list of recitations which afforded much pleasure :

Antony over the dead body of	}	<i>Roopnarain Bose.</i>
Cæsar .....		
Portia on the quality of Mercy	}	<i>Bishwanauth Ghose.</i>
Brutus on the death of Cæsar		<i>Thakurdus Miter.</i>
Antony's funeral oration on	}	<i>Poornachunder Chowdhory.</i>
Cæsar's death .....		
Beggar's Petition.....		<i>Gopalchunder Chaturjia.</i>

Norval..... *Poornachunder Chowdhory.*  
 Glenalvon..... *Thakurdas Miter.*  
 Lord Randolph..... *Ramkrishen Ghose.*  
 All the World's a Stage..... *Dhurmadas Bhose.*

The last recitation was by a little boy of about 7 or 8 years of age dressed in pink. Every one present was quite pleased with the little fellow.

The Lord Bishop delivered the prizes—books—to the several deserving boys. His Lordship then, in his wonted unlabored style, addressed the audience. He expressed his gratification the examination afforded him; the exertions of the pupils, the tutors, the manager, and donor Raja Kally Kissen Bahadoor, were equally gratifying to his Lordship. Addressing the pupils, his Lordship said, that as the bee extracts honey from flowers, so ought they to extract learning from the books awarded them.

There were four or five ladies and upwards of a dozen gentlemen present. The examination was over at ten o'clock.

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## STEAM CORRESPONDENCE.

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### TO GOVERNMENT.

My Lord,—We have now the honor to submit our sentiments, on the matters referred to us in the latter paras. of Mr. Secretary Macnaghten's letter dated 5th September last.

2. We consider that the circumstances which have successively occurred since the date of that letter, changing gradually the whole of the views then entertained, added to the discussions which have taken place on the subject of a permanent steam communication between England and India, have placed us in a situation far different from that in which we stood in relation to this matter when that reference was made; insomuch that we are bound, prior to entering on the question of the particular means of opening, and maintaining the communication then submitted, to make known our sentiments generally as to the plan and measures best adapted to ensure the communication being perfect in all its parts; by which we mean that the most ready, speedy and certain communication, as well personal as by letters, between Great Britain and all parts of India.

3. This exposition of our sentiments on the whole question we consider to be the more called for, with reference to the suggestion of your Lordship in Council as to this expediency of substituting Calcutta for Bombay as the port of departure for the proposed immediate re-opening of the communication.

*Mr. Secretary Macnaghten's letter, dated 7th November last.*

4. The principle in respect to the frequency of the voyages having all along been, that they should be four in the year; and it being obvious that in such case the voyages should take place regularly once a quarter rather than (by the intermission of any given period) irregularly; and it having been authoritatively stated that such regular communication could not be made from Bombay; we should on that account alone consider that the permanent communication should be from Calcutta; being satisfied that during the single voyage, when it would be at all necessary to oppose the S. W. monsoon in the Arabian sea, a steam vessel of proper power would be enabled to make the voyage from Galle to Socotra with at least as great a degree of certainty as the Falmouth packets make their winter passages to the Mediterranean, the Bombay communication during this voyages joining on at Galle, in case it should be eventually proved to be impracticable to do so at Socotra; at which place there would be no difficulty in the junction being made during the three other voyages.

5. But this is not only not the sole ground on which we hold that the communication should be from Calcutta; it is scarcely the principal one. It is obvious that the communication between England and India, if confined to Bombay as the sole port of arrival and departure, would be greatly reduced below that which would take place if means were afforded for landing passengers, mails, parcels, and packets at the three Presidencies of India, and at Ceylon; and consequently that the receipts, whether from the conveyance of passengers, newspapers and parcels, or from the postage of letters, would be comparatively trifling; while the expences would be very nearly the same as those which would suffice for ensuring simultaneously a road for the easy passage between all parts of India and England. The advantages of the comprehensive plan above referred to, namely, that of a steamer quitting Calcutta, calling at Ma-



dras and Galle for their passengers and packets, and picking up those of Bombay at Socotra, are, we think, incalculable over that which confines the communication to Bombay. In

*Cal. recd. amtg* .... 89,189

*Madras*,..... 40,736

1,29,925

*Bombay*,..... 30,000

*Cal. Exported*,..... 72,892

*Madras*,..... 40,614

1,13,511

*Bombay*,..... 29,000

#### ARRIVALS.

*Calcutta*,..... 767

*Madras*,..... 573

1,340

*Bombay*,..... 287

#### DEPARTURES.

*Calcutta*,..... 665

*Madras*,..... 459

1,124

*Bombay*,..... 316

circumstances of the impracticability of the country for travellers, as well as for the transit of even small packages or parcels, would be in any degree deserving the name of a "steam communication with INDIA!!" Whether in point of fact it would not be a mere connection with Bombay, the other parts of India having comparatively no advantage from it? Would not the result be a large expenditure with little advantage; while by the mere addition of one steamer the acknowledged benefits of the shortened intercourse would be simultaneously conveyed to all the Presidencies, and instead of being confined to Bombay, flow throughout the whole country.

support of this, we would observe that the number of letters received at the two Presidencies of Calcutta and Madras are more than quadruple those received at Bombay; and those imported at the two former Presidencies nearly quintuple. Again, as regards passengers, the total number of all classes arriving at and departing from each Presidency are as per margin. Each class of passengers, namely, males apparently married, and apparently single. Females, children, and servants, arriving at Calcutta alone is very nearly triple those arriving at Bombay; and departing double. From this, without referring to Ceylon, some idea may be gathered of the comparative intercourse; and we would confidently ask whether a steam communication restricted to Bombay, under the cir-

ed to Bombay, under the cir-

6. If, therefore, an acceleration of the intercourse between Great Britain and India be a measure of wise policy, as calculated to promote the cause of good Government—to augment the commercial and political prosperity of India,—to add incalculably to the comfort of those who have near and dear connections in either country—to raise in the scale of morality and civilization many millions of the most interesting and least regarded of the subjects of Great Britain—and generally to improve the various relation between the two countries—if these, or any of these, benefits are likely to result from drawing the two countries into more intimate connexion by means of steam navigation—then we maintain that the more comprehensive plan which we advocate has recommendations infinitely greater than that which would confine the communication to the port of one Presidency. We feel that we need not dwell further on this point; the question cannot be between the relative advantages of the two plans; it can only be one of expense; and we contend that there cannot after due consideration be any reasonable doubt that the facilities afforded by the plan we recommend for bringing on the passengers, packets, parcels, and mails from southern and eastern India at Socotra, by means of a single additional steamer, would not only afford more than a sufficient profit to cover the expences of that steamer, but would add greatly to the profit of the whole concern; for it must be borne in mind that the expences from England to Socotra would be very nearly as great for maintaining the communication with Bombay alone, as with all the principal places in India. By extending the communication to the principal seats of Government in India the sources of profit would be at least trebled; and thus, among other important advantages, the permanency of the communication would be better ensured.

7. Having stated our opinion that the proposed communication should commence at Calcutta, and in its progress to Suez be joined by that from Bombay at Socotra, when the whole would advance to Suez, we deem it proper that we should submit our sentiments as to the ulterior measures necessary to ensure speed and security for the remaining distance, as well in regard to the public despatches and mails as the passengers. On this point we have no hesitation in stating our thorough conviction that by whatever agency the communication may be conducted, it should be single and uninterrupted throughout. If that agency was a Government one, of course

there would be no question on the point. On the other hand, if the agency should be in any degree in the hands of individuals, it appears to us, as regards the main objects of security and despatch, that it is equally without a question they would be better ensured by its being continued single throughout the whole line; always of course on the understanding that the conductors had the avowed countenance and protection of the Government in the passage across the Isthmus.

8. The advantage, nay the necessity as it appears to us, of this single agency throughout the whole line seems to be so obvious as scarcely to require remark. As an abstract question it is presumed no one would attempt to defend the division of responsibility; whether as regards passengers, Government despatches, mails, or private packages and parcels, it is quite clear, that the essentials of security and despatch are far better assured where the responsibility of conveyance and delivery is single, than where it is divided between two or more parties. To such a degree would this operate, as respects passengers and private parcels and packets, that an interruption in the agency would have the effect certainly of very greatly reducing the number of the first; and in all probability of entirely superseding the despatch of the latter.

9. It could therefore be only with reference to the actual existence of means for the partial communication, under an agency impracticable for the remaining portion, that such divided responsibility can be for a moment advocated; and here the existing establishment of the monthly Malta packets is too obvious to escape notice. It is true that there is such a monthly communication with Malta, and that the route is so far direct in the way to India; but we apprehend for a perfect communication between the two countries it would afford little more aid than would an established communication with Madeira facilitate an original communication round the Cape of Good Hope.

*First.* Despatch is essential in the projected communication. Despatch would be essential, if the communication were proposed to be monthly, but quarterly, it is altogether *indispensable*; and no possible arrangement could be made whereby the detention of the India mails at Malta could be certainly obviated, except indeed the Malta mail were converted into one for India. This arrangement would be one of great difficulty, unless the communication with India could be made monthly; in which case, by allowing the Falmouth mail to drop the Mo-



diterranean packets at Malta to be conveyed by a branch steamer or steamers to the several ports in that Sea, and the English steamer to proceed on to Alexandria, there to receive the Indian mails, and on her return to Malta to pick up the Grecian mails brought by the branch steamers, the whole communication between England, the Mediterranean and India could and would be maintained on one connected arrangement.

*Secondly.* It does appear to be offering means little adapted to the end to propose the employment of a steamer, presumed to be, if not fully occupied, at least nearly so, in providing conveyance for passengers, &c. between England and the Mediterranean for the additional conveyance of the accumulating, perhaps overwhelming, intercourse of all India. The project of opening a communication between the two countries by steam, by way of the Red Sea, is confessedly of a nature the most grand and imposing in its consequences that can be well conceived. It is a project which measured by its importance and probably results, may be said to have no real difficulty in the way; and we would ask—should such a project, fraught with such consequences and results of the most incalculable value to both countries—if brought to bear in its most perfect possible form—be held to be but a mere appendage to the comparatively inconsiderable communication carried on by the Malta steam vessels between England and the Mediterranean? We feel assured if such a communication is considered to be at all advisable, that it will be at once conceded as a measure of paramount importance, demanding a separate and unembarrassed establishment; and we are the more satisfied of this, because we firmly believe that even on principles of economy such a course will be found to be the best.

10. We should have no difficulty we think in establishing this latter position beyond all question; but it would render necessary an extension of detail, which, under existing circumstances, we are constrained to avoid; although in our farther remarks perhaps sufficient proof may be afforded to leave no doubt on the point. We content ourselves here with saying that it appears to us to be a self-evident proposition—that a communication necessarily productive of mutual advantages will encrease in proportion as the road is cleared between two such countries as England and India; for the history of the last hundred years shews that such facilities of intercourse between parties and places so connected, provided they are per-

fect in their details, at whatever cost effected, have invariably more than paid their expences; and we have yet to learn wherein partial attempts at similar great undertakings have met with success.

11. But we would submit that even looking at the question in its most limited aspect; that is, as it stands abstracted from all its important results; as a question for determination on the very liberal suggestion of your Lordship in Council, that an outlay of not exceeding Sa. Rs. 200,000 should be incurred for a period not exceeding five years, with a view to the establishment of a communication between Bombay and Suez, four times in the year for that period; looking at the question in that view, we still consider that the whole united scheme may be brought to bear with no greater, if so great, immediate sacrifice on the part of Government, than is proposed to be made for the conveyance of the Government packets between Bombay and Suez; and we do think, if we can in any degree satisfactorily shew this to be the case, there can be no possible objection to the attempt being made to procure the establishment of the communication on the proposed comprehensive, and at the same time simple, plan.

12. Far be it from us to underrate the importance of that suggestion, and the high-minded policy by which it was dictated; so far from our present line of argument having a tendency to diminish the value of that proposition, it is on it alone we depend for any weight which may be attached to what we have advanced, or to what we may further advance in connection with this subject. We feel that in making this suggestion, your Lordship in Council cut the Gordian-knot of all our difficulties. Being satisfied that a grant of two lakhs of rupees for any given period, together with the profits arising from the postage, would during the period of the grant ensure the maintenance of a quarterly communication between Bombay and Suez; and that the communication with England by that Presidency, imperfect as it was from the want of a simultaneous effort on the other side of the Isthmus, was only abandoned with reference to the estimated annual expense, namely, little short of eleven lakhs,—we cannot for a moment doubt the confirmation of that suggestion.

13. Presuming therefore on that confirmation, we proceed to observe that if carried into effect, there would be an outlay of two lakhs of rupees annually for five years for the conveyance of the government despatches from Bombay only,

added to which there would be the charge of the conveyance of the despatches from Suez across the Isthmus to Alexandria, and thence to England. We are unable to say what would be the charge of conveyance of the despatches across the Isthmus, or to estimate correctly that which is of more consequence, namely, the charge which would be made by the home on the Indian Government for their conveyance between Alexandria and Malta, and again between that island and England. Seeing however that the cost of a single letter by the Government steam packet between England and Malta is 3s. and 2d. or Sa. Rs. 1½, some idea may be formed of what the demand would be for the conveyance of the government despatches, as distinguished from the mails. We consider that on the most limited scale, the public despatches of the three Presidencies, sent to and received at Bombay, would annually amount to the mass of 50,000 single letters,—that is, 25,000 each way—and if charged at the rate of a single letter between Malta and England although we think it more likely that, owing to the necessity of an additional steamer between Alexandria and Malta, it would be two rupees,—but say Sa. Rs. 1½—then there would be a charge by the home against the Indian Government of Sa. Rs. 75,000 per annum, which added the Sa. Rs. 200,000 bonus would be Sa. Rs. 275,000, independant of the expence of their conveyance across the Isthmus, and of their transit between Bombay and the other Presidencies; so that the actual outlay of the Indian Government could scarcely be less than Sa. Rs. 300,000 per annum, for conveying their own despatches alone, independent of the mails, from Bombay only.

14. This is what we believe would be the cost to the Indian Government of the establishment of a communication from Bombay under the operation of the proposed bonus. But let us advert to the charge that would be made by his Majesty's Government for the private correspondence of India, measuring it only by the same scale, namely, Sa. Rs. 1½ between England and Alexandria, and allowing the letters, going only from and to Bombay, to be limited to 50,000 each way; the charge would be Sa. Rs. 150,000 per annum, which added to the 75,000, estimated as that which would be charged to the Indian Government for their own despatches, would make Sa. Rs. 225,000, levied by the King's Government at home for the conveyance of the despatches and mails between England and Alexandria.



15. Believing that such would be the result of a communication from Bombay only, under the operation of the proposed bonus, we have no doubt that with the profits derivable from a well arranged comprehensive scheme, embracing a communication from all parts of India, carried on through a single agency, contractors would be found willing to carry it into effect on a support from Government not exceeding the amount above estimated as the cost of the Bombay plan; that is, with such support the contractors would undertake to convey all the despatches of Government and the mails, not from Bombay only, but from all parts of India—on the comprehensive scheme we have before referred to. We consider in fact that by the sacrifice of a similar expenditure to that which appears to us would be involved by the proposed communication from Bombay alone, and under the disadvantages of the divided agency, the whole correspondence and intercourse between England and all parts of India might be carried on with more certainty and despatch by one agency—nor is it the least important feature in this latter plan that it would be the interest of the contractor to have his vessels of the largest, and therefore of the most competent class of steamers, while under the other plan it would be his care to reduce the size to the lowest scale permitted—his returns arising solely, as we consider they would, from the bonus of two lakhs; while those of the single agency plan would be most materially aided by the profits derivable from passengers between England and all parts of India—and the intermediate ports on both sides of the Isthmus; from the freight payable on the conveyance of parcels of various characters, each increasing in number and value as the communication became established.

16. But the chief source of profit, exclusive of the proposed bonus, would be derived from the postage; and here it is to be remembered, that the number of letters which pass between Madras and Calcutta and England, more than quadruples those between

<i>Vide 5 para.</i>	<i>Imported.</i>	<i>Exported.</i>
Madras and Calcutta, 1,29,925	108,511	= 2,43,436
Bombay .....	90,000	= 24,000

England and Bombay, and that comparatively few of

the former would be despatched by the Bombay route, and scarcely any paying more than as a single letter, owing to the heavy overland postage—there can be no doubt that the profits derived from the letters would, under the comprehensive scheme, at least triple those from Bombay alone. The whole

number of letters passing between England and India is three lakhs, that is, 1,50,000 each way, of which number 1,82,408

Imported	92,715	are letters paying sea postage between Madras
Exported	89,693	and Calcutta and England, to which being
	<hr/>	added 38,701 being the same proportion to
	1,82,408	the whole number of Bombay letters as obtains

in the Calcutta and Madras letters—the total number of paying letters between England and India is 2,21,119;—now if but one-half of these paying letters were to go by the steamer, and to pay two rupees each letter, half collected in England and the other half in India, the total amount receivable from postage would be two lakhs per annum. But this is on the consideration that they are all single letters—whereas very many will be chargeable as double or treble letters—and some even higher—and it is exclusive of the charge for newspapers so that on the whole we think that the amount leviable through the Post Office for letters and newspapers would certainly not be less than 2,50,000 rupees; and with such prospects of return, independent of those derivable from passengers and parcels, we feel satisfied that contractors would readily be found to undertake the project for three lakhs premium from Government for five years; particularly as they might, seeing that the project is merely experimental, commence the undertaking with hired vessels, and be thus enabled as they went on to determine whether or not it would be expedient to build vessels expressly for the purpose.

17. Should your Lordship\* in Council be disposed to adopt this suggestion, we shall be happy to submit our sentiments more in detail as to the terms and conditions on which the contract should be formed than time will now admit of our doing, should any thing further be required beyond that which will be presently noticed when referring more particularly to the concluding paragraph of Mr. Macnaghten's letter of the 5th September last.

18. We shall have greatly failed in this exposition of our sentiments generally as to the plan and measures best adapted to ensure a perfect communication by steam through the Red Sea between England and India, if any thing further is necessary to render them clear to your Lordship in Council; but we may thus shortly sum them up. We say that we firmly believe the only way to establish and maintain a perfect communication is at once to adopt a scheme embracing all the

points calculated to yield profit; and that this can be only done by allowing contractors free and uncontrolled agency throughout the whole line, Government yielding that pecuniary return which the direct services of conveying the public despatches between the two countries entitle them to,—with a fair consideration for the moral and political advantages which would at any time have resulted from the successful establishment of the communication; but which under the existing peculiar circumstances of the two countries become so important as to be beyond all calculation.

19. We may now address ourselves more particularly to the special points referred to us in the latter paragraphs of Mr. Secretary Macnaghten's letter of the 5th September; but it may be that some apology is necessary for having diverged so widely from the letter of those paragraphs; we say from their letter, because we feel that we have been replying to their spirit; inasmuch as they doubtless were meant, if not at once to embrace the whole communication, at least to establish a foundation on which the whole communication might be brought to bear.

20. If any such apology is necessary beyond that afforded by the altered circumstances to which we adverted in the commencement of this letter, we must refer to the united feelings of all India; for we feel that we should not have done our duty to that portion of the India community which, in originally appointing us, directed us to seek the aid of your Lordship in Council towards the attainment of their ardent wishes, if we had not thus communicated the result of our deliberate conviction as to the best means of ensuring the paramount object of our appointment, namely, a perfect permanent communication by steam navigation by way of the Red Sea.

21. In referring to the special matters contained in the concluding paragraphs of Mr. Macnaghten's letter of the 5th September, the principle of which is the restriction of the contract to this side of the Isthmus, we may premise that as regards Bombay we have, we apprehend, already disposed of the question; and that we have now, under the altered circumstances of the case, only to consider it as it regards Calcutta.

22. We are required to furnish our sentiments generally on the terms which it would be proper to annex to the contract



whether as to the size of the vessel to be employed, their number, the dates of leaving port, and other particulars. For the size we think, after due consideration being had by Captain Forbes, with the details of which we are yet unable to furnish Government, but after the most careful consideration we concur in thinking that a vessel\* of less than 160 horse power, capable of taking at least 17 days' coal, should not be employed; that the contractor should be bound to furnish two,† and to maintain them at all times in a state of efficiency with respect to the hull and machinery under the supervision of the public officers of Government.

23. Touching the dates of their leaving port, it is wholly impossible to say what these should be,—beyond this, that they should be so timed as to afford the best possible assurance not only that there shall be no delay at Malta in the despatch of the mails from India after their arrival at that island, but also that the Indian steamer should not be delayed at Suez. The great desideratum of the quarterly communication is despatch. If the steamer is detained any time at Suez there will be proportionably less time for reply to letters when the steamer reaches India. With speedy steamers, carrying on the communication along the whole line, where no delay can take place owing to an unavoidable dependence on other agencies, the quarterly communication will afford time for all India to answer; how far under the proposed junction of the Malta line that can be effected we have great doubts.

24. We deem it necessary to dwell on this point because it is, as we think, fatal to the proposed junction with Malta. If Government would be good enough to refer to our letter of the 13th September last—it will be seen that by a statement furnished by Mr. Waghorn, the Malta steamer reaches that island in 16 days from leaving Falmouth,—six more being given to Alexandria,—the mails would arrive there in 22 days—and say seven days to Suez with reference to passengers, they would arrive at this latter place in 29 days, or on the 29th day of the month. The Malta steamer returning to England in 18 days after her arrival at Malta, it follows that, allowing two days to make sure, there can only be 16 days'

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\* These particulars equally apply to the proposed contract for the whole line.

† Under the contract for the whole line four—three on this side of the Isthmus, and one on the other.

interval between the date of the departure of the Alexandria steamer to that of her return. She left Malta on the 16th and must again leave Alexandria on the 26th, but to ensure this the Indian steamer must have arrived at Suez by the 19th; thus causing a detention of ten days. On the other hand if the date of the departure of the Indian steamer was so timed as to admit of her arriving at Suez on the 29th, so that no delay took place on this side, the Indian packets would arrive at Alexandria on the 6th, (taking the month at 30 days), in 7 more they would be at Malta, viz. on the 13th of the month, but the dates of departure from Malta are about the 4th, thus causing a detention of twenty-one days at Malta.

25. It is under these circumstances wholly impossible to fix correctly the days of departure, until something is more certainly known touching the times of sailing of the Malta steamers; but one great desideratum is that the date of the departure of the Indian steamer in the S. W. monsoon quarter, should be fixed with as much favor on this side as can be done.

26. On the one agency plan of course no difficulty could occur in the fixing the date of departure—we should in that case say the 15th of the months of January, April, July, and October, would be the proper dates.

27. With respect to the lowest sum at which the contractor might be disposed to tender to run two steamers of the power above referred to, four times between Calcutta and Suez, we annex a rough estimate of the probable cost of running two such steamers; it will be seen to amount to Sa. Rs. 2,35,012 per annum. With respect to the receipts we fear that parties would be loth to place any dependence of consequence on any other source than the bonus. We apprehend that they would seek to be covered as far as possible in their expenditure by the bonus—and therefore that, seeing the probable expenditure exceed its amount, they would not offer to undertake the contract for less. There are various considerations which would induce them to this course, among which the uncertainty arising from the want of connection, after their arrival at Suez, is not the least. We confess that we are unable to offer any approximation to the probable receipts from letters or passengers under these circumstances.

29. Should we be right in the above conclusion, and should such an offer be made and accepted—then the despatches of Government encreased by their transmission on the steamers from the several Presidencies, would be conveyed to Suez for two lakhs of rupees, besides the expence of joining on the Bombay despatches at Socotra; which may be taken at 50,000 Rs. say altogether Sa. Rs. 2,50,000; but to this, Government would have to add the conveyance of the despatches so encreased across the Isthmus, and by the Government Mediterranean steamers between Alexandria and England at an encreased cost; but say at the same cost, namely, Rs. 75,000, making in all Sa. Rs. 3,25,000.

30. Surely here again a premium of not more than three lakhs given to contractors to conduct the whole communication on one agency without delay or detention, and with perfect security, they taking the postage, would be more economical than the proposed employment of a contractor on this side and of the Government Malta packets on the other, independent of the incalculable advantages in other respects of the one plan over those of the other.

31. With respect to the preferable place for advertising for the contracts, we cannot see any possible objection to that being at once done here. Government would at least by such a course become acquainted with the feelings and opinions of those who may be supposed not only to be as well apprised as any other parties can be of all that is necessary to be done, but also of the probable cost; while if they were induced to make an offer, the maximum amount at which the communication might be opened and maintained would be ascertained as far as it could be without actual experiment; at all events Government would be apprised of the degree in which it was held that assistance was required, and might afterwards if so deemed necessary cause similar advertisements to be issued at home.

Signed by the Committee.

*Town-hall, Calcutta, January 28, 1834.*



*Probable Estimate of running two Steamers of 160 horse power four times in the year between Calcutta and Suez.*

First cost of a steamer of	}	Sa. Rs.
160 horse power, capable of		2,50,000
carrying 16 days' coal, placed		or
in Calcutta,		2 ditto
		Sa. Rs. 5,00,000

Expenditure. To re-place	}	
block of one vessel in 10 years,		1,811
say by monthly,		

Insurance at 5 per cent. per	}	
annum for 10 years, on 2,50,000		572
the first year and reducible an-		
nually 25,000		

Monthly for one vessel.....	2,383
two vessels,....	2

Sa. Rs.  $4,766 \times 12 = 57,192$

Say 35 days steaming to and	}	
25 back, each voyage makes 60		
days at say 15 tons per diem, is		
900 tons per voyage, or 4 voyages		
3,600 at 30 Rs. all round,		1,08,000

Wear and tear, including	}	
stores of every description, except		
those connected with current pur-		
poses of machinery,	Say	12,000

Tallow, oil, hemp, &c. at 38	}	
Rs. per diem for 212 days,		8,856

Establishment for one vessel	}	
say 2,000 per mensem,		24,000

Expense of depots, say each	}	
1,200 Sa. Rs. per annum,		34,600

Sa. Rs. 2,13,648

Add ten per cent. to be safe..... 21,364

Total, Sa. Rs. 2,35,012

## No. 1.

TO THE HONORABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF  
THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, &c. &c. &c. *London.*

Honorable Sirs,—We the remaining members, now resident in Calcutta, of a Committee appointed by the subscribers to a fund collected in Bengal for the promotion of a steam communication with England by way of the Red Sea, cannot allow our first attempt to prove the practicability of such a communication being carried on at an expence greatly below that which is understood to be estimated by your Honorable Court as the probable cost to be made without soliciting your attention to our efforts and your favorable consideration of their result, should they prove to be, as we fondly anticipate they will be, successful.

2. Supported as we have been throughout, as well in the general principles on which we have proceeded, as in the particular steps we have taken, by the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council, we cannot doubt that your Honorable Court has been apprized by the Supreme Government of our immediate purposes, as well as of the ulterior object which we have been directed by our constituents to use our utmost endeavours to obtain; and therefore we need not enter into much detail while we thus directly solicit the support and patronage of your Honorable Court to our humble endeavours to assist in bringing these distant possessions more immediately under the supervision and control of the ruling authorities, thus cementing the relations which exist between the governors and the governed, affording the former the ready means of applying remedies to existing evils, of issuing orders on matters of importance requiring immediate attention, and generally of watching more minutely and efficiently the great interests entrusted to their charge, and to the latter opportunities of promptly communicating their wants and their wishes; in shortening by one-half the lengthened and heart-rending distance which separates the husband and the wife, the parent and the child, thus maintaining in continuedly renewed vigour the best affections of the heart; in affording the means of a more rapid interchange of commercial communications by which the interests of both countries cannot but be greatly promoted; and last, though not least, in opening wide the door for the introduction of European science, morality, and religion into the heart of India.

3. We are aware that in November last, a communication was made to the home authorities that it was intended to despatch the Honorable Company's steamer *Hugh Lindsay* from Bombay to Suez on the 1st February, and the private steamer *Forbes* from Calcutta at the three subsequent quarters of the year, and that at the same time it was requested that packets might be made up for India at the corresponding periods to be despatched by the Malta mail to that island, and thence by another steamer to Alexandria; which latter vessel might take the mails from India to Malta to be thence forwarded to England.

4. We calculate, if this application reached home in time and was acceded to that the mail dispatched from Falmouth on the 1st February for Calcutta may yet arrive prior to the sailing of the *Forbes*, by which we should be assured, that on this first occasion the application had been granted, and we should know in how far we might hope for its continuance; but as the sailing of the *Forbes* has been now fixed for the 15th April instead of the 1st May with reference to the expediency of avoiding the early part of the monsoon off Ceylon and in the Arabian Sea, we cannot wait to ascertain whether or not the *Hugh Lindsay* will have been met on the other side of the Isthmus, and we therefore, in case she should not have been, and in case it is not intended that the *Forbes* shall be so met, do most earnestly solicit that the application may be granted for the forthcoming voyages in August and November next; and we prefer this request with the more confidence in as much as we are in this case the organ of the whole people of India, and especially of that part whose affections are rivetted to the home of their fathers and in very instances to the land in which their nearest and dearest connections are resident.

5 It is impossible that we can adequately convey to your Honourable Court the intensity of feeling which pervades the whole Indian community on the subject of a steam communication with England, on which the concurrence of the authorities at home in the principle, with a view to the practice, bears so materially; and hence it is that we are most anxious to learn the result of the application of November last, and in the event of its not having been granted, to appeal in the most earnest manner for its future adoption.

6. We cannot for one moment suppose otherwise than that there is a correspondent feeling in favour of this most important object in the breast of every individual in Great



Britain connected in any way with India publicly or privately, and we feel quite satisfied if that object has not hitherto been attempted to be obtained by the agency of the public authorities that it has arisen solely from an apprehension that the expence would greatly exceed the advantages to be derived from the communication.

7. Entertaining very different opinions on this point, and believing that a communication with England by means of steam vessels by way of the Red Sea may be carried on with a profit to the parties concerned in it, provided they receive only such support from the authorities as the value of their services may fairly demand, and feeling satisfied that the extent of that support for the communication throughout the whole line would fall infinitely short of what is understood to be the estimated expence of merely keeping up the communication between Bombay and Suez, we think we should have a fair claim on the consideration of your Honourable Court if we should only appear before you with estimates and arguments in support of our opinions. But it is not thus that we come; we come prepared to put our opinions to the test of practice, and so coming, and on the part of the people of India bearing no inconsiderable portion of the expence of the experiment, we trust that we may rely confidently on the concurrence and support as well of His Majesty's Government as of your Honorable Court, without which neither can the experiment have a fair and full trial, nor can we hope for success in the ulterior object of the permanent communication.

8. We have stated that without the countenance and support of His Majesty's Government and of your Honorable Court the experiment in which we are engaged cannot have a fair and full trial, and this because without such countenance and support the communication cannot be opened throughout the whole line; whence not only will it be impossible practically to judge of the expence on the other side; but, what is of far more consequence, (since there be little or no difficulty in correctly estimating the cost of a steamer between Alexandria and England, and of the passage across the Isthmus,) namely that in the uncertainty which will exist as to the speedy transit of the letters from Suez, it cannot be expected that the community in India will pass their correspondence through the projected channel to such an extent as they would if assured of a quick conveyance the whole way;—and on this account we trust that your Honorable Court will

not judge of the extent of the eventual correspondence by that which on the present occasion is carried to Suez by the *Forbes*.

9. We would wish moreover to take this opportunity to solicit, that instead of a steamer merely connecting the line from Alexandria to Malta, a steamer might be dispatched direct to the former place from England; because we apprehend that the mails from Suez cannot be brought to Malta so as to admit of their being despatched thence by the Malta mail without delay, while at least two days, in addition to the saving of that delay, would arise from the non-necessity of the steamer stopping at Gibraltar, as is understood to be the case with the Malta packet.

10. We do not consider it to be necessary on the present occasion to enter into the probable expence of this experiment, either with a view to induce your Honorable Court to afford it your patronage, or to form a consequent judgment of what it would cost to maintain it hereafter on a permanent footing. For the first we doubt not that our correspondence with the Supreme Government will have been communicated to your Honorable Court, from which you will be enabled to gather the amount estimated; and for the latter we think it will be best met by waiting the result of the actual cost; besides we have at present a letter on the subject before the Right Honorable the Governor General, which will no doubt, in due course, be known to your Honorable Court.

11. In conclusion we beg respectfully, but most earnestly, to repeat our request in the name of all India that if, not already done, arrangements may be made for the most speedy conveyance of the Indian mails to and from Alexandria, the latter of which will be taken to Suez in August and November next, and may be expected to be at that place about the 23d of the month.

We have, &c.

D. Tagore,  
B. Harding,  
J. Willis,  
R. S. Thomson,  
M. Mullick,  
C. B. Greenlaw,  
W. N. Forbes,

R. H. Cockerell,  
T. E. M. Terton,  
D. McFarlan,  
J. Kyd,  
J. Prinsep,  
J. Steel,

Town Hall, Calcutta, the 7th April, 1834.

## No. 2.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE EDWARD G. S. STANLY,  
*Colonial Secretary, &c. &c. &c. London.*

Sir,—The steamer *Forbes* being about to leave Calcutta on the 15th instant, touching at Madras and Point de Galle on her way to Suez, with the united packets of India, in the hope that on her arrival there mails from England, brought to Malta on the regular packet and conveyed thence to Alexandria by an other steamer, may be waiting for her, the mails from India being taken to Malta by her, according to an application to that effect heretofore made by the Supreme Government; we, who have been appointed a Committee by the subscribers to a fund called the “New Bengal Steam Fund,” instituted for the purpose of promoting a steam communication between England and India, through whose agency under the auspices of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council, the *Forbes* is about to be despatched, take this opportunity of respectfully soliciting your countenance and co-operative aid in the undertaking.

The grounds, Sir, on which we venture to trouble you are, that (as we think) the establishment of a steam communication between India and England by way of the Red Sea, passing round Ceylon and making Galle one of its ports of call, cannot but be productive of considerable advantage to His Majesty's colonies on this side of the Cape of Good Hope, even including eventually those at Botany Bay and Van Diemer's Land, and the rising establishments on the western shores of Australia.

Believing that the experiment on which the *Forbes* is about to be engaged will, if it meets with corresponding support on the other side of the Isthmus, infallibly lead to the establishment of a steam communication with India, we are waiting with much anxiety to know how far the application for such support has been met; and as the *Forbes* in all probability will now leave the river before we can learn the result of that application, we feel it our duty to our constituents to endeavour by all the means in our power to obtain that support to her forthcoming voyages, should it not have been determined already to afford it.

With this view we beg to forward copy of our letter under this date to the address of the Honorable the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and respectfully to request your support and assistance, as well to this particular



request, as to the ulterior and permanent establishment of a steam communication on a complete and comprehensive plan, between India and England by way of the Red Sea.

We have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servants,

D. Tagore,  
B. Harding,  
J. Willis,  
R. S. Thomson,  
M. Mullick,  
C. B. Greenlaw,  
W. N. Forbes,

R. H. Cockerell,  
T. E. M. Turton,  
D. McFarlan,  
J. Kyd,  
J. Prinsep,  
J. Steel.

Town Hall, Calcutta, April 7, 1834.

No. 3.

TO THOMAS H. VILLIERS, ESQ. M. P. *Secretary to the Board of Control, London.*

Sir,—I have the honor, by direction of the Committee of the new Bengal Steam Fund, to forward, for the information and considerate attention of the Right Honorable the President and Members of the Board of Commissioners for the management of the affairs of India, the accompanying copy of a letter under this date, from the Committee to the Court of Directors of the Honorable the East India Company, soliciting the countenance and support of the Honorable Court to the experiment now in progress of a steam communication between England and India, embracing the whole of the Presidencies and Ceylon through the Red Sea by means of the private steamer *Forbes*.

2.—The mode by which that countenance and support can be best given, it will be obvious, is by the employment of a steamer to convey the mails, &c. to and from Alexandria, and the Committee sensible how much the success of their application, should the necessary arrangements not have been made, must depend on the Right Honorable Board, desire me to proffer their most respectful and earnest appeal on the part of the whole community of India for the required aid and assistance towards rendering the experiment perfect.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHAS B. GREENLAW, *Sec. to the Committee of the New Bengal Steam Fund.*

Town Hall, Calcutta, April 7, 1834.

## No. 4.

TO SIR FRANCIS FREELING, *Baronet, Secretary to His Grace the Post Master General, London.*

Sir,—I have the honor, by direction of the Committee appointed by the subscribers to a fund instituted for the purpose of promoting a steam communication between England and India, and denominated the New Bengal Steam Fund, to forward for the information of His Grace the Post Master General, the accompanying copy of a letter under this date from the Committee, to the address of the Honorable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

The immediate object of the letter is to obtain the countenance and support of the Honorable Court in favor of the experiment now in progress for opening a communication through the Red Sea between Calcutta and England, embracing the other Presidencies and Ceylon, by means of the *Forbes* steamer; and the Committee venture to solicit the powerful aid of His Grace towards attaining the object of the application, namely, that arrangements may be made for the despatch of mails for the several Presidencies of India and Ceylon, on the 1st days of August and November by a steamer from England to Alexandria, there to receive the Indian mails which will be despatched at corresponding periods on the *Forbes*, in the event of such arrangements not having been previously made consequent on an application to that effect, which, it is understood, was made from this country in November last.

The ulterior object of the letter in question is to interest the Honorable Court favorably towards the permanent establishment of such a communication on a firm and secure basis—and towards this object the Committee also presume to solicit the patronage and co-operation of His Grace.

In conclusion I am likewise directed to express the sanguine hope of the Committee, that they may also rely on your effective assistance in attaining an object of such importance to the mutual relations of the two countries, and for the furtherance of which you have so much in your power.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. B. GREENLAW, *Sec. to the Committee of the New Bengal Steam Fund.*

Town Hall, Calcutta, April 7, 1834.

## STEAM COMMUNICATION.

*Circular addressed to various Merchants and others in England  
by the Secretary to the Calcutta Steam Committee.*

(CIRCULAR No. 1.)

An universal feeling in favor of a steam communication with England having lately arisen throughout India (with the manifestation of which it is presumed you are not altogether unacquainted) the Committee appointed by a general meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta on the 22d June last, for the purpose of carrying into effect certain resolutions then passed (copy of which accompanies this) are desirous, now that matters have been brought to a decided point with reference to the more immediate object, namely, the speedy re-opening of the communication closed by the laying up of the H. C. steamer *Hugh Lindsay* at Bombay, to make known to the mercantile and commercial community in Great Britain connected with India the actual state in which things now stand, in the certain hope of receiving from you every aid and assistance in your power towards securing the ultimate object, viz. the permanent establishment of a regular steam communication between England and India by way of the Red Sea.

The report rendered by the Committee to their constituents, assembled at a meeting at the Town Hall on the 7th instant, in conformity with the original resolutions of the subscribers, together with the subsequent resolutions which were passed at this last meeting, (copies of which report and resolutions are also annexed to this letter) will, the Committee hope, enable you fully to understand what has hitherto been done. They are now engaged in making all the necessary preparations for the despatch of the *Forbes* steamer from Calcutta successively on the first days of May, August and November next; being quarterly periods with the 1st February, on which day it is proposed to start the *Hugh Lindsay* from Bombay; and it is hoped that this letter and its enclosures may be prepared in sufficient time to be despatched by that vessel.

You will see the endeavours which have already been made by the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council to secure that a steamer shall be at Alexandria in time to receive the mails from India; and it is confidently hoped that she will have brought out mails from England, which may be at Suez when the *Hugh Lindsay* arrives.



Should this, however, not be the case, and that no measures are in course of adoption whereby mails may be despatched from England to meet, in the manner above noticed, those about to be sent from India in May, August, and November next, the first object which those in England who are interested in a speedy communication with England should pursue in an united and simultaneous appeal in favour of mails being despatched from England on the 1st May, 1st August, and 1st November, by the Malta steam packet, under arrangements whereby they may be immediately taken from that island to Alexandria by another steamer; which steamer should wait at Alexandria for the mails brought to Suez by the *Forbes* and take them to Malta, whence of course they should be despatched by the best opportunity that might offer.

But it is to the great and important object of a permanent communication that this Committee would most earnestly call your attention, and solicit in the strongest terms the simultaneous exertions of the mercantile community at home not only by the aid of funds to such plan as may, on consideration, be deemed to be best for adoption, but by urgent and united appeals to his Majesty's Government and the Honorable the Court of Directors for their joint support thereof.

As regards this all-important subject nothing is at present before this Committee, to which they can definitively request your immediate concurrence and support; but the merchants of Calcutta have lately met and appointed a Committee to consider the subject in all its bearings. This has been done, and the report of that Committee is now under the consideration of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council. Of the minute details of the plan this Committee has no knowledge, but one of the members of the committee of merchants being also a member of this Committee, I am enabled, with the sanction of the Committee, to state that the plan embraces the communication in the most comprehensive and complete form.

It is proposed to raise a capital of 12 lacs of rupees, and therewith to build four steamers of 200 horse power each, one to run between England and Alexandria, the other three to be employed on this side of the Isthmus in the following manner.

One will be stationed at Bombay, and two at Calcutta; the communication is intended to be quarterly. The steamer from Bombay will leave that place so as to arrive (by estimation) two days at Socotra before the steamer from Calcut-

ta, which will call at Madras and Galle for the passengers, mails, &c. from those places, reaches the island.

On the Calcutta steamer arriving at Socotra the passengers, &c. by her will be immediately transferred to the Bombay steamer, which having had two days time to clear her boilers, &c. will be ready to start, as soon as the transfer is made with the whole of the passengers, &c. from India to Suez.

The steamer from England is to be so timed in its departure as to secure her arrival at Alexandria, so as to allow of the English passengers, mails, &c. being at Suez, certainly before the arrival of the India steamer. The Mediterranean steamer will remain at Alexandria till the passengers and mails arrive.

At Suez is proposed to build a house for the accommodation of the passengers from England during the few days they will be there, it being intended that the contractors shall undertake for the conveyance of the passengers the whole way, including the passage across the Isthmus; for which every possible arrangement will be made, improving of course like all other things on experience.

The English passengers, &c. being at Suez when the India steamer arrives will be\* put float when she heaves in sight, and be taken off to meet her on her reaching the roads, in order that no delay may take place. By the same conveyance the passengers and packets from India will be disembarked and proceed forthwith to Alexandria, and thence to England in the Mediterranean steamer. The India steamer will return to Socotra; on arrival there she will find the Calcutta steamer in readiness, which will receive the Ceylon, Madras, and Bengal passengers, &c. and proceed with them to their different ports, the Bombay steamer of course going on to that place. It is proposed to convey all the public despatches of very kind, packets and mails between England and all the Presidencies of India for which the contractors require from Government 5 lacs of rupees per annum for five years on contract; Government of course receiving the postage of letters.

This is believed to be the outline of the scheme. The time calculated for the voyages, and all other details, will be eventually communicated to you, when the plan shall have received, if it should do so, the sanction of the Right Honorable the

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\* NOTE.—This has reference to Juddah being fixed on as a depôt. If the steamers are found capable of carrying coal from Socotra to Suez, of course this latter would be made the depôt in preference.

Governor General in Council, the present purpose being merely to prepare the mercantile community in Great Britain, connected with India, for what may now very shortly be brought forward; so that when it is so, they may be ready to unite at once in urging on the home authorities its adoption,

You will not fail to understand that the above is yet but under consideration, and may receive considerable modification. As, however, the *Hugh Lindsay* leaves Bombay on the 1st February, time will not admit of the result of that consideration being made known to you by her, and the Committee are too anxious to come at once into correspondence with you on this subject to allow the opportunity, which it is hoped, she will afford of making a speedy communication with England to escape them.

I have the honor to be, &c.

C. B. GREENLAW, *Secy. to the Com. of the  
New Bengal Steam Fund.*

Town Hall, Calcutta, Jan., 1834.

(CIRCULAR No. 2.)

With reference to my letter under date the 16th January last, and its enclosures, I have the honor, by direction of the Committee of the New Bengal Steam Fund to inform you, that, with a view to avoid the early part of the S. W. monsoon off Galle and across the Arabian Sea, it has been deemed proper to start the *Forbes* on the 15th April, instead of the first May, whence it becomes necessary not to delay addressing you further on the subject of the proposed steam communication; although of course it would have been preferable, if possible, to have previously known the result of the voyages of the *Hugh Lindsay*.

2. It is, however, not impossible that accounts of her arrival at Bombay may reach Calcutta prior to the starting of the *Forbes*; in which case, should the result require any modification of this letter, a subsequent communication can be made to you.

3. In the present state of ignorance as to how far the authorities at home may have been disposed to assist in the experiment now in progress, by affording the assistance of a steamer for the conveyance of the mails from Alexandria the Committee can, in respect to that experiment, do no more than communicate the despatch of the *Forbes*, and the continued intention of starting her in August and November.



4. With regard to the ulterior permanent object, as referred to in my letter of the 16th January, it is understood that the plan, which was stated to be under the consideration of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council, was not considered, in all its details, to be such as could receive entire concurrence; but I am directed to inform you, that this Committee has addressed his Lordship in Council submitting a somewhat similar plan, Government being required to make a grant of three lakhs of Rupees annually, for five years, and the contractor retaining the postage.

5. This letter of the Committee to his Lordship in Council having only been dispatched on the eve of the Governor General's departure for Madras, and the illness with which his Lordship has been unfortunately attacked having prevented any reply being as yet received, the Committee can only thus generally intimate to you the state of the question.

6. On receipt, however, of the reply, the whole will be communicated to you; by which time the Committee trust that the two voyages of the *Hugh Lindsay* and the *Forbes*, especially the latter, will have so satisfactorily established the practicability of the scheme, especially as regards the expence, and, at the same time, have so increased the interest and feeling at home in favour of the communication, that no difficulty will exist in bringing the particular permanent scheme above alluded to—to bear, should it, as the Committee confidently trust it will, receive the concurrence of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council.

I have the honor to be, your most obedient servant,

C. B. GREENLAW,

*Secy. to the Committee of the N. B. S. Fund.*

Town-Hall, Calcutta, 7th April, 1834.

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(CIRCULAR No. 3.)

In continuation of my letter of the 7th instant, I have now the pleasure by direction of the Committee of the New Bengal Steam Fund to inform you, that they have been favored with a copy of a Minute of the Right Honorable the Governor General on their letter of the 28th January last, copies of both which documents are herewith forwarded for your information.

2. The Minute in question having only arrived yesterday and the *Forbes* being about to be despatched from Calcutta to-morrow, the Committee are unable to do more than to commend to your most earnest consideration the great object in-

volved therein. They could have wished to have entered at large into the system on which, as they consider, the communication might be best carried on ; but they must content themselves with leaving you to gather their sentiments from their letter to Government ; and they do so with the less regret in that they feel satisfied that, if the commercial interests connected with India should entertain a similar feeling in favor of the communication, to that which pervades the community of India, they will now readily come forward, and perfect that which has been, as they hope, so auspiciously commenced on this side the Isthmus.

I have the honor to be, your most obdt. servt.

C. B. GREENLAW, *Sec. to the Committee.*

Town-Hall, Calcutta, April 14, 1834.

To C. B. GREENLAW, Esq.

*Secy. to the New Bengal Steam Fund Committee.*

Political Department.

Sir,—I am directed to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a Minute by his Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General, dated the 28th ultimo, for the information of the Committee, and in reply to their letter to the address of his Excellency under date the 28th January last.—I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

C. E. TREVELYAN, *Depy. Secy. to Government.*

Council Chamber, 14th April, 1834.

### MINUTE OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

Before I advert to the report of the Steam Committee under date the 28th January 1834, recommending the plan which shall effect the cheapest and most generally useful steam communication between England and India, a few preliminary remarks will be necessary to extricate the question from the confusion in which it has been placed by the voluminous and needless discussions that have arisen between the several Committees ; and at the same time to exhibit to the home authorities, as clearly and concisely as possible, the very simple data upon which a decision as to future measures would seem to depend.

It is my intention to avoid any reference to differences of opinion ; and only to state the circumstances as they have occurred, and the resolutions which from time to time have been

formed to carry into effect the great object of a quicker intercourse between the two countries,—an object in which the European community have expressed so deep and general an interest; and towards the promotion of which a subscription has been made, far surpassing the largest amount that, with reference to the universal distress occasioned by the recent failures, my most sanguine expectations had anticipated.

Bengal Sa. Rs.	1,68,000
Madras.	41,000
Bombay.	85,000

The first plan determined upon was to establish a quarterly communication between Bombay and Suez. It was thought that the *Hugh Lindsay* alone could accomplish this undertaking. The principal object of a quarterly communication was, besides confirming the success of the *Hugh Lindsay's* previous voyages, to ascertain by continued and periodical departures the probable extent of the intercourse, as well as by passengers as by letters; and thus to estimate the probable amount of the income. The expensive sailing of the *Hugh Lindsay* afforded a sufficient criterion of the maximum expenditure.

It is necessary to state that when the subject was first taken up by the society of Calcutta, many very intelligent persons then advocated a direct communication between Calcutta and the Red Sea. At a later period Mr. Greenlaw published a pamphlet shewing the superior advantages, to India in general, of this line of communication, in which I agreed in opinion with that gentleman; but it appeared to me that the more simple and shorter communication with Bombay was more likely to receive the concurrence of the home authorities; and, this line being once established, it would be easy afterwards to extend it. Mr. Greenlaw stated to me at the time that he had no desire to interfere with the measure that had been already adopted; and an opinion to this purport will be found in the preface of his publication. I gladly avail myself of this occasion of expressing in concurrence with the society of Calcutta, my acknowledgements to Mr. Greenlaw for his zealous and successful endeavours to bring before the public all information that might conduce to a clear understanding of the subject. As far as I have seen of the views of that intelligent gentleman, he has been actuated by the sole and single desire to promote the general interests and convenience of India and England, those of Bombay being equally comprehended.

It was learnt from Bombay that the *Hugh Lindsay* alone was unequal to a quarterly communication; and that her pow-



er could not contend against the S. W. monsoon. There was no other steamer at Bombay. The only other steamer in India, capable of coping with an adverse monsoon was the *Forbes* ; but she was private property, belonging to one of the houses that had failed ; and it never occurred to any one to my knowledge that it would be practicable, or within the scope of our limited funds, even if the assignees would have given their consent, to transfer the vessel to Bombay.

As far then as Bombay was concerned the original plan could not be executed ; but convinced of the great importance of keeping up the quarterly communication for the purpose of bringing the great measure to bear at the earliest possible period, I confess that I hailed with pleasure a dilemma which seemed to force upon us the only alternative of making the next attempt direct from Calcutta ; and a suggestion to that effect was made by me to the Steam Committee, provided always that the *Forbes* could be hired upon reasonable terms, and that in other respects she was considered fit for the undertaking.

I presume that a doubt cannot be entertained of the preference to be given to that plan which shall bring passengers, valuable goods, packets and letters by sea to the three principal ports of Ceylon, Madras, and Bengal over that which is confined to the single port of Bombay, between which place and the other more important Presidencies there

Bengal, miles	1,300	intervenes a distance as per margin:—and
Madras, „	770	with no other conveyance than the ordinary
Columbo, „	1,000	foot dawk of India. The <i>Forbes</i> will be-
		come the experimental vessel for trying the

practicability of this direct route. It has appeared to me to be a great object to have correctly and exactly laid down all the circumstances, the advantages, and the disadvantages of the two lines, in order that, whether the future execution be undertaken by Government, or by contractors, the plan at least may be formed upon the best ascertained data. For the same reasons, though previously surveyed, it seemed to me important that the Surveyor General of India should give his official testimony to the fitness or otherwise of Socotra as a depôt. I cannot but think it to have been wisely decided by the Committee that the funds placed at their disposal would be best applied to frequent experimental voyages, that should place the practicability and expence beyond all doubt. It was early discovered that this

or any future subscription to be raised in India must be wholly insufficient for the maintenance of a permanent communication. This latter can only be executed by the Government (and to no more useful purpose for the good of both countries could the funds of India be appropriated,) or by the merchants of England interested in the trade to China and India.

Preparatory to a consideration of the plan of the Committee, and of the proposition of others to effect this object, I must refer to a suggestion made by me, with a view to the performance of the work by contract, and to thus saving the Government from an undefined and hitherto most extravagant expenditure in the employment of the ill-adapted *Hugh Lindsay*,—that a bonus of two lacs per annum for five years should be given by the Government, the profit of the passengers and mails being thrown in for the benefit of the undertakers.

While the Steam Committee had under consideration the report required by Mr. Macnaghten's letter of the 5th of September 1833, a proposition was made to me by a committee of the merchants at Calcutta to take the contract upon a bonus of five lacs per annum for five years, the postage being reserved by Government, which was estimated by them at two lacs per annum. I have not the paper by me, I may therefore mis-state some of the conditions;—but I recollect sufficient of the plan to enable me to give its outline, and to explain the reasons why I rejected it. I did not mean to have adverted to it at all, but upon reflection it struck me that a discussion of a *real* proposition made upon the spot may better serve to enable those at a distance to come to a satisfactory conclusion.

The plan started with assuming as indispensable to success that it should embrace the whole line from every port in India; that is, to use a common expression in Europe, that passengers should be booked from London all the way to India, every intermediate expence being provided for by the contractor for one given sum.

I dissented from the justness of this calculation. My opinion was that travellers, both going and coming, would for the great part either prefer the steam packet of the Government to Malta, or would choose the land route to Malta, or Egypt, via the continent, and *vice versa*. I moreover thought that a much simpler and less expensive scheme would be for the contractors to confine themselves to the Indian side of the communication—that is, from Suez to Calcutta. I undertook to engage for the Government at home, that the

only vacant part of the line on the European side, viz. from Malta to Alexandria, should be filled by a Government steamer; and I also undertook, if the *Hugh Lindsay* should not be equal to the conveyance of the mails from Socotra to Bombay, that an additional steamer should be furnished for that purpose; but the committee of merchants would not agree to these propositions.

In order to excuse myself for the presumption of thus having undertaken for the consent of the Government to a part execution of the plan, I have to mention upon the authority of Captain Johnston, the deposition of the Admiralty to give a ready assent to this part of the plan. But otherwise I should not have hesitated to have given this pledge; because I cannot conceive it possible that the same consideration for interests so comparatively trivial as those of the Ionian Islands and the Levant, which had been thought sufficient to warrant the extension of a Government steamer to Corfu, should not at once have determined for the expediency of the most rapid communication with a part of the world, where England and India have happily a reciprocal interest of a magnitude and importance which the imagination can with difficulty grasp.

The far greater part of the distance from London to Malta being already provided for by a monthly Government packet, I did not think the English Government would willingly assent to a second expence as it were for the same part of the line. I rejected it accordingly. I thought further that the<sup>e</sup> receipts of postage were very much over-estimated; at least for a year or two until the plan could come into regular operation.

I moreover was of opinion that the Government itself could execute the plan confined to the Indian side at a much less charge than five lacs, with the advantage of having a complete establishment of steamers, which either in case of war or of any other political exigency might constitute a great addition to the public strength and resources.

I now come in conclusion to the opinion of the Committee, recommending a contract coinciding with the committee of merchants that it will be more beneficial for the contractors and more conducive to despatch, that the contract should embrace the whole line from England to the four principal points in India and Ceylon,—Bombay, Galle, Madras, and Calcutta; and the following terms are proposed as likely to make a fair return for risk and expence.



1st. A bonus of three lacs per annum for five years.

2ndly. All profits upon passengers, parcels, &c. and postage of letters between England and India, except the Government despatches, which are to be carried free of all expence as well by sea as through Egypt.

3rdly. The postage upon private letters to be two rupees for a single letter—one rupee payable in England, and one rupee in India.

My original proposition gave in addition to the bonus of two lacs, the postage of the Government despatches to the contractor. The calculations of the Committee show that their own scheme involves very little additional expense, if any, beyond my own. And considering in every respect the very superior advantages held out to the whole of India, I cannot but second the plan of the Committee with my decided recommendation; and express at the same time a hope, if individuals may be found willing to accept the terms, that this great measure, so important to the great interests of the Empire, and to the comfort and happiness of so many thousands of our countrymen in this distant clime, may be carried into immediate operation.

(Signed) W. C. BENTINCK,  
Ootacummund, March 28, 1834.

[A true copy,] C. E. TREVELYAN,  
Depy. Sec. to Govt.

Calcutta, April 14, 1834.

(True copies)  
CHARLES GREENLAW, Sec. to the Committee of  
the New Bengal Steam Fund.

## THE SANSKRIT COLLEGE.

### THE PETITION OF RAMMOHUN ROY TO LORD AMHERST, AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SANSKRIT COLLEGE.

*To his Excellency the Right Honorable Lord Amherst, Governor General in Council.*

My Lord,—Humbly reluctant as the natives of India are to obtrude upon the notice of Government the sentiments they entertain on any public measure, there are circumstances when silence would be carrying this respectful feeling to culpable excess. The present rulers of India, coming from a distance of many thousand miles to govern a people, whose language,

literature, manners, customs and ideas, are almost entirely new and strange to them, cannot easily become so intimately acquainted with their real circumstances, as the natives of the country are themselves. We should therefore be guilty of a gross dereliction of duty to ourselves, and afford our rulers just ground of complaint at our apathy, did we omit on occasions of importance like the present to supply them with such accurate information as might enable them to devise and adopt measures calculated to be beneficial to the country, and thus second by our local knowledge and experience their declared benevolent intentions for its improvements.

The establishment of a new Sanscrit School in Calcutta evinces the laudable desire of Government to improve the natives of India by education—a blessing for which they must ever be grateful, and every well wisher of the human race must be desirous that the efforts made to promote it should be guided by the most enlightened principles, so that the stream of intelligence may flow in the most useful channels.

When this seminary of learning was proposed, we understood that the Government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, and other useful sciences which the nations of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world.

While we looked forward with pleasing hope to the dawn of knowledge thus promised to the rising generation, our hearts were filled with mingled feelings of delight and gratitude. We already offered up thanks to providence for inspiring the most generous and enlightened nations of the west with the glorious ambition of planting in Asia the arts and sciences of modern Europe.

We now find that the government are establishing a Sanscrit school under Hindoo Pundits, to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to lead the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago;

with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since produced by speculative men ; such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India.

The Sangsrit language so difficult that almost a lifetime is necessary for its acquisition, is well known to have been for ages a lamentable check on the diffusion of knowledge. And the learning concealed under this almost impervious veil is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it. But if it were thought necessary to perpetuate this language for the sake of the portion of valuable information it contains, this might be much more easily accomplished by other means, than the establishment of a new Sangsrit school. For there have been always and are now numerous professors of Sanscrit in the different parts of the country, engaged in teaching this language as well as the other branches of literature which are to be the object of the new Seminary. Therefore their more diligent cultivation, if desirable, would be effectually promoted by holding out premiums, and granting certain allowances to their most eminent professors who have already undertaken on their own account to teach them, and would by such rewards be stimulated to still greater exertions.

From these considerations, as the sum set apart for the instruction of the natives of India was intended by the Government in England for the improvement of its Indian subjects, I beg leave to state with due difference to your Lordship's exalted situation, that if the plan now adopted be followed, it will completely defeat the object proposed ; since no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen of years of the most valuable period of their lives in acquiring the niceties of Byakaran or Sangsrit grammar. For instance in learning to discuss such points as the following : *Khad* signifying to eat ; *Khaduti*, he or she or it eats. Query. Whether does *Khaduti* taken as a whole, convey the meaning *he, she or it eats*, or are separate parts of this meaning conveyed by distinctions of the word ? As if in the English language it were asked, how much meaning is there in the *eat* ; how much in the *S* ? and is the whole meaning of the word conveyed by these two portions of it distinctly, or by them taken jointly.

Neither can much improvement arise from such speculations as the following ; which are the theme suggested by the Vedant. In what manner is the soul absorbed into the Deity ? What relation does it bear to the divine essence ? Nor will youths be felt to be better members of society by the Vedan-



tic doctrines which teach them to believe that all visible things have no real existence; that as father, brother, &c. have no actual entity, they consequently deserve no real affection, and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world, the better. Again, no essential benefit can be derived by the student of the Meemangsa from knowing what it is, that makes killer of a goat sinless on pronouncing certain passages of the Vedant, and what is the real nature and operative influence of passages of the Vedas, &c.

The student of the Nyoyushastru cannot be said to have improved his mind after he has learned from it into how many ideal classes the objects in the universe are divided and what speculative relation the soul bears to the body, the body to the soul, the eye to the ear, &c.

In order to enable your Lordship to appreciate the utility of encouraging such imaginary learning as above characterised, I beg your Lordship will be pleased to compare the state of science and literature in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon, with the progress of knowledge made since he wrote.

If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the Scholmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sangsrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British Legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a liberal and enlightened system of instruction; embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Anatomy with other useful sciences, which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe, and providing a College furnished with necessary books, instruments and other apparatus.

In representing this subject to your Lordship, I conceive myself discharging a solemn duty which I owe to my countrymen, and also to that enlightened Sovereign and Legislature which have extended their benevolent cares to this distant land, actuated by a desire to improve its inhabitants, and therefore humbly trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken in thus expressing my sentiments to your Lordship.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, with the profoundest respect, your Lordship's obedient and most faithful servant,  
Gyananneshun.] (Signed) RAMMOHUN ROY.

**BENGAL MEDICAL RETIRING FUND.**

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A quarterly general meeting of the subscribers to the Bengal Medical Retiring Fund was held on Friday the 18th April. Mr. Corbyn in the chair.

The report of the committee of management for the last quarter having been laid before the meeting, it was resolved that the same be adopted, and that it be sent to the Journal of Medical Science for publication.

It was stated by the management that the result of the votes of the subscribers to the fund taken upon the question of the admission of Veterinary Surgeons into the institution, and that of the votes for the nomination of four gentlemen to fill up vacancies in the management for the present year, were not yet ascertained, the Benares, Dinapore, Barrackpore and Meerut divisions of the army not having yet forwarded replies on both questions to the circulars on those subjects.

The business was closed by a vote of thanks to the chairman, which was acknowledged, and the meeting broke up.

H. S. MERCER, Secy. Med. Retg. Fund.

Calcutta, 19th April, 1834.

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**MEDICAL AND PHYSICAL SOCIETY OF CALCUTTA.**

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*Proceedings of Meeting held on the 5th April, 1834.*

**MEMBERS PROPOSED.**—E. W. Clarributt, Esq. and T. Russell, Esq. Assistant Surgeons, Bengal Service, proposed by Messrs. Langstaff and Twining; C. Griffiths, Esq. Assistant Surgeon, Bengal Service, by Messrs. Tytler and Egerton.

In conformity with a recommendation from the Committee of Management, that a Secretary for the Foreign Correspondence should be elected, Dr. N. Wallich was chosen by ballot to fill that office.

Mr. Twining was elected a Member of the Committee of Management and Papers, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the appointment of Mr. M. J. Bramley as Secretary.

It being understood that a Medical Library was about to be established at Fort St. George, the Society resolved that a series of their publications should be presented to it. And as there are some duplicate medical works in the Society's Library, the Secretary was requested to offer such of those works as the Madras Library may not already possess.

It was resolved on the motion of Mr. Hutchinson, seconded by Mr. Garden, that a series of the Society's publications should be presented to the Society, recently established among the students at the Native Medical Institution.

Letters from J. Grant and J. T. Pearson, Esqrs. were read, requesting their names might be withdrawn from the list of Members of the Society.

The following communications received since the last meeting were presented to the Society :—

1.—A letter from the Royal College of Surgeons of London, acknowledging the receipt of the 5th volume of the Society's Transactions—and presenting for the Library a copy of the parts yet published of the Catalogue of the Museum of the College, together with a Catalogue of the Library, and also a copy of a Memoir on the *Nautilus Pompilius*, published by direction of the Council of the College.

2.—A letter from Dr. Isaac Hays of Philadelphia, presenting to the Society's Library, a copy of the August No. 1833 of the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, edited by him, with several pamphlets on medical subjects, principally relative to Cholera and operative surgery. The letter also acknowledges the receipt of the 6th volume of the Society's Transactions.

3.—Monthly Abstract of Proceedings of the Society of Natural History at the Mauritius, through M. Desjardins, Secretary, up to 28th November, 1833.

4.—Ninety-five cases of Hydrocele cured by an injection of a solution of Iodine, with remarks, by J. R. Martin, Esq. Surgeon to the Native Hospital, Calcutta.

5.—A Report of the Epidemic Diseases occurring at Bangalore, during the year 1833. By J. Mouat, Esq. M. D. Surgeon to H. M. 13th Light Dragoons.

6.—Some Account of the Fevers which prevailed in Calcutta during the year 1833. By William Twining, Esq.

7.—Description of some rare and curious Plants, with water-color paintings of the same. By N. Wallich, Esq. M. D., Superintendent of the H. C.'s Botanic Garden.

8.—Cases and Remarks, illustrative of the Pathology of the Heart. By C. Morehead, Esq., Bombay Medical Service.

9.—Case of obstinate disease of the Testicle, cured by Iodine. By A. Ross, Esq. M. D. Surgeon, Bengal Service.

10.—Case of Poisoning by Laudanum, in which life was



sustained by means of artificial respiration, during the operation of the poison. By C. Smith, Esq, Madras Medical Service.

11.—A letter was read from Mr. Previté, of the firm of Messrs. Gunter and Hooper, describing a new process of manufacturing bread, invented by him, by which it may be preserved for any length of time, and by a very simple process, made as fresh and as new as the first day it was baked.

The following is an extract from the letter :

“ It is needless for me to mention that the ‘ bread rusk,’ so generally in use, and which for keeping good, ranks amongst the first in sea stores, is simply the loaf cut in slices, and every particle of moisture carefully dried out of it—a compactly made loaf of the light spongy kind, usually called French bread, baked in a tin, is as capable of being dried and brought to the same state as rusk, and will keep, it may be presumed, as well and as long. When the bread is one day old, cut from four to eight small pieces, out of the bottom of about one inch long, half an inch wide, and half an inch deep; this should be done carefully with a small sharp-pointed knife, so as to let the places be as distinct and separate from each other as possible—the loaf should then be placed on a tin, bottom upwards, and thoroughly dried in an oven of from 100 to 110 degrees of heat. This will probably take forty-eight hours, or more; for should any moisture remain in the bread, it must inevitably turn sour and spoil. After drying, it is ready for packing, and if packed in quantities, I would recommend strong tin cases, with sliding shelves, with divisions for each loaf, as it is very essential that it should be preserved entirely whole. When the bread is required to be made fresh, take it and pour a desert spoonful of clean water into each of the apertures, turn it, and damp the outside with a clean napkin or a sponge, put it into a copper pan; closely stopped, (luted,) or into an oven similar to the accompanying, taking care that it is securely stopped, so as to admit no part of the steam to escape. The preparation or lute I would recommend for this purpose, should be made of salt, chalk, and flour, in equal quantities, with sufficient water to render it of consistency to adhere firmly; this done, place the whole in a common oven of the usual heat for baking bread, for fifteen or twenty minutes, when it will be found to have generated the water into steam, and to have brought the loaf to the state of newly baked bread, perfectly fresh, soft, and

sweet, as the first day it was made—take the loaf carefully out of the steam-oven, if I may use the term, with both hands, and place it on a tin, setting the same, without cover, in the common oven to dry, say for a quarter of an hour, and it will be fit for use.”

Mr. P. adds, that muffins and rolls, properly made, are equally easily preserved and prepared. A steam-oven and three specimens of the “prepared bread” were presented at the Meeting, which latter had been made on the 3d of November, 1833. One of these was in its hard dry state, the others had been recently submitted to the process recommended, and proved, on being broken up, to possess all the qualities of newly baked fresh bread.

M. J. BRAMLEY, Secretary,  
Calcutta, April 5, 1834. Medical and Physical Society.

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**SUPREME COURT,—APRIL 1, 1834.**

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JOHN LONGDON v. BEGBIE AND NAVIN.

Mr. Marnell, as counsel for paupers, stated that the plaintiff was engaged in England by one of the defendants as a foreman at their shop in Calcutta, on a salary of 50 Rs. a month for three years, after which period, if his conduct would be approved of, he was to have a fourth share in the concern; 50 pounds was paid by them for the plaintiff's passage money to Calcutta, which sum he had paid with interest out of his salary; that after the expiration of the prescribed time, the plaintiff applied to be admitted as a partner according to their agreement; a month after which application, he received a letter from the defendants intimating that his services were no longer required.

The prayer of the Bill was that the agreement between the parties may be performed.

Mr. Turtón appeared for Mr. Begbie. He admitted the agreement generally; and said, that owing to the plaintiff's bad conduct, the defendants were obliged to discharge him. That 50 Rs. a month with board and lodging was quite sufficient for the plaintiff's services during his stay with them. That the plaintiff received only 30 shillings a week in England for the services without board and lodging; and that had the plaintiff's conduct not been so very bad as it has been, he certainly would have been admitted as partner. No one ap-

peared for Mr. Navin, who requested his attorney Mr. Hudson to put in no answer. Some interrogatories were read on both sides, but judgment has not yet been passed.

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MONDAY, APRIL 7, 1834.

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**JAMES WATT v. WILLIAM WOOLLEN.**

The Advocate General, with whom was Mr. Leath, stated the case for the plaintiff. This was an action brought on a bond and the defendant had pleaded the general issue. The sum claimed by plaintiff was Rs. 12,480 with interest, the bond bearing date 12th April, 1832.

The jurisdiction was not admitted. It was deposed that the defendant resided at Serampore, and that there was a house in Sudder Street, Calcutta, in which he resided when he came to town—that no other person resided in it, but whether the house was in the possession of the defendant or whether he had servants there witnesses could not say. Ultimately it was proved that the defendant was in the Civil Service and the court held it was *prima facie* evidence that defendant was an Englishman and subject to the jurisdiction.

Mr. Strettell, who proved that defendant was in the Civil Service, was cross-examined by Mr. Turton, and deposed as follows:—I believe plaintiff has no employment. He is well known on the turf and a little addicted to billiards. Cannot say he informed me that this bond was for a gambling debt, but I have heard of it as a joint bond with a Mr. Rainey.

Mr. Advocate General submitted that Mr. Turton could not enter on the question of the consideration for the bond, as defendant had not pleaded specially but the general issue.

Mr. Turton urged that he had a right to question the consideration, and referred to the statute 9 Anne 14, which declares all notes, bills, bonds, judgments, mortgages, or other securities won by playing at cards, dice, tables, tennis, bowls or other games, or by betting on the sides of such as play at those games, or for repayment of money knowingly lent for such gambling or betting shall be void.

Mr. Advocate General argued that the consideration might have been disputed had the general issue not been pleaded, for it would be totally impossible for a plaintiff to be prepared to refute evidence unless notice was given of intention



to bring it forward. He need not argue whether the statute of *Anne* extended to sealed bonds, for, if it did, it was not for the defendant to urge in his defence what he had not pleaded. The learned Counsel then cited *Chitty on Pleading* p. 479 wherein it is stated that "the defendant may give in evidence under the plea of *non est factum*, that the deed was delivered to a third person as an *escrow* (though it is more usual to plead the fact); or that it was void at law *ab initio*, as that it was obtained by fraud, or whilst the party was drunk, or made by a married woman, or a lunatic or a person intoxicated, &c. or that it became void after it was made by erasure, alteration, addition, &c." But matter which shews that the deed was merely voidable on account of infancy or duress, or that it was void by Act of Parliament, in respect of usury gaining; or that a bail bond was not made according to the 23 Hen. VI. c. 9., must in general be pleaded. Mr. Advocate General also cited a case in *Starkie* and in *W. Blackstone*, and contended that there was nothing in the case before the court to take it out of the general rule.

Sir J. P. Grant thought the cases cited were in point, and decided that the consideration could not be questioned. But, at the request of Mr. Turton, a note was taken, that evidence was tendered that the bond was a security given for a gambling debt and void under the statute of *Anne*.

Mr. Thomas Sandes then proved the execution of the bond in the presence of himself and Mr. Thomas White of Jessore.

*Verdict for the Plaintiff.—Englishman.*

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**INSOLVENTS' COURT,—SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 1834.**

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IN THE MATTER OF LUCAS YOUNG.

No opposition appearing against the insolvent, he was discharged.

IN THE MATTER OF CHARLES CHRISTIANA.

No opposition appearing against the insolvent, he was discharged.

IN THE MATTER OF ALEXANDER COLVIN AND OTHERS.

The Examiner not being able to make his report in the above matter, asked for time to do so till the next Court day, the 19th of April.

IN THE MATTER OF JAMES YOUNG AND OTHERS.

Mr. Wight with the consent of the opposite party, obtained leave that the further hearing of the above matter do stand over until the next Court day.

IN THE MATTER OF COLVIN AND COMPANY.

Mr. Macnaghten as an assignee, filed his account from the 2d January to the 31st March last.

IN THE MATTER OF THE SEPARATE ESTATE OF  
FERGUSON AND COMPANY.

Mr. Sandes moved for leave to file the account of the assignees, and schedules for the private estate of each of the insolvents, and obtained 15 days' time to file their schedules.

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TUESDAY, APRIL 8, 1834.

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IN THE MATTER OF JOHN PONTET.

The Court adjudged the insolvent to be entitled to the benefit of the Act.

IN THE MATTER OF ALEXANDER COLVIN.

Mr. Sandes applied that the insolvent be discharged from all further liability for the debts of this private estate. Referred to the Examiner to enquire and report.

IN THE MATTER OF WILLIAM AINSLIE.

Mr. Sandes applied that the insolvent be discharged from all further liability for the debts of his private estate. Referred to the Examiner to enquire and report.

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SATURDAY, APRIL 19, 1833.

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IN THE MATTER OF MUDDUN MOHUN MULLIC AND  
BEERNURSING SEAL.

Mr. Turton for the insolvents applied for their discharge. Mr. Prinsep for the opposing creditors examined Muddun Mohun Mullick at great length till 12 o'clock, when Sir John Grant observed, that was the hour the sessions would commence; before, however, the Court broke up, the matter being adjourned till Saturday next. The following business was gone through:

## IN THE MATTER OF FERGUSON AND COMPANY.

*Mr. Turton* applied on behalf of the insolvents that a day of hearing be appointed ; 26th July was fixed.

## IN THE MATTER OF JOHN PALMER AND OTHERS.

*Mr. Shaw* applied for liberty to amend and rectify the proceedings already had in this matter, by striking out the name of " Sally Johnston," in such of the said proceedings as she shall appear as a petitioner jointly with Colonel Johnston, who offered to pay such costs as the assignees of the said John Palmer and Company shall be put to by such amendment, or to make such other order in the premises as the Honorable Court may think fit. Order granted.

## IN THE MATTER OF JAMES YOUNG AND OTHERS.

*Mr. Wight* applied that the order *nisi* of the 22d February be enlarged to the next Court day on consent of the Bank of Bengal, Order granted.

In the same matter *Mr. Wight* applied for three weeks' further time for Examiner to report. Order granted

## IN THE MATTER OF COLVIN AND OTHERS.

*Mr. Turton* applied that the report of the Examiner filed on the 18th instant be confirmed, and that the insolvents be at liberty to file such further consents as they may receive prior to the 3d of May next. Order granted.

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SATURDAY, APRIL 26, 1834.

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In the matter of Muddunmohun Mullick and Beernursing Seal, *Mr. Prinsep* resumed the examination of Muddunmohun Mullick, which lasted for more than 2 hours, after which the counsel submitted, that the explanation given by the Insolvent was any thing but satisfactory regarding a debt of nearly half the amount of his debts, which were 10,500 Rs. and asked, that an enquiry in the matter be directed to the Examiner before the Insolvent was adjudged entitled to the benefit of the Act. This, the Court did not accede to. *Mr. Turton*, counsel for the Insolvents applied for costs, as in every case of frivolous and vexatious opposition, the opposing party is obliged to pay costs. *Sir John Grant* did not give any costs, but adjudged the Insolvents entitled to relief.



In the matter of the separate Estate of Wm. Fairlie Clarke, Mr. Sandes moved, that a day of hearing of the above matter be appointed; 26th July was fixed.

Similar motions were made in the matter of the separate Estate of each of the other partners of the firm of Fergusson and Company; the same day as in the above was fixed.

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In the matter of the separate Estate of Daniel Ainslie, Mr. Prinsep applied on behalf of Robert Champbell, Secretary to the "River Insurance Company." He stated that Daniel Ainslie the abovenamed insolvent was and is now a member and partner of a certain Society for the Insurance of River risks, called the "River Insurance Company," and in which he held two shares; and that he the said Insolvent executed the deed of Co-partnership of the said Society by signing his name thereto. That, prior to said insolvency of the said Daniel Ainslie, certain losses were sustained by the said Society, and that on or about the 25th day of January 1833, a contribution among the members thereof was called for at the rate of 600 Rs. upon each share, under the authority of a general meeting of the members of the said Society, in pursuance of the conditions of the said deed which authorized the demand for such contributions; and that the said Daniel Ainslie was called for payment of Sicca Rs. 1,200 for his 2 shares, which claim he agreed to pay under certain conditions, which the Secretary as aforesaid could not comply with; and that after insolvency of the said Daniel Ainslie, an application was made to the Assignee of the said Daniel Ainslie of his separate Estate, who declined to pay the same, stating that it ought to be made against the Estate of Colvin and Company. That the said Daniel Ainslie was dealt with in the matters of the Society as an individual and was admitted to it on his individual responsibility, and not as a member of the firm of Colvin and Co. That the Secretary was not informed by the said Insolvent, or by any other person or persons, nor did he know, that the members of the said firm of Colvin and Company were in any manner interested in the said 2 shares standing in the name of the said Daniel Ainslie individually, until the Secretary applied to have the said claim registered against his separate Estate, when the said Daniel Ainslie informed the Secretary that the said shares belonged to the said Messrs. Colvin and Company, and not to himself, although they were held in his name.

That on the first day of May 1833, the said Society finding it a losing concern, declined to take further risks, and from the present date of the affairs of the said Society, it is expected that a further sum of Sa. Rs. 500 or thereabout per each share will be called for, to meet the remainder of the claims due to the said Society. The Petition prayed that the said claim of Sa. Rs. 1,200 for the said shares, held by the said insolvent in the said Society be admitted in the separate schedules of the said Daniel Ainslie, and allowed to be proved against his separate Estate.

Mr. Turton opposed the Petition, with an affidavit of Daniel Ainslie, stating that the 2 shares were of the firm of Colvin and Company as would appear from their books and *not* his individual shares. Application refused.

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## **GWALIOR.**

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***A Copy of a Conference between the Governor General of India and Jhunkoo Row Scindiah, which took place in the presence of Mr. Macnaughten, Chief Secretary to Government, the Honorable Mr. Cavendish, Resident of Gwalior, and Major John Low, Resident of Lucknow; contained in a Khurreetak, dated 18th Dec. 1832.***

***First Day, 6th Dec. 1832—***The Governor General remarked to Maharaj Jhunkoo Row Scindia, that as a friendly understanding existed between the two Governments, it appeared advisable that the Maharaj should repose confidence in him the Governor General, and openly communicate what he required of him.

The Maharaj having thanked the Governor General for his kindness, assured him that he would conceal nothing from him, and proceeded to give a detailed statement of his case, the purport of which went to show that according to the Shastras, and the practice of the house of Scindiah when a young Rajah arrived at years of discretion, the power in addition to the name, was always conferred upon him. He had therefore anxiously awaited the present event, in full expectation that the Governor General on his arrival would consign to him the reins of Government. The Governor General having heard thus far the Maharaj's statement, and being desirous of shewing him how erroneously grounded were his expectations, proceeded to explain to him the nature of his situation. I have no authority, said he either to take or give away the Government of this country, because the possessions of Scindiah are independent. Neither has the British Government ever taken upon itself to raise or remove any one from its musnud, nor would a change of policy appear advisable under present circumstances. The Maharaj next inquired for what purpose then had he been adopted? The Governor General replied that the object of this had been to continue the name of Scindiah, and to prevent the consequences resulting from a disputed succession; still the British Government had not exacted any promise from the Baza Baie to place him on the throne on his arrival at any particular age. The Governor General added that the Maharaj ought to consider himself a most fortunate individual. That in consequence of the kindness of the Baza Baie he had been adopted as the heir to the throne of Scindia,



whereas in recompence for that kindness he appeared to have made a very indifferent return. Did he consider this gratitude on his part? The Maharaj then inquired from the Governor General, since it did not seem to be his intention to confer upon him at present the Government of the country, to mention to him at what time he might look forward to it, whether in one, two, or five years. The Governor General replied, that he could give no answer to this question; he afterwards, however added that the Maharaj ought well to consider this, that when Major Stewart was Resident at Gwalior, he frequently had urged Dowlut Row Scindiah to adopt an heir, but the late Maharaj had constantly put it off and had never adopted any one: secondly, that several month before his death, when in the full possession of his faculties, he had thus clearly expressed his wishes with regard to the succession, namely, that should he leave this world without a son, he wished the reins of Government to devolve on the Baza Baie. It was not until several months after the death of the late Maharaj, that an heir was adopted by the Baza Baie, nor had any arrangement ever been entered into betwixt the English Government and Her Highness to the effect that she was to abdicate in favor of that heir at any particular period. The only reason why the Government indeed had recommended the adoption, was in order to prevent the disorganization which generally attends a disputed succession. "In short you owe" continued he; "your elevation solely to the Baza Baie, and not at all to the English Government; if you choose therefore to await the course of events when fortune shall raise you to the musnud, I will promise you to explain to the Baie, that she is not to supersede you by any other adoption. This you may rely upon, but if you should of your own accord raise disturbances for the purpose of superseding the Baie, the result whether good or bad must be borne by you. In such a case should you happen to be killed, or imprisoned, or should any thing else befall you, the British Government will not interfere in your behalf, neither in such case will the British Government then interfere to insure your succession."

The Maharaj having heard this, remained for some time silent, but evidently comprehended fully the purport of the Governor General's remarks. He then said, since it does not appear to be the Governor General's desire that I should be placed on the Gudee, I will no longer endeavour to obtain possession of the Government. Now however, the Baie is impressed with the idea that I am opposed to her, and if any dis-

turbances take place, whether I am actually concerned or not, the blame will certainly be placed to my account ; should therefore a complaint in consequence be made against me to the British Government, what resource is then left me. The Governor General gave him confident assurances that false accusations against him would on no account be listened to ; that the reports would be received only through the resident, and should he require that gentleman's presence whether in private or in durbar, he would be prepared to attend upon him. " You must however be exceedingly careful," added he, " that you do not conduct yourself in such a manner that accusations of disturbances are brought forward and afterwards proved against you."

*Second Day, Friday, 7th December, 1832.*—The Governor General paid a visit to the Maharaj ; and afterwards at the desire of the Baie, he proceeded in company with the three gentlemen above mentioned and Trimbukrow, to the purda of the Ranee. The Baiza Baie commenced by assurances of her friendly feeling towards the Company's Government ; but did not openly express herself as had previously been done by the Maharaj. After considerable delay, the Governor General requested her to state freely any thing she desired to communicate ; but notwithstanding this, the Baie still showed no inclination to enter upon any other than general topics. The Governor General seeing this, began by stating that in consequence of her request, he had a long private interview with the Maharaj, and whatever then occurred would be faithfully reported to her by the Maharaj in presence of the Resident. The Baie solicited that Major Low might be present at the same time, which the Governor General agreed to. In the evening the Honorable Mr. Cavendish and Major Low accordingly attended, when the Ranee requested that the Maharaj might not be present. The Governor General proceeded forcibly to urge on the Ranee the necessity of treating the Rajah with kindness. The Ranee replied, that the Rajah neither attended to her orders nor acknowledged her authority. He now, said she, circulates false reports ; that I desire to remove the succession, and that I have attempted to administer poison to him. The Governor General remarked, that this was certainly very wrong on his part, but that he, the Governor General, would take the Rajah to task, and prevent the like from occurring in future. Afterwards, having spoken to the Baiza Baie regarding a separate place of resi-

dence for the Rajah, he took his departure. The same evening the Maharaj proceeded to the tent of the Governor General, where in presence of the three gentlemen before mentioned, he had a private interview with him, which lasted about an hour. During this the Governor General explained to him the line of conduct it would be advisable for him to pursue, in order to keep on terms of amity with the British Government and with the Baza Baie. In continuation, he remarked, that in return for the kindness which had been shown him by the Baza Baie, his behaviour to her had been most unjustifiable. The Maharaj acknowledged the impropriety of his conduct, urging that what had passed had been merely the result of passion and that nothing of the kind should occur in future. "I am now aware," said he, "that I must no longer look to the English Government to support me in obtaining possession of the Government, and should disturbances be excited by me, I am not to expect your assistance; the Governor General's decision being known I yield implicit obedience to it, and will cease from henceforth to urge my application. There is one difficulty, however, exists, since it is impossible for me to remain in the same place, and on friendly terms with the Baza Baie. Should any accusations be forwarded against me, it will, while I am in this state, be impossible for me to prove my innocence. If I am obliged to remain with the Baie, I cannot but feel unhappy and discontented. Would it not be better that a separate maintenance should be allowed me and my attendants, or that a jageer in the country should be allotted to me? I submit myself however, in this respect, to the Baza Baie whichever she may think best I shall be contented with." The Governor General replied, that the decision on this subject depended on the Baza Baie; "but I hope," said he, "this arrangement may be made agreeably to your wishes. I cannot however speak with certainty until the Baza Baie has expressed her sentiments on the subject." The Governor General afterwards openly and clearly assured the Maharaj that he would not allow the Baza Baie to adopt another heir, or to supercede him; upon condition however that no attempt should be made in the meantime to supercede the Ranee, or to oppose himself to her authority.

*Third Day, 8th December, 1832.*—On the 3d day the Governor General, attended by the Chief Secretary to Government and the Resident, paid a visit to the Baie. The Ranee having expressed the customary compliments of friend-



ship, stated that the Maharaj had come that morning, and detailed to her every thing which had passed at the late interview, and on her mentioning what had been said, it appeared that the Maharaj had faithfully reported every thing that had occurred. The Baza Baie then complained of the refractory disposition of the Maharaj, and enquired in case of his behaving ill what was she to do. The Governor General requested her to explain what misbehaviour she alluded to. The Baza Baie said she alluded to attempts made to depose her. The Governor General replied, that she was at liberty in that case to act as she considered best. The Baza Baie then complained that the Maharaj was a most troublesome and oppressive inmate of the palace. The Governor General replied, that as she was at the head of her house, that she ought to take measures to prevent this. The Baie said that she knew not what course to pursue; for some time past repeated attempts had been made by him to supersede her authority, and on pardon being extended to him upon promise of better behaviour, the same conduct was invariably persisted in. "I have never treated the Maharaj," said she, "with severity, I have however heard this asserted from many quarters, and probably a report of the same kind has already reached your Lordship's ear." The Governor General replied, that such statements as reached him through the Resident were attended to, and no others. The Baza Baie then mentioned, that Major Fielding had once forwarded a complaint against her to the Government, and so soon as she heard of it by a Khureetah from the Governor General she replied that such as had been stated by Major Fielding could not possibly have occurred. The Governor General recommended her to send her letters through the Resident; but should any complaint against her be forwarded by the Resident, it would then be proper to transmit a separate communication by dāk. "The Vakeels," said he, "which you have placed at different places, only consider their own profits and forward you erroneous accounts. It would be better were you not to repose confidence in them, since no business will ever be transacted through their medium." The Baza Baie had then a long conversation regarding the separate residence of the Maharaj, and mentioned that a dukhaust had been received from him regarding it. The Governor General enquired the purport of it. The Baza Baie said send for the Maharaj, and he himself will explain it to you. The Governor General asked whether the request regarded the present or

the future. The Baza Baie replied, the present, and to reside beyond the limits of the Gwalior camp. The Governor General again urged on the Baza Baie during a long conversation the necessity of treating the Rajah with kindness, since he was heir to the musnud, and would one day for certain be the governor of the country. The Baza Baie promised faithfully to act as he recommended. At this time the Honorable Mr. Cavendish went to bring the Maharaj, but a long conversation having taken place between them separately, a considerable delay in consequence ensued. On Mr. Cavendish's return, it appeared that there had been some misunderstanding from the Maharaj requiring 1000 horse, whereas in the Maharaj's own *durkhaust* 250 were mentioned. When the Governor General asked an explanation of this, the Baza Baie replied that the Maharaj had requested this of his own accord. The Maharaj then translated the *durkhaust* in Hindee, but having written that he had now completely given up all claim to the musnud he stopped reading at this part, and then said that he never intended to give up his claim to the Government. It appears that this was the fault of the writer, for it was evidently absurd to suppose that the Rajah intended to resign his right to the succession. The only difference now existing between him and the Baie was, that the Baza Baie wished the Maharaj to take up his residence beyond the camp, whereas the Rajah wished to remain there with his followers, a point which was left to be arranged between the two parties. The Governor General at the request of the Rajah again urged over and over on the Baza Baie the necessity of shewing kindness to the Maharaj, and settled that the Maharaj was to remain at the palace and that the command of the troops should not be separately bestowed on him. The Governor General concluded by recommending a conciliatory conduct to the Baie and obedience on the part of the Rajah. The Maharaj said that his last resort was to the Governor General, and after his decision nothing more remained for him.

Signed in English by the Governor General.—*Mofussul Ukhbar*, Nov. 9.

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## *DELHI.*

### MAHARAJAH MAUN SING.

In our last number we noticed amongst the “rumours of the day,” a report which will probably have occasioned a good deal of surprise, regarding the expected abdication or deposal of his Highness Maharajah Maun Sing, the ruler of Joudhpoor. From what source this intelligence has been derived we are unable to ascertain, nor can we pretend to vouch for its accuracy, but from the credence which it has obtained in more quarters than one, we are disposed to think that it is not altogether void of foundation, more particularly, when we consider that the disrespect evinced by that Prince towards the Governor General, in absenting himself from the Congress which was held at Ajmeer upon his Lordship’s visit to Rajpootana in 1832, has never been forgotten at head-quarters, and that various causes have since tended to heighten the unfavourable impression which was then conceived of him. It must be known to many of our readers that the plea on which Maun Sing thought proper to excuse himself from attending on that occasion was, that his army was in a state of insubordination bordering on mutiny, in consequence of heavy arrears of pay being due to them, which “financial difficulties” rendered impossible for him immediately to discharge, and that being unable, therefore to command a suitable retinue with which to make his appearance at the Congress, his leaving his capital would be impracticable. This was an excuse so obviously inadmissible that it could not be overlooked, for if the Rajah was unable, as stated by him, to muster a sufficient body of troops to accompany him on such an occasion, what possible dependence could be placed upon him in the hour of need, or what expectation could be safely entertained of his supplying, when called on, the military aid which by treaty he is bound to furnish at the requisition of Government. The Governor General did not, however, we believe, take any marked notice at the time of this absurd pretext, which was solely employed by Maun Sing for the purpose of evading a compliance with the request which was conveyed to him to join the other chiefs who had been invited to meet his Lordship at Ajmeer; but an agent being subsequently deputed from Joudhpoor, with the view of ascertaining in what light the Rajah’s excuse had been viewed, and of offering some explanations on the subject, he was refused admittance into his Lordship’s camp, and ordered to re-



turn to his master, without the *khurretahs* which he had brought with him being opened. This was a clear indication of the Governor General's displeasure, and it was of course understood as such by Maun Sing, who accordingly lost no time in setting on foot an intrigue, having for its object the removal of the unfavourable opinion which had been formed of him. With this view his Highness opened a clandestine correspondence with the head moonshee in the Persian Office, then at Simlah, offering him, as we have heard, a handsome consideration in the event of his bringing about a "sufae," or reconciliation, and this, it is supposed, the moonshee undertook to accomplish. The detection however of the negotiation, and the moonshee's dismissal from office soon put an end to his Highness's hopes of a restoration to favour, and in this state of suspense he has since been left, awaiting with fear and trembling the penalty which he has had reason to anticipate as being in store for him. Thus circumstanced, we should have thought that a person of his Highness's well known forecast and acuteness, if unable to obliterate the remembrance of his past independent bearing, would, at least, have endeavoured, by future submissiveness, to avert its apprehended consequences; but Colonel Lockett had not been many months at Ajmeer before several subjects of contention arose between them, in all of which the Rajah was represented as evincing the same imperfect sense of his relations and obligations towards the paramount power with which he had already been charged, and in this way a long list of offences has now accumulated against him. The most serious of the offences is, we believe, the suspicious part conceived to have been lately acted by the Joudhpoor contingent in the joint operations undertaken against the Kosa freebooters by the British and other Governments, in which it was to have aided, but towards the success of which, it in no way contributed. But there are many other minor peccadilloes of which he has been accused, such as delaying to furnish the 1,500 sowars for which the British Government has a right to call on him when it chooses,—allowing the tribute to fall in arrears,—affording harbour within his dominions to certain notorious plunderers,—neglecting to attend to the affairs of his principality,—permitting the territory of his neighbour, the Kishengurh Rajah, to be wantonly violated by a party of Joudhpoor troops, and other acts, which taken by themselves, would probably be considered venial, but which summed up together and viewed in the aggregate with a disposition not inclining to leniency, constitute a formidable cata-

logue of delinquencies' to account for. For these accumulated offences we conclude it is that the rumoured punishment of the loss of his throne is now about to be inflicted on Maun Sing. The report, however, may very possibly prove to be a mistake, and so indeed we should hope, for little as we admire Maun Sing's general character, considering the numerous atrocious acts of cruelty and treachery of which he is known to have been guilty, both before and since his connection with the British Government, yet a measure of such unusual severity as his dethronement, unless justified by other offences than those above adverted to, would completely shake the confidence which has heretofore been placed in our good faith, and create a feeling of disgust and insecurity throughout the whole of the states in alliance with us, the effects of which we might find it difficult to remedy. That the paramount power should not shrink from asserting its functions when necessary, and visit with a proper penalty any violation of those international laws prescribed for the observance of the chiefs to whom it guarantees its protection, and whose differences it is bound to arbitrate, we are fully prepared to admit, nor do we see any reason why it should hesitate to punish in a similar manner, any acts which may be deemed to betray the slightest symptoms of any thing resembling an insubordinate or contumacious spirit towards itself, but little beyond the imposition of a mulct is ever required in such cases, to correct the evil or recall the offending parties to their senses, and we certainly do not think that, except in an extraordinary and extreme case, so despotic a stretch of authority as that of dethronement ought to be resorted to. At any rate we trust that if such a penalty is in contemplation, it has not been the result of *ex parte* information or of any vindictive feeling connected with the circumstance of the Rajah's non-attendance at the Ajmeer Congress, but that it has been determined on after a full and dispassionate consideration of the causes which may have suggested its adoption.

In case Maun Sing is deposed, he will of course, we suppose, be succeeded by the exile, Dhounkul Sing, who, if the current belief entertained of his birth be correct, is the rightful heir to the *guddee* of Marwar, as the posthumous son of the late Rajah Bheem Sing; and this change would be a highly popular one amongst the Rajpoots generally, if occasioned by any other circumstance than the removal of the present occupant, for the reasons to which that punishment will be ascribed, should the Government resolve upon inflicting it.—*Delhi Gazette, March 26.*

# **CAWNPORE.**

*(From the Cawnpore Examiner.)*

## **AFFAIRS OF OUDH,**

**BY SYED ABDOOLLAH LATE DEEWAN TO MR. NEWNHAM  
FORMERLY SUPT. OF RESOURCES IN THE UPPER  
PROVINCES.**

I, Syed Abdoollah, having lived thirty years at Lukhnow from the time Saadut Ali came to the throne as also several years with Mr. Newnham while he was Collector of Cawnpore, and being a well wisher of both the British and the King's Government, and having lately visited Lukhnow and seen how matters are going on there, think myself called upon to write the following that it may come to the notice of His Excellency the Governor-General.

The Government of Oudh from the time of the Newab Shoojah-ood-Dowlah Behadoor till now, has remained firm and stable only by the countenance and assistance of the British authorities. The peace which was concluded between the two states after the battle of Buxar was very beneficial to the Nawab, as from that time the British became the friends and allies of Shoojah-ood-Dowlah, whose fame and power were greatly enhanced.

It is well known to all the people of Hindoostan that the kingdom of Oudh alone preserves its existence by the friendship of the British Government, without that rock of support it would long ere this have fallen to pieces like the government of Nawab Nujuff Khan at Delhi, and the states in the south—Hydrabad, Mysore; and those in the west Poonah and other Mahratta principalities.

It is a thousand pities that at the present moment, owing to the short sightedness of the British Government the Kingdom of Oudh should be going to ruin. The non-interference system has been extremely pernicious to the state.

In 1801 the Nawab Saudut Ali Khan assigned one-half of the Oudh territory, in a very flourishing condition and yielding a revenue of nearly a crore and a half of Rupees, to the British: and upon his death left crores of Rupees in the treasury.

When Nawab Gazee-ood-deen Hyder had been on the throne about thirteen years, the Marquis of Hastings on account of some difference with the Emperor of Delhi, gave His Excellency the Vuzeer the title of King, and withdrew all interference with the internal affairs of the country, which latter



act in the opinion of wisemen, has not been favorable to its prosperity. “If I see a blind man walking into the jaws of a well, and I keep silence, is it not a crime?”

SADI SHIRAZI.

From the time of the establishment of the kingdom and the withdrawal of British interference, murders, robberies, quarrels of all kinds, compulsion of, and extortion from, ryots commenced.

Gazee-ood-deen dying was succeeded by Nasseer-ood-deen the present king, under whom these direful occurrences became daily more frequent, and at last arrived at such a pitch, that scarcely a rupee was brought into the treasury for many years, and His Majesty's servants, dependents and the establishments of his palace did not receive a fraction of pay for a period of nearly six years.

About this time Lord William Bentinck arrived in India as Governor General and that nobleman being wise, just and merciful to the poor, highly disapproved of the management of affairs in Oudh, and although he has not yet interfered with vigor, it is well known that he will never lend his sanction to scenes of violence and iniquity. The present king Naseer-ood-deen being very imprudent spends the greatest portion of his time in the company of women—his pursuits are degrading to the dignity of his station, and he is in the habit of drinking immense quantities of wine. When intoxicated he has been known to commit acts of violence which would draw down upon the head of a less distinguished person severe punishment;\* many married females have been taken by force from their husbands and carried to the Seraglio.

I shall now give a few particulars concerning the Prime Ministers and other officers on whom the Government of the country has depended, from the accession of Gazee-ood-deen Hyder up to the present time.

Mottum-ood-Dowlah (Agah Meer) after the death of Saadut Ali was appointed prime minister. •He with his friends, Roshun-ood-Dowlah and Mewa-Ram who was then only twelve years of age, used every evening to send to the king Gazee-ood-deen Hyder, a petarraha full of wine of all sorts, and encouraged him to smoke a quantity of intoxicating drugs during the day-time, so that his late Majesty continued

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\* We suppress the particular acts to which Syed Abdoollah alludes.—Ed.

in a constant state of drunkenness by which he lost his health and died in a few years. During this time the revenue of the country whatever it amounted to, also a large portion of the hordes left by Saadut Ali were squandered by the prime minister and Deewan, and they became possessed of houses and property at Lukhnow to the value of nearly a crore of Rupees each.

When Mr. Ricketts was Resident at Lukhnow, Lord Amherst desired to borrow a crore of rupees to meet the expenses of the Burmese War. The minister Mottum-ood-Dowlah at once replied "there is no money in the treasury," subsequently Mr. Ricketts wrote and informed Lord Amherst that if the British Government would by a bond make payable the interest of a crore of Rupees to Mottum-ood-Dowlah and his heirs for ever, the money should be forthcoming. Lord Amherst being in great want of the money consented to this arrangement, the king being always either in a state of intoxication or stupefaction, left every thing to the management of his talented minister who easily raised a crore of Rupees, the interest of which was by bond executed by the British Government, and sealed with His Majesty's seal, made payable to Mottum-ood-Dowlah, his heirs and assigns for ever.

The minister to keep up appearances caused it to be entered in the bond that a portion of the interest of the crore of Rupees lent to the British Government was to be appropriated in providing for the expense of the Rung Mahul, occupied by a woman of bad reputation from Cawnpore, and the monument of Nujuff Ushruff. The members of Council, it is believed, did not approve of this act of Lord Amherst's, and had his Lordship been as wise as the present Governor General, such an imprudent measure never would have been carried into effect.

When Gazee-ood-deen Hyder died, Mottum-ood-Dowlah was placed in restraint, and Meer Fuzzil Ali selected as prime minister which office he retained for eight months. There is no occasion to allude particularly to the occurrences of his administration, as they are familiar to Lord William Bentinck and the other members of the Supreme Government.

"A wise man benefits by a sign."

During the period Fuzzil Ali was Naib he embezzled fifty or sixty lakhs of Rupees. He was formerly an elephant driver and his ancestors were of the same profession--on his

removal from office the Poets celebrated the date of it in these words,

“ Coachban dustaree Naib door kurd.”

After his removal Ekbal-ood-Dowlah the son of Captain Futteh Ali Khan, Nujjum-ood-Dowlah the son of Mozuffer Ali Khan, Darogah of Artillery, Ram-Dial Buneeah and others performed the duties of the Nizabut.

During this time as formerly throughout the whole country murders were perpetrated. In the city of Lukhnow, especially at the festival of the Mohurram, riots and fighting were constantly occurring, Bankers and Mewatees were plundered of lakhs of Rupees and a siphahce belonging to the Hon'ble Company's service was killed with impunity to his murderers.

In 1829 Mr. Ricketts was removed from office and Mr. Maddock appointed Resident in his room. About this time Lord William Bentinck began seriously to turn his attention to the affairs of Oudh, and laboured diligently by means of a wise and vigilant administration to restore order and prosperity into a country which long had been a prey to anarchy and crime. Times were changed. The fear of God came over the hearts of the King and his ministers. Complaints were heard and redressed. A stop was put to scenes of violence and plunder because His Majesty and his mother the Queen Dowager became afraid of the determined character of Lord William Bentinck, who they were convinced would reduce Oudh to the state of a British province unless they effected great improvement in the Government of the country. They were therefore compelled by necessity to call to their councils the venerable Moontuzim-ood-Dowlah known by the name of Mehndi-alee-khan.

As His Majesty paid little or no attention to affairs of state, his time being chiefly devoted to the ladies of his zenannah, Mr. Maddock was desirous of engrossing to himself the whole management of the country : but Mehndi-alee-khan being a wise man and having had during the time of Nawab Soodat-ale-khan executive charge of the districts of Khyabad, Mohemdee, Byragash and others, for upwards of nineteen years, and having spent his whole life as an Aumil in assessing and collecting the revenue and managing the affairs of the provinces, wished to conduct the government of the country according to his own views and plans, that his own reputation might continue unimpaired in the eyes of the British authorities.



In consequence of this, differences arose between Mr. Maddock and the Hakeem, and for the purpose of widening the breach Faqueer Mahomed Khan, Mendoo Khan, Mewa Ram and Gobind Lall merchant were in the habit of visiting the Resident and slandering Mehndi-ali. They strongly advised Mr. Maddock to remove the minister and manage the country himself. Fortunately for the Hakeem the Governor General about this time visited Lukhnow and personally investigated the causes of disagreement between the Resident and the minister. As Lord William Bentinck had no other object in view than the suppression of crime, the good government of the country and the welfare of the people; and as he imagined that these reforms could be effected by the countenance in office of the Hakeem, His Excellency was pleased after taking into consideration his long and faithful services to Soodat-ali and the circumstances of his having been called by the king and queen mother to assume the government of the country, to confirm Mehndi-ali-khan in the Niyabut of Oudh.

The king according to custom solicited the Governor General to invest Moontuzim-ood-Dowlah with a khillut or dress of honor as a mark of his Lordship's approval of his appointment to office; but Lord William Bentinck with great wisdom and foresight replied "my confidence in Mehndi-ali-khan is not yet fully established. If he governs with justice and moderation and to the satisfaction of yourself and the people I shall have pleasure hereafter in investing him with an honorary dress in token of my approbation."

Shortly after this the Governor General for well known reasons was pleased to remove Mr. Maddock from office. Whatever may be alleged against some parts of that gentleman's administration during the brief period of his residence at Lukhnow, there can be but one opinion regarding his high abilities and unincorruptible integrity.

Major John Low having managed the affairs of Jyepoor and Gwalior with great temper, moderation, and address, was selected by Lord William Bentinck to succeed Mr. Maddock as Resident at the durbar of Oudh. The Governor General could not have made a more fortunate selection. Possessing a fine temper and suavity of manners, liberal in his views and honest in all his actions—unprejudiced—disinterested and generous—Major Low has obtained the confidence and the love of the people. Admiring the honest character and active spirit of regeneration displayed in Hakeem Mehndi's administration

he was the friend and supporter of that minister, and indignant-ly rejected the most splendid and magnificent present which were ever offered to a public servant since the establishment of the British raj, if he would give his sanction to measures for the disposal of Mehndi-ali-khan which were contemplated by the enemies of the Nawab.\*

For many months Major Low the present Resident and Hakeem Mehndi worked hand in hand for the good of the state, and received their reward in the approbation of their own consciences and the thanks of the Governor General, who was much pleased with the improved aspect of affairs under the able administration of Montuzum-ood-Dowlah.

The enemies of Mehndi Alee Khan were constantly at work, poisoning the King's mind against that minister because amongst many other reforms he had abolished the farming of the revenue and substituted the umanee system, thereby depriving the chuckleedars, who were all powerful at Court, of their illegal and extortionate gains. The ladies of the King's zenanah were particularly offended with the Hakeem for presuming to interfere in the management of their jaghires, totally regardless of the circumstance that he as chief administrator of the country, was responsible both to His Majesty and the British Government for the welfare of the whole people including the ryuts of the Begums' assignments of land. As those ladies did not think proper to govern their jaghires with justice or moderation, but on the contrary, farmed the revenues to needy and unscrupulous favorites who by fine, imprisonment, and torture, squeezed as much as possible out of the hard earned gains of the inhabitants, Mehndi Alee deemed it incumbent on him to step between the people and their oppressors and put an end to scenes of cruelty and fraud by appointing Government salaried Collectors, who were strictly prohibited receiving bribes or fees, and whose simple duty it was to do justice to the zemindars, collect the stipulated jummas upon their estates, and forward the same to the King's treasury from which it was disbursed to the jaghiredars. As this system produced happiness to the people, so also did it cause vexation and anger to the Begums, who were by the operation of it deprived of the power of providing for their favorites, and tyrannising over the people of their jaghires, although

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\* Syed Abdoolah relates with minuteness the circumstance which are merely hinted at above; but for many reasons we think it better not to publish this part of his narrative.—ED.

it is worthy of remark, the revenues of their estates did not suffer; in fact they were encreased and would have gone on progressively fructifying year after year, had the collection of the land tax remained in the hands of the Government officers. Be that as it may, their indignation at what they conceived to be the unwarrantable interference of Hakeem Mehndi, was unbounded, and the above, together with the fact of his refusing any longer to minister to the wasteful extravagance of one of the most powerful of the ladies of the zenanah, was the immediate cause of the Nawab's downfall.

In the rains of 1832 Hakeem Mehndi was dismissed from office by an ungrateful sovereign unable to appreciate the value of such a servant, or to bear about his person or government any but the most abject sycophants and flatterers. Although the corrupt faction of Oudh triumphed over the aged Hakeem, whom they would have plundered, if not murdered, but for fear of the vengeance of the British Government, yet their triumph was contemptible, as they carried along with them neither the approbation of the Resident, nor the love of the people, nor the gratulations of foreign states: it was the mere triumph of a selfish clique intent on their own petty interests, and as such excited the contempt and disgust of all good men. They are ambitious, but it is the ambition of wealth acquired by the perpetration of the foulest crimes: they are fond of power, but it is the power of screwing from the people by rack and torture the earnings of their honest industry and frugality. The money thus shamefully acquired they have either squandered on their licentious pleasures or hoarded with avaricious care, or expended on landed property in the Company's provinces, but not one fraction has been received into the coffers of the state. The king who formerly revelled in affluence, totally ignorant of the cares and vexations incident to poverty, is at the present time frequently distressed for money and compelled to deny himself many of his ordinary enjoyments.

In fact since the dismissal of Mehndi Alee Khan the country has been a continued scene of murder, robbery and violence of all kinds, which have greatly impoverished both the Government and the people: trade and agriculture have suffered much from the unsettled state of the country: fields formerly teeming with luxuriant crops are now a barren waste; the beautiful mangoe groves which adorn the smiling land and



afford a bountiful supply of delicious fruit both to the rich and poor have been greatly thinned and injured by bands of lawless men who now over-run the country, murdering and plundering the people and committing every sort of mischief, frequently setting fire to villages out of wantonness or revenge, by which the wretched inhabitants are either burned to death or slain if they attempt to seek safety in flight. These are a few of the blessed effects arising from the non-interference system—a system dictated neither by policy, humanity, nor respect to treaties; for is it not written in article sixth of the treaty concluded the 10th day of November 1801 that “His Excellency the Nawab Vizier engages to establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration (to be carried into effect by his own officers) *as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants:* and His Excellency will always *advise with and act in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the Honorable Company.*”

Can any thing be clearer than the above? His Excellency the Nawab Saadut Ali in the year of Christ 1801 bound himself *and his descendants for ever* to establish and maintain a good and just government, by and with the advice and assistance of the British Government, acting through the agency of the Resident at Lukhnow.

Have the stipulations of the treaty been fulfilled? If not, who has violated them? The stipulations have not been fulfilled because the Nawab Vizer's successors have never even attempted to establish a good Government, and the provisions of the treaty have been violated by both the contracting parties in as much as the one promised to govern by the advice of the other, whereas in fact the party on whom the solicitation of advice was binding do not ask for it, and the other party whose duty it is to bestow advice and counsel, neglect the sacred obligation and for the purpose of upholding a theory right in the abstract, but not at all adapted to the peculiar relations of the British Government with the dependent states of India, permit a whole nation to be plundered and oppressed and the chief of that nation to hazard his crown and possessions by pursuing a destructive career like the Rajahs of Mysore and Coorg, which may terminate in his deposition and the complete subjection of his country to the all absorbing power of the British.

*(To be continued.)*

## THE THUGS.

(*From the Cawnpore Examiner.*)

*Deposition of Girdharee Jemadar of Thugs, 17th March, 1833.*

## FIRST EXPEDITION.

Thirteen years ago in the month of Chaet, Kulleean the brother of Ram Buksh approver, came to my house in the village of Lukhnapore, illakah thanah Secundria, zillah Cawnpore, and staid there two days. Early in the morning of the third day, Kulleean and myself went outside the village to take the auspices, as is the custom with Thugs, and having heard the cry of the shamah on the left hand, and the braying of the ass on the right, we proceeded to the village of Nusseerpore, illakah Jalone, where Buholah approver lived. Here we found some Thugs already assembled, and we remained two days, during which we sacrificed a goat, and performed all the rites of Tuggaree.

On the 3rd day the nine undermentioned Thugs left Buhola's house on an expedition.

- 1 Buhola, approver.
- 2 Girdharee, deponent, approver.
- 3 Kulleean Lodhee, approver.
- 4 Nunda brother to Buhola, dead.
- 5 Lalljoo, died in the jail, Cawnpore.
- 6 Chuttra Aheer, seized July, 1832.
- 7 Ghunsa Aheer, ditto.
- 8 Ajuba Aheer.
- 9 Ooda Aheer, seized July, 1832.

When we had left the village we heard the shamah on the left and the kite on the right, and then we proceeded to Mumna, illakah thanah Jullalpore zillah northern division of Boondailkhund, where we encamped. The next day we went to Raht, and thence in twelve days to Goorgoan, illakah Punna. Here we encamped under a Mangoe tree outside the town. We had brought with us from Sindwa a Brahmin, who was on his way from Cawnpore towards Saugor, and at night we murdered him on the spot, where we had encamped. He was strangled by Nundha, and his body was carried off by Buhola, Nundha and Chuttra, and buried. We got from him a chesnut horse, blind of one eye, a brass thalee, lotah, butloohee and kuttoree, an iron towa, a red turban, an amawa

coloured ungurka, a white doputtah, a razae, a suttrinjee, and 25 rupees cash. We thence went through Saugor to a village the name of which I forget, three coss beyond the town. Here we encamped, and in the evening two men of the bearer caste came up and took up their quarters close to us, Buhola soon won their confidence, and about 3 A. M. the next morning we induced them to start with us, and at a nullah one coss from the village where we were encamped, and two coss from Saugor, they were strangled by Buhola and Chuttra, assisted by Kulleeen and Nundha. Their bodies were buried in the nalah by Ajooba, Nundha, Ooda and Buhola. We got from them 60 rupees cash, cooking utensils, and wearing apparel, all of which we took to Ratghur, thence we proceeded to Bhuggrode, illakah Ratghur and halted near the tank. Here we divided the spoil acquired in both these murders. We thence went by the regular marches to Sumreea, illikah Ougein. In Sumreea Buhola won the confidence of 2 Brahmins who had come from Mhow, and were going to the Oudh territories, and induced them to take up their quarters in the grove outside the town, where we also encamped. After we had finished our meals, we went to sleep and at 3 A. M. the next morning we induced them to start with us, and at a nalah one and a half coss from Sumreea they were strangled as they were walking along by Buhola and Chuttra. Ajooba, Ooda, Chuttra, and Kulleeen carried off the bodies and buried them. We got from them cooking utensils, wearing apparel, and 150 rupees cash. Having taken the property we returned to Sumreea. We thence went to a village seven coss eastward of Sumreea, and divided the booty: we thence went to Bhilsa where we fell in on the road with two men of the Aheir caste, who had come from Lahore, and were going to Saugor. When we reached a village five coss east of Lahore, we halted and when they had finished their dinner, Buhola gave them a rupee byana (purchase money) on account of the bullocks, promising to pay the whole price in Saugor. At 3 A. M. we induced them to start with us and at a spot two coss on the Saugor road they were murdered by Kulleeen and Chuttra, Nundha, Ajooba, Kulleeen; and Chuttra carried away their bodies, and buried them in a nalah; we got from them three bullocks, with 30 rupees, the clothes they had in daily use, and a brass lotah, we then went on to the river Bhuggrode, and divided the spoil; we did not stay here but proceeded two coss further to a village, three coss from Saugor,



where we passed the night. The next day we passed through Saugor, and fell in on the road with a sepahce who was on his way from Nagpore to the Oudh territories, and a koormee and a barber, who had come from Sehore, and were going to Koottoond, we proceeded as far as Kurrapore, where we passed the night; at 12 o'clock at midnight we induced them to start with us, and at a spot distant one and a half coss, they were strangled by Kulleean, Chuttra, Buhola, assisted by Nundha, Ajooba and Ooda. I Nundo, Chuttra Gunsa, Ajooba and Ooda carried away the bodies, and having thrown them in a nulah, placed stones upon them. We got from them 350 rupees in cash, a horse, cooking utensils, and wearing apparel, and having taken all the property to a village two coss east of Saugor we divided it. We then went to Sindwa where we passed the night. We travelled on by regular marches to Kilouwa, where we encamped by the tank, 12 o'clock in the day, and after we had bathed, a quarrel occurred between me and Buhola on various accounts. Ajooba, Ooda, and myself left the gang and went home. Buhola and the rest of the gang committed only one murder after we left them. I reached home in the month of Jaet, and did not go out again until after the rains. I got about 80 rupees cash on this expedition, besides a belah, a thalee, a lotah, and a brass spoon. I reached my home after an absence of two months.

#### SECOND EXPEDITION.

After the rains were over in the month of Koar, I and my brother Rambuksh, who died about three years ago, went outside our village, and having heard the cry of the kite on the right and that of the shamah on the left, proceeded to the house of Buhola in Nusseerpore, illakah Jalone. We staid with him four days, during which time the undermentioned 18 Thugs assembled.

- 1 Kesuree Lodhee, inhabitant of churkeree (died in Sagur.)
- 2 Dooja (brother to Kesuree) lately arrested at Rampoor.
- 3 Hurlall Jemadar, son of Kesuree, at large, inhabitant of Churkeree, Cawnpore.
- 4 Buhola Bunneea, approver.
- 5 Desraj Kachee, arrested at Secundra.
- 6 Chuttra Aheer, inhabitant of Gurree Mherreea, Cawnpore, at large.
- 7 Ghunsa Aheer, ditto.
- 8 Nundha Bunneea, deceased.

- 9 Kulleean, son of Runnea, approver.
  - 10 Gerdharee Brehmun, approver.
  - 11 Rambuksh Brehmun, deceased.
  - 12 Lalljoo Kac'chee, died in Cawnpore Jail.
  - 13 Bhowance, inhabitant of Mateepoor.
  - 14 Dhanncoa, son of Gonay Lodhee (never seen) since arrested at Sagur.
  - 15 Bhuijun Lodhee (believed to have been sent to Sagur from Khujooa.)
  - 16 Muckoa Lodhee (died on his way to Sagur.)
  - 17 Teeka Bunneea, inhabitant of Gurreea, at large.
- Budula Lodhee, deceased.

— After 4 days we sacrificed a goat, and on the following morning we all went outside the village, and having heard the shamah on the right and the jackass on the left, took the road to Sagur. We reached Etouroo, zillah Humeerpoor, the same day. The next day at 12 o'clock we reached the river at Julalpoor, and as we were crossing we fell in with a barber, by caste a Hindoo, who was on his way from Calpee to Keitah. Buhola won his confidence, and brought him on with him to Mumna, where he induced him to halt under a peepul tree, outside the village. At 3 A. M. the next morning he started with us, and about a coss and a quarter from the village he was strangled as he was walking along by one Chuttra.

Buhola and Ghunsa carried off the body and buried it deeply in a nalah, about 4 fields to the east of the road. We got from him 25 Rs. cash, a thalee, a brass hookah bottom, a razae, a turban and a cloth coat. We reached Raht the same day. The next day we came to Omreea and in 2 or 3 days more we reached Jaitpoor and we took up our quarters in a grove close to the village, on the east side of it. Here we found encamped the following Jumaldee (Moosalman Thugs.)

Mirza Jemadar, inhabitant of Salem, Oudh, Futteh Jemadar, and 10 others whose names I don't know. They had in company 3 Hindoo travellers. We joined them at 3 A. M. the same day they started with us and when we reached Futtehgunje, we took our quarters in the bazar for the night. In the evening Omaidah went to look for the baile (grave) and returned about 7 P. M. and said he had found at the distance of 2 miles and a half to the north east a dry cucha well. This well is in the midst of a plain. There is no nalah or well near it. At 3 A. M. the next morning Mirza Jemadar said, it is now cool, we had

better commence marching. We all then started. When we reached the baile, Omaid said here is the baile.

Runnooa Moonshee, Jemadar, immediately said we have all got water let us perform our ablutions hereupon. The travellers sat down, Kesaree then gave the thirnee (signal), and they were immediately strangled by Ramdeen Jemadar, Mihilban alias Omed, Bhemma, Runnooa Moonshee, assisted by Dhunnooa, and Kesuree, subedar.

Bubooa, Bukhtoura, Summooa, Nihla Sibbooa deponent and Omaidee carried off the bodies to the baile. It was distant 1 mile from the spot, where the murder was committed. We threw the bodies down without any earth or brambles to conceal them. If I am ordered I can point out these bodies. Thence we went to a grove distant 4 miles from the spot, where we had committed the murder, and divided the spoil, which consisted of 18 Rs. cash, 3 brass lotahs, a thalee and 2 swords.

I got for my share 4 anas and a sword with a silver gilt handle and its sheath was covered with red leather, and had a brass point to it. This I sold for 5 Rupees to Doulut Brehmeen, zumeendar of Birga, in illakah thannah Tailgram, zillah Furruckabad. When I returned home after the division of this property, Runnooa Moonshee with his gang of 25, and Mirza and Futteh Jemadars with their 12 men (making in all 37 men) took the road to Ajoodheea. The rest of the gang, amounting to 24 men under Kesuree and Ramdeen, besides Bechoo and Horee Singha, returned to Nawulgunge, where we passed the night.

The following day we all came to Hussungunge. The next morning I, Rammah and Lalsa separated from the gang and took the road homewards. At Nanamow Lalsa and Runna parted from me. I returned home alone to Sukhrehnee. All I had gained on the road I had spent, not one farthing did I bring home. The sword above alluded to was the only thing I had. About 10th of Assar (27th June) Kesuree subedar sent Nuhla Aheer to my house to tell me that if I wanted to join the gang, I must come to Anaow, 5 coss from Cawnpoor on the Lucknow road. I replied I wont go again during the rains. Nuhla then went away to join Kesuree—seven or eight days afterwards I was afraid if I staid at home I should be arrested. I therefore fled on the 27th of Assar to Byskapoorooa. In 3 days I was arrested (July 3) along with the other Thugs.



Runnooa rode a 'bay poney of the Tangun breed, very stout and strong with 3 white legs, with a star in the forehead; Kesuree rides a galloway bay mare, with a white blaze down the face, with two white hind legs; Dunnon rode a white poney; Bucheea rides a black poney with a white star in the forehead.

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*Deposition of Sibbooa, son of Ghasee Lodhee, inhabitant of Sukrehnee, illakha thana Turwa, zillah Bela, 25th July, 1833.*

THIRD EXPEDITION.

When six days of Bysakh had passed (10th April,) I and Deena Thug left Sukrehnee, and having crossed the Ganges at Mendy Ghat, went to the Poorooa of Bys, illakah Oudh, to the house of Kesuree, Subedar of Thugs: here we found the following Thugs assembled.

- 1 Kesuree, son of Budda Subedar Lodhee, formerly inhabitant of Puckerahpoor, Dooab.
- 2 Mihrban, alias Omed, son of Biajee Lodhee, formerly inhabitant of Nahgain, Dooab.
- 3 Rumma, son of Munnah Lodhee, formerly inhabitant of Ontakapoorooa, Dooab.
- 4 Lalsa, son of no. 2, formerly inhabitant of Rehgaon, Dooab.
- 5 Bulla, brother to no. 3, formerly inhabitant of Ontkapoorooa, Dooab.
- 6 Bhimma, son of Chedday Lodhee, inhabitant of Byoka Poorooa, Oude.
- 7 Beekho, son of Nunday, formerly inhabitant of Jout, Dooab.
- 8 Nuhla Aheer, formerly inhabitant of Goshængung, Oude.
- 9 Deena son of Khuga, inhabitant of Sukrehnee, Dooab.
- 10 Summoa, son of Horee Lodhee, inhabitant of Sukrehare.
- 11 Dooja, son of Munsa Lodhee, inhabitant of Bhera Khasa, Dooab.
- 12 Sibbooa, deponent.
- 13 Heera Lodhee, inhabitant of Nowada, Oudh, and two others, whose names I cannot recollect. When we had sacrificed a goat, we went out to take the omens in an urhūr field, situated 4 fields to the east of the village. On the third day we heard the call of the partridge on the left and the braving of an ass on the right and then we started off on an expedition. The first place we went to was Nowulgunge. The next day on the road we fell in with two Hindoos in a garden. Kesuree and Bhimma won their confidence and brought them to a bunnea's shop to Bango mow, where they halted for the night. Rumma at 5

P. M. went on to find a place to bury them, at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 P. M. he returned and reported that he had found a *cucha* well a coss distant and that if the travellers could be induced to start at 3 A. M. they would arrive at the spot in very good time. In the evening we finished our meals and then went to sleep: at 3 A. M. the next morning Rumma awoke us all, and said let us start, it is now the hotweather, and it is very fatiguing to march in the middle of the day; they then started with us and at the appointed spot Rumma said here is the *baile* (anglice grave.) Kesree then induced the two travellers to halt, under pretence of performing their ablutions, he then gave the *jhirnee* (signal) for strangling and they were murdered by Dooja and Heera assisted by Kesree and Bhimma.

Beekooa, Mihrban alias Omed, Nuhla, Summooa and Runnooa carried off their bodies to the well, which had been fixed upon by the latter the day before and thrown in. I cannot point out this well, as I did not go. Rumma said there was water in it, and that they threw no earth upon the bodies. Thence we went with the property of these two victims to a grove at Lohta, situated to the west of the village. Here we divided the spoil. I got as my share only 1 Re. 4 anas. Thence we went to Tekeah and took up our quarters at the Bunneea's shops. Here we fell in with the undermentioned 25 Thugs, who had taken up their quarters at the Bunneea's shop previous to our arrival.

- 1 Runnooa Jemadar Lodhee, inhabitant of Behareepoor, Dooab.
- 2 Dhunnooa Jemadar Lodhee, ditto.
- 3 Buksheea Jemadar, ditto.
- 4 Bhukkaree, son of Dulleep, Lodhee (scized at Tekeah) inhabitant of Khoordapoor, Dooab.
- 5 Noula Lodhee, inhabitant of Behareepoor, Dooab.
- 6 Kesea Lodhee, ditto.
- 7 Buhola Lodhee, brother to no. 2, inhabitant of Dooab.
- 8 Selula Lodhee, ditto Dooab.
- 9 Oomaid Lodhee, inhabitant of Sukrhena, Dooab.
- 10 Himmunchula, son of Runnooa.

The names of the others I dont remember, but I know that there were 25 of them in all. The next morning we went in company to Meeagunge. Here we found encamped at the Bunneea's houses—

- 1 Randeem, son of Puzma Jemadar, inhabitant of Rojemow Dooab.

- 2 Mohkum, grand uncle to no. 1, inhabitant of Bettour, Dooab.
- 3 Bubhooa, son to no. 2
- 4 Omaida, son of Rāmhison Lodhee, inhabitant of Mujulee, Dooab.
- 5 Gunnooa, brother to no. 4
- 6 Dhunnooa Lodhee, inhabitant of Eettour, Dooab.
- 7 Bukhtoura, ditto.
- 8 Doorga, son of no. 2
- 9 Nodhee Lodhee, inhabitant of Bettour, Dooab.

The next morning early these joined us and we proceeded in company to Hussungunge. When we had finished our dinner, Beechooa alias Bihar Jemadar, and Hooree Singh Jemadar both arrested in the late dour in Byswara, came and took up their quarters with us. They joined us and we proceeded next morning and reached Nawulgunge by 12 mid-day (and halted at a well under a mangoe tree to the west of the town.) In the evening Kesuree brought out to our encampment two men whose confidence he had won. One was a moosulman the other was a chumar who practised as a doctor. They had come from Nagpoor, and were going to Bareilly. About half after one o'clock the next morning we started with them, and having quitted the high road, took that leading to Mow, generally called Kool Puharee Mow. About one coss from that village we halted at a nalah on pretence of washing our faces, &c. and they were both strangled.

The Moosulman by Chuttra Aheer and the Chumar by Nundha.

Their bodies were carried off and buried under some stones in the nalah, by Noola, Dooja, and Haral, whose sister Kesuree married.

I cant say whether the bodies are still there, or whether they have been taken away by the wild beasts. We got from them 80 Rupees in cash, a lotah, a thalee, and a tin washed copper lotah, the latter article as it was no use to us we threw down with the bodies.

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# **NIPAL.**

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## **THE KING OF NIPAL.**

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**Maha Raja Deraaj Rajindra Vikram Shah, King of Nipal, succeeded his father at the early age of three years. His Highness is now in his 21st year and is the father of three fine boys, the heir apparent being 4 years of age.**

**The Maha Rajah is the son of Girvan Jodh Vikram Shah, the son of Run Bahadoor Shah, the son of Singh Purtab, the son of Pirthi Narayun, the Goorkhali conqueror of Nipal; the Goorkha dynasty has existed in Nipal proper since A. D. 1768.**

**The present Rajah's father died of small pox at an early age. He was a promising Prince and had sat on the gудdee from early infancy, in consequence of the abdication of Run Bahadoor in his favour. When Run Bahadoor abdicated, he appointed one of the Ranees as Regent and guardian to his young son, and retired to Benares. After a short residence in the holy city he returned to Nipal, shortly after which, he was killed in durbar by his own natural brother; the murderer was however speedily done for by directions of General Bheem Sen Thappa, who preserved the life of the young Raja, and became Prime Minister of State, in which high office he continues to the present time.—*Sumachar Durpun.***

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## **MADRAS.**

### **MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS TO THE STEAM FUND.**

There was a very thin attendance at the Meeting of Subscribers to the Steam Fund on Saturday last, not twenty being present; but amongst these a wordy war was waged for more than two hours, when the patience and self-denial of the many was entirely exhausted, (their entrance into the College Hall having been greeted with the intelligence of the long and anxiously desired arrival of a vessel from Europe) and the following resolutions were agreed to and followed instanter by a general move. We are unable to give any account of the proceedings, which amounted to no more than a personal conference on the subject of the disposal of the fund.

We do not see that the slightest advantage is gained in the result of this Meeting; for as the question of 'right of appropriation' has been so much insisted on, our perceptions are too blunted to discover that the Committee or any number of subscribers assembled together possess one whit more right to hold over the Madras subscriptions in the manner resolved upon for one twelve month, than they have by their own shewing to dispose of these same subscriptions to any other object than that to which they were specifically addressed. The case is now placed in a very simple condition:—the managers of the Bombay plan, the only people possessing a constructive right to the Steam Fund lately raised at Madras, have signified their readiness to relinquish to such subscribers as may be willing to take back the amount of their respective contributions. Now if Jack, Tom and Harry, all or either, choose to claim the return of their subscribed quotas for the sake of adding their support to the active Bengal scheme, we should like to know whether "resolution no. 3" of Saturday's Meeting will be of the remotest possible avail in affording even a colourable pretext to the Committee for refusing compliance? In *law*, we *think* it will not: in point of *justice* we say assuredly not. This question, however, will doubtless be soon settled by the appointment of an agent at Madras to receive subscriptions to the "New Bengal Steam Fund"; and we hope it will be thus brought to issue for the satisfaction of the public.

## 358 MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS TO THE STEAM FUND.

*“ At a General Meeting of the Subscribers to the Madras Steam Fund, held pursuant to public notice at the new College Hall, on the 29th March, 1834, it was unanimously resolved.*

1st. That it appearing from the published correspondences between the Committees of the three Presidencies that the prospectus for establishing a steam communication between Bombay and Suez, as adopted by a public meeting at Bombay on the 14th May last, and for the furtherance of which prospectus a subscription has been raised in the Madras Presidency pursuant to the resolution of a general meeting held on the 14th June last, has not met with the concurrence of the Presidency of Bengal; but that another scheme has been projected and adopted at a general meeting at that Presidency for establishing a steam communication with Suez from Calcutta as a point of departure, and that consequently the pecuniary means of carrying into effect the prospectus of Bombay have proved hitherto insufficient, and the project has for the present been postponed by the Bombay Committee, pending a reference by them to the home authorities, and has become dependent on the result of such reference, and the Bombay Committee having, under these circumstances, intimated their readiness to relinquish the Madras Fund in case it shall appear that the subscribers should adopt different views from themselves—this meeting consider it necessary to decide by further resolutions on the disposal of the fund raised by the Madras subscription.

2d. That although this meeting do not consider themselves authorized to dispose of those funds in favor of any other specific object than that expressed by the resolutions of June last without the option of the subscribers, yet they are decidedly of opinion that the disposal of them towards advancing the general object of steam navigation between India and England deserves the concurrence of the subscribers at large.

3d. That the funds raised be invested in Government securities in the names of the Chairman and two members of the Committee and be held by the Committee for the benefit and furtherance of any plan for establishing steam communication between India and England which shall be in progress with the sanction of the Supreme Government on this day twelve month, with the exception of that portion of them of which a return may be demanded within one month from that



date by any subscribers individually, in case such sanction shall not happen to be given in favor of the Bombay prospectus, and that in case no such plan shall be in progress, such fund be handed over by the benefit and furtherance of any the first such successful and progressing steam navigation establishment which shall have completed two voyages out and home between India and Suez in any one year.

4th. That this meeting have the warmest sense of the munificent liberality by which the cause of steam navigation between India and England has been supported by the Supreme Government of India; and that their grateful thanks are eminently due to the Right Hon. Lord William Bentinck, the Governor General, for his personal encouragement of that undertaking, through which chiefly its final success is relied on, and without which this project, opening such vast and incalculable benefits to our country and to mankind, would in all probability have proved abortive.

5th. That a copy of the preceding resolution signed by the Chairman be presented by him to his Lordship on the first opportunity.

6th. That this meeting consider the public greatly indebted to the Committee of the New Bengal Steam Fund for their zealous practical exertions towards accomplishing an extensive plan of steam communication between England and India, directed with a view to impart the greatest benefit to all parts of the eastern empire, and that the thanks of this meeting be communicated by the Chairman to that Committee.

7th. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Madras Steam Committee and to the Chairman of this and the last meeting, as well for their care and conduct in fulfilling the trusts reposed in them and in promotion of the common cause of steam navigation between England and India, as for the conduct of the Chairman in fulfilling the duties of the chair this day."

(Signed) GEO. NORTON, Chairman.

*Madras Herald, March 31.]*

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## MEETING OF THE MADRAS PHILANTHROPIC ASSOCIATION.

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*The Circulator* of Wednesday last has, what he terms, and may consider, a full and satisfactory report of the proceedings of the Meeting of the Madras Philanthropic Asso-

ciation : full, we grant it is, but that it is satisfactory in all its parts, or likely to prove so, we cannot admit. We have read it carefully, more so probably than we should have done had we not reason to know it had been prepared by the Committee, and cannot come to other conclusion than that noticed in our last; and that such will be the opinion of the public generally, or rather the conclusion they will come to, however much we could wish it otherwise, not a doubt remains upon our mind. The following are the resolutions brought forward upon the occasion :—

On the motion of Mr. J. Crookshanks, seconded by Mr. Boswell, the Rev. J. Smith was called to the chair.

On the motion of Mr. P. Carstairs, (Treasurer of the Committee of Management,) seconded by Mr. W. T. Good, it was resolved—

“ I.—That the Report now read be received and adopted.”

An amendment to the foregoing resolution was moved by Mr. C. R. Dunhill, and seconded by Mr. Thorpe, junior—

“ That this Meeting, while fully sensible of the services of the Committee, sincerely regret the melancholy prospects of “ the Madras Philanthropic Association,” exhibited in the Report read this evening, and conceive an enquiry into the past measures, as well as the present state of the Society, to be of paramount importance; due to the *interest of the institution itself*, and necessary for the satisfaction of its *subscribers and friends*—it is accordingly resolved, previous to the adoption and printing of the Report now read, to appoint a Special Committee for the purpose of investigating the general management of the affairs of the Association, *from its commencement* to the present period—on whose report this meeting will be prepared to determine on the revival or abolition of the Madras Philanthropic Association.

“ The following gentlemen be accordingly solicited to constitute the Special Committee, with power to select a President and a Secretary; and that three of the Members to form a quorum for transaction of business, viz. Rev. M. Bowie, Mr. J. P. Cropley, Mr. Deputy Commissary W. Brooks, Mr. J. L. Thorpe, jr., and Mr. W. Crampton, sr.”

The original motion was however carried, notwithstanding the amendment held out to the Committee of Management an exposition of their conduct and proceedings which, if cor-

rect, they ought to have courted rather than opposed, as it would have tended more to remove every doubt and unpleasant feeling entertained of them than all they may say in their own defence. The opposition offered, being to the nomination of Europeans, came with a very ill grace from persons who had received so largely from the European community. It was neither respectful to them, or calculated to do the Association any good, and such we apprehend will be found to be its ultimate effects.

On the motion of Mr. Lacey, seconded by Mr. Mahony, it was resolved —

II.—“ That this meeting cannot but record its expression of approbation of the proceedings of the late Committee of Management, and while it laments the want of success that have attended their labours, it desires to state its conviction, that in the midst of the obstacles and difficulties with which they have had to contend, they have exercised both judgment and perseverance in promoting the objects of the Association.”

On the motion of Mr. Sheriff, seconded by Mr. Jones, it was resolved—

III.—“ That this Meeting regrets to learn the failure of the primary object for which the Association was established; and with a view of rendering the future proceedings of the Society as beneficial as possible to the East Indian community, resolves that a new Committee be formed of the undermentioned gentlemen, and any five or more of their number, who may accept the office, shall be competent to draw up a plan and submit the same for the consideration of the subscribers at large, for the most expedient and useful appropriation of the remaining funds of the institution, viz.

Rev. M. Bowie,	Mr. W. Taylor,
Rev. W. Taylor,	Mr. E. Mahony,
Rev. J. Smith,	Mr. J. Connor,
Lieut. J. Braddock,	Mr. J. Chamier,
Mr. P. Carstairs,	Mr. J. L. Thorpe,
Mr. J. Fonceca,	Mr. A. Bowswell, and
Mr. G. Vensomeren,	Mr. J. M. Wilson.

On the motion of Mr. J. Fonceca, seconded by Mr. J. Connor, it was resolved—

IV.—“ That the thanks of the Meeting be presented to the Officers and Committee of Management for the past two years, and to the subscribers and donors for the pecuniary aid afforded to the association.



The chair being vacated,  
On the motion of Mr. Boswell, seconded by Mr. Chamier,  
it was resolved—

“That the thanks of this Meeting be presented to the Chairman, for his obliging and valuable services this evening.”

Having thus given the resolutions agreed to at the Meeting held on Friday last, we will in our next go into an examination of the items of receipts and disbursements, with a view of enabling our readers to judge for themselves how far they ought to have been carried, and how far, every circumstance being considered, and every reasonable allowance made, the Committee are entitled to public confidence.—*Madras Courier*, March 28.

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## THE COORG COUNTRY.

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*Coorg—Marékérah, the capital—The Máhá Swámeé—Shooting Excursions in the Interior—Second Visit and Return.*

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The kingdom of Coorg, situated to the westward of Mysore, is of small extent, being comprised within the twelfth degree of North latitude, and the seventy-fifth and seventy-sixth degrees of East longitude. It is about fifty miles in length, and thirty-five only in the broadest part. Surrounded by lofty mountains, for the most part inaccessible, it contains many others, scattered over the interior surface, forming a succession of wild rugged hills, and highly cultivated valleys; and, as if this were not sufficient to confirm its title to the appellation of a “strong country,” they have divided the whole interior into squares. Those where no streams or marshes are contained, being generally about a mile in width, with an enormous ditch and high mound, or back, formed by the original contents of the ditch; and covered inside and out, with deep jungle, in which are included many enormous forest trees. Some of these enclosures have four apertures for ingress and egress one in each face; particularly those through which the principal roads pass, and which consequently present so many strong barriers against an approaching enemy. Every hill and mountain is also covered with jungle; the finest teak, jack, mango, and other large trees, growing spontaneously in a country watered by numerous streams, and continual fogs and misty clouds, which, from its great height, even above Mysore, are

attracted by the hills, and cover them during the night. In such a country, no town or village meets the eye until you are close upon it; but though I have traversed nearly the whole, at different times, I do not remember to have seen above six or eight villages throughout; and I am indeed, inclined to pronounce the majority of its inhabitants to be wild elephants, tigers, bears, bisons, buffalos, hyenas, civets, elks, deer, antelopes, and minor game. With such resources, it is easy to ensure a day's sport, by opening the barriers of one or more enclosures for some time previous, and when required, to secure them simultaneously.

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“ On the 22d of March, after a hearty breakfast, provided for us by the Rajah's people, *gratis*, we mounted two large elephants, at day-break, and proceeded over hills and through vales, up and down, zig-zag now at the bottom of deep ravines, then at the top of precipices, till at last, after eighteen hours' fagging, we reached the palace, built for the accommodation of Europeans, outside the stone fort of

#### MAREKERAM,

the capital. This place is delightfully situated on an eminence, near the summit of a range of lofty and difficult mountains, but is nevertheless commanded by them, and had actually been breached from them. The pass up these mountains being fortified and defended, however, would make it a very strong place, for it completely commands every approach on the other side. The distance we estimated at twenty-four miles. The Rajah's own palace is inside the fort; but his horse and elephant stables are outside, on the slope of the glacis. The town is remarkably clean and well built, about half a mile off, by an excellent high road; and at the further extremity there is a rising ground, with a strong mud barrier, after entering, you come upon a small plain with a magnificent tomb, erected by the present Rajah, to the memory of his late brother, and his wife. The people invite Europeans in, and shew them every part of the building; and I really think it surpasses both Hyder's and Tippoo's, as well as that erected by Aurungzebe, over his favourite wife at Aurungabad. It is much in the style of Mahomedan edifices, being a wide square with a handsome dome in centre, and four turrets at the angles. On the top of the dome is a gold ball, with a weathercock above it, and all the window bars are made of solid brass.

“ On this spot, by appointment, we met the Maha Swamee, at half-past three in the evening. He was dressed in a Major General’s uniform, appeared to be about thirty years of age, with very handsome features, and a person in which were joined both activity and strength. He immediately shook hands with us, and desired us to be seated, after a short conversation in Hindoostanee, which he at first addressed to an interpreter, until he found that I could speak and understand him in that language; he then produced several rifles, ready loaded, ordered cocoa-nuts to be hoisted on the tops of spears, fifty yards off, and then desired us to fire. Suffice it to say, he beat us both most completely, splitting every nut he fired at in the centre, while we either struck the sides or missed entirely. After this, he asked us to take a ride with him; a beautiful English horse was brought to me, an Arabian to Lieutenant Williamson, and he himself also rode a very fine Arabian. We rattled about in the square for half an hour, when he desired us to alight and rest ourselves; and taking a long spear, performed several feats with it still on horseback, with great grace and dexterity. Our horses being brought again, we remounted, and proceeded with him to the fort; the Rajah insisting on our riding one on each side of him all the way. On entering his palace, we were amused by a set of dancing girls, keeping time to reels and country dances played on two fiddles; and the Maha Swamee shewed us various portraits of himself, the King, the Prince of Wales, General Wellesley, &c. He then took us into another apartment, and shewed us a dozen of highly finished single and double rifles, by Manton and Jover; fowling pieces, pistols, &c., then an air gun, which he desired us to try. It was now seven P. M., and torch-light had succeeded the daylight in his court-yard; we took aim out of the window, at various things and hit them, and I even knocked down a lime, a species of small lemon, off the top of a cocoa-nut, so uncommonly true did it carry. His son and several relations were next introduced to us, all fine looking boys: and the heir apparent, being about seven or eight years old, dressed in a General’s uniform, with a sword by his side, put me in mind of some old French prints, in which the girls are dressed in hoops and farthingales, and the boys with bag wigs and small swords. Ram-fights, &c. were going on all this time in the yard, as it were to amuse the attendants; and two of the rams had four horns each. Then a lion made his appearance, led by a dozen men, with a strong



rope. He appeared very tame, played with his leaders, and suffered me to go up to him and pat him on the back. I acknowledge this was a bit of bravado on my part, and I was by no means sure how it would be received. Thank God! it turned out well! though there was more folly than judgment in the attempt. Next came a large royal tiger and two panthers, the former having his claws pared, but very savage, trying every instant to break loose. We took leave at half-past seven, quite pleased with the kind and affable treatment of this Prince, who, I am inclined to believe, is adored by his people.

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“ On the 24th, we took a pedestrian stroll in the evening in search of common game, but returned unsuccessful; the jungle being every way impenetrable ten yards from the road. This day I beat the Rajah in firing: and as he seemed busy, we took leave early, though he would not even hint so to us. We then visited his pets in their own habitations. The lioness has a capital house in the fort, with a boarded floor and glass windows, very uncommon in the East, and seems to be his greatest favorite. I mistook her sex the first day. Her majesty would not sit still a moment, while I attempted to sketch her. The tiger is housed with several panthers and leopards; and extraordinary to relate, a large mortar is mounted in the same place. This is the only piece of ordnance I have seen in the Coorg country; and indeed, this Prince seems to trust more to the affections of his subjects, and the justice of the English, than to the strength of his fortifications and the multitude of his guns.

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Having been ordered to form a light corps from both battalions of the regiment, with authority to select both men and officers from the 2d battalion at Cannanore, I availed myself of the opportunity to pay a second visit to this interesting Prince, and Mr. Cole was good enough to write and entreat he would be so kind as gratify my wishes, although not exactly the season. Accompanied by Lieutenant Meredith, a very fine young man of the regiment, also a keen sportsman, since unfortunately dead, I accordingly set out, and on the 17th October, 1812, reached Sedaseer, the first village in his country; after which my diary regularly proceeds as follows:

“ Here we were regaled with a cuddoo\* curry and rice,

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\* A gourd, or pumpkin.

by the Croog Rajah's guards, who refused any pecuniary remuneration. The stockades seem newly finished. We had some very unpleasant heavy rain in the evening, and saw many wild-fowl in the tank. The whole road from Periapatam is extremely bad and would require much repair to fit it for the passage of guns. There was more rain in the night, succeeded by a fog.

" On the 18th of October we set forward, still in our palanquins, in a dense fog; the bearers bad, and the road much worse, being nearly impassable for wheel-carriages. At nine A. M. we arrived at an open choultry in a small bazar at Scda-poor, distance ten miles; the barrier strong, with a dry ditch; got a curry and eggs for breakfast, *gratis*; and at half past eleven mounted two elephants.

At one mile, a barrier, with a dry ditch.

1½,—a barrier, with a dry ditch.

2,—a small tank and swamp.

2½,—another barrier.

3,—a large swamp on the right.

3½,—a house on the right.

3¾,—another barrier, with paddy ground to the left, at some distance.

4½,—a nice tank, and the village of Amootoonaur to the right, beyond the paddy ground; a small clear hill beyond it.

5,—a barrier.

6,—paddy ground and small village.

7,—houses on both sides, and paddy ground.

7¼,—a barrier.

8,—a barrier.

9,—several houses: we ascended a small hill.

11,—Verajundrapett; the road the whole way was very bad. The last four miles, in particular, through swamps and paddy ground, intersected by deep water-courses.

" We arrived at twenty minutes past three P. M., and took a walk to look at a Christian church, building at the western extremity of the village; it is about half finished; and will be a grand edifice for the Romish Christians to erect in a Pagan country. It is built from the foundation of a porous stone, called soap-stone on the Malabar coast, cemented with light clay, very thick; and from a distance resembles an old Gothic ruin in England. It will be fully sufficient for two hundred communicants; and this, I understand, is the number of these mongrel Christians exclusive of their children: the whole

population of the village being two thousand, also exclusive, of children. We afterwards visited the natives' place of worship in the village, which is like a common choultry outside, but a door opening within discovers in the back part a stone bull, or cow, covered with flowers, and immediately behind it a full length portrait of the late Rajah, set in a gold recess in the wall. The Rajah's Subadar, who is an obliging handsome man, unlike the superstitious bigots of other countries, seemed anxious that we should look at it. He afterwards gave us curry, rice, fruit, vegetables, &c., and even sent us two China plates, and *one* copper spoon to eat with; or rather, I fancy, to dole out each man's portion of the curry; for, finding us conversant in his own language, he probably never dreamed we were such Goths as not to be able to *eat* with our fingers. He had previously furnished us with a table and two chairs. I fired at a wild dog and a jackall on the road, but saw no game; and here we slept in our palanquins.

“ On the 19th we set out at three A. M., and proceeded to the Cauvery river, which we reached at 7 A. M. and crossed in boats; the stream being about six feet deep. The banks are exceedingly high and steep; and a strong barrier is placed on the left bank, called Angree. I reckon this twelve miles from Veerajundrapett. We crossed a deep nullah at sixteen, another at eighteen, where there is a very strong barrier, called Mootall Mooroo, and another a little further on. We also crossed the Boharie nullah at nineteen and a half, and came to another barrier at twenty where there is a tappall hut. After this, we proceeded through swamps over hills, &c. and at length passed through a strong barrier at twenty-four; after which we ascended the mountain, and found the fort of Marekerah completely repaired, and passing it, took up our abode in the old place, at quarter past twelve, having been nine hours and a quarter on the road; the last five on elephants. We then had our breakfast and took a sleep, after which mounted two fine horses, and paid our respects to the Maha Swamee. He received us in his usual manner, in his palace, having sent of his camp equipage, &c. to give us a shooting party in the interior. No general officer's uniform this time; but he looked well, and was very kind and attentive. He showed us two lions, two tigers, two wild buffaloes, and a royal tiger-cub; then gun, completely made, and highly finished, by his own smith: and I really never saw a more elegant fowling-piece. After sitting nearly two hours with him, we took our leave; and



when our dinner was served up, two of his fiddlers made their appearance and regaled us with English tunes; in short, every thing apes England in this most extraordinary place. We, two plain soldiers, sat down to a roasted goose, and twenty other dishes, and drank a bottle of English claret between us; rejecting, to the amazement of the beholders, ma ceria, beer, hock, &c. all of which they expected us to swallow.

“ On the 20th of October we rose with the lark, and took a walk, first to the mausoleum, and afterwards to the horse and elephant stables. The little white elephant had grown considerably, but his skin was getting darker, and he appeared to be in bad health. Lieutenant Davies joined us here from Mysore, at half-past ten; and having to start early, we dined at noon. At one P. M., the Rajah arrived in his military uniform, on horseback. He dismounted and sat with us some time, shewing us some of his guns, and then inviting us to mount our horses, and proceed, he accompanied us to the top of the hill, when wishing us good sport, he returned, and we pursued our journey. We found six tents pitched in a clean compound, about five miles off. Here was also an immense well-finished mud building, with a most substantial thatched roof, called Cuggore Punug; made as a kind of a depot, in which things are kept for the Rajah's use, and also his occasional hunting residence. Here we found three good cots in one tent, threewriting tables in another, a set of dining tables, chairs, &c., in a third, and we were accompanied by at least one thousand sepoy, match-lock-men and pike-men, besides two of the Rajah's eunuchs, with three of his fowling pieces, three palanquins, three horses, and three elephants; in addition to which we met about one thousand match-lock-men near the place waiting our arrival. We had scarcely retired to rest, after eating a hearty dinner, before Lieutenant Prindham also joined us from Marekerah, with another cot, &c.; this officer and Lieutenant Davies, having followed us from Mysore, with a letter from Mr. Cole.

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“ On the 22d we set out a little after six A. M.; it was impossible to tell the direction, but through rivers, jungles, &c.; and latterly, ascending a steep and very high mountain, covered with wood, our elephants groping and kneeling, while our empty palanquins could not even be carried up from the bottom; we gained a beautiful plain on the summit, covered with trees and deep jungle all around it; the distance about

eight miles ; it is called Perumboo Kand, on a range designated Punnymant Koonoo.

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“ On the 24th of October we tried another spot, a little out of our way back to Marekerah, but had no sport ; killing one elk only and returned home in the evening. I have observed, that every square league, or mile, occasionally is marked out into a kind of fortification ; having a high bank deep ditch, hedge, and barrier. This renders the country extremely strong in a military point of view, every man being a good marksman, and famous for sporting ; because two thousand men can do more, in such enclosures, than ten, or even twenty thousand, in equally thick jungle, without these advantages. I remarked, also, this evening, from my bed-room window, an immense concourse of people, seemingly labourers, winding through a distant road, and mentioning the circumstance at dinner, I observed it threw a damp on the countenances of the attendants, amongst whom, in spite of all my entreaties to the contrary, I saw the native officer of our honorary guard. No one would satisfy my curiosity. I therefore changed the subject and speaking to my old friend the butler, asked him how he came to be so sickly since I last saw him, and what had become of four fat Bengalese, who amused me with their civilities when I was last there ? A part of their duty being to run after us, if we only went into the garden for a moment ; one carrying a chair, another a guglet of water, a third a bottle and tumbler ; as if an European could not exist a minute without such accompaniments. He turned pale, and trembled ; told me he had a fever, but was now better, and that the other men were gone away. I rallied him on his grave appearance, and enquired if he was not happy. He immediately replied, “ Happy ! he must be happy in such a service ; that every one under the Maha Swamee enjoyed happiness.” I immediately launched forth in his praise, and I observed this gave Mahomed pleasure ; little did I dream that every word he or I uttered would be instantly repeated to the Rajah ; yet, fortunately, every thing I then had to say was favorable. On retiring to rest, and sitting down to bring up my journal, the occurrences of the day passing in review, I began to reeminate particularly on the workmen I had seen, and all the repairs I had witnessed in the fort and barriers. It immediately struck me that the Rajah mistaking a late prohibition of Europeans passing through his country, issued in

consequence of the gross misconduct of two officers, both since dismissed from the King's and Company's service, had imagined the British were going to declare war against him, and was consequently fortifying his country; and I supposed the work people were employed on some strong place in the neighbourhood. Having obtained special permission for myself and companions, I therefore determined that I would immediately undeceive him, as an act of kindness to both parties.

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We took our leave of the Rajah, who received us in palace where he was amusing himself shooting blunt headed arrows at different men armed with spear and shield; whose business was to guard themselves, and receive the blow on their shields. He afterwards fired at marks, rode several horses in a ring; and lastly, managed two elephants, one of which he requested me to mount, and drove me about for a short time and then dismounted. I had been informed that in consequence of my increased rank, since I was last there, he had prepared an elephant as a present. I then imagined this was the one, but I was mistaken. He gave Meredith a bird's head, called Malliarapah, a gold mounted Coorg knife, and sandal wood stick; and to me, two spears, a gold-mounted knife, sandal-stick, and bird's head, and wished us a pleasant journey. With all this kindness I could not help remarking, that his Highness had lost some of his affability, so easily are we led by circumstances, or by previous opinion, to fancy what perhaps has no existence. His conduct to us throughout had been kind and condescending, beyond that of any native Prince I ever knew, and was never equalled, in after times, but by the Rajah of Nepannee. He was particularly fond of the flower of the Calderah, called in Hindoostanee kewrah, the odour of which is generally too strong for English organs, but sweet beyond any flower in the East. No man in his dominions dare use it, all being the property of the Maha Swamee; as the finest flowers of their garden are appropriated solely to the decoration of their temples, by all the other natives of India."

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The Rajah, Lingrajunder Wadeer, died in the year 1820, and was succeeded on the musnud by his son, whom I had seen an infant in 1810. I had heard of no cruelties committed by the present Maha Swamee, who is described as a mild, in-offensive youngman. The English have had, however, little



or no intercourse with that country since 1811, a road being opened through Wynand to the Malabar coast, and a capital ghaut made by our own pioneers. I have omitted to mention, that as this country abounds with royal tigers, it is absolutely necessary that they should be hunted every season, and the former Rajah seldom killed fewer than there were days in the year; and invariably gave a gold bangle to the first man who should touch the tiger after he had fired, which must make brave soldiers.

# BOMBAY.

## HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.

### PAPER ON THE CULTIVATION OF ASPARAGUS.

After the first fall of rain which may be calculated to take place during the early part of June, sow your asparagus broad cast in beds as you would do onions. In 25 days the young plants will make their appearance. For two months you ought to look after the beds, taking away all weeds and occasionally watering should there be no rain. This will bring you to the middle of September when you ought to be making *preparations for transplanting the grass into permanent beds.*

Select a piece of ground 36 yards by 13. This will contain 2,200 plants, and eventually be sufficient to supply asparagus for the whole year in sufficient quantity for a family, and to give away occasionally.

Having marked out the ground a water course is cut through it longitudinally, and beds are then dug transversely, each 4 feet broad; the earth is dug out to the depth of 18 inches and thrown on either side.

When the trench is made, you ought to fill it up 14 inches only with equal parts of the earth already taken out and good old horse manure as black as a coal, which is found in pits in the neighbourhood of stables and cavalry lines. In this bed you are to plant 3 rows of asparagus, each plant one foot from the other every way, and the same distance from the bank or alley on either side. In one of these beds, there will be about 60 plants, more or less, and on the whole piece of ground about 36 beds irrigated from the longitudinal water course already mentioned. Between each of the beds there is an alley which ought to be at least 4 inches above their level. This was provided for by only filling up 14 inches of the 18 dug out to form the trench, and any superfluous soil may be removed to another part of the garden. The alley may be 2 feet broad, but should never be less than 18 inches, as it enables the mallee to have a firm footing whilst weeding and cleaning the bed without injuring or disturbing the plants.

I have said that the beds are to be 4 inches below the level of the alley; now the roots of the plants ought to be at

least 3 inches below' the level of the ground, and in transplanting let this not be forgotten.

If the latter rains should be violent and water lodge in the beds after the ground has been saturated, drains are to be cut to carry it off. In the ordinary management of the beds, after they have been planted out, it will be necessary to keep them free from weeds and from the cessation of the rains until the setting in of the hot weather, they may be irrigated every fourth day. During the hot weather they will require to be watered every second day. In the month of April, the plants will be loaded with seed and will be about 3 feet high. You may now, according to your wants, cut down 6 beds, 3 on either side of the water course. In cutting the beds few directions are required. The plants are simply to be cut down level with the ground and with a very sharp knife. The ground about the roots and crown of the plants should be loosened. You are then to take equal parts of good soil, sand and old horse manure and cover the plants 3 inches, so that the young shoots which will immediately commence growing may be blanched, at the same time that the roots receive additional nourishment. On the 3d day after the cutting and dressing have been accomplished, you will find plenty of shoots making their appearance, and when 3 inches above ground, may be cut for the table and they will then be 6 inches long. The best way of cutting off the shoots is by removing the soil about them with the fingers, (which the malees perfectly understand,) and replacing it after taking off the shoots.

These 6 beds will produce fine asparagus for about 15 days being daily watered, after which no more shoots should be taken but the plants permitted to run up.

Six fresh beds may now be cut down, and treated as above, and a constant supply of asparagus kept up during the whole year.

In this climate asparagus may be cut down 3 times a year, and will yield 3 crops of shoots for the table; but the greatest attention must be paid to the watering and weeding of the beds, and when they are of two years standing, fresh manure ought to be supplied every 4 months. At this station we have the finest crops of asparagus of good flavour and size principally from the seed sent by the Bombay Horticultural Society to me nearly 3 years ago. I have forwarded 3 pounds of seed gathered from my garden for distribution.



I have said that asparagus may be cut down, and the shoots taken for the table every four months, but the only safe criterion to go by will be the state of the plant; if well loaded with seed like red berries it is time to cut it as the roots are then ready for a fresh start, and at this place I have found that the plants produced 3 crops of seed yearly and consequently the same return of shoots for the table.—A CORRESPONDENT OF THE HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY OF WESTERN INDIA; *Hydarabad, 9th April, 1834.—Bombay Courier, May 3.*

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REMARKS ON THE NAVIGATION OF THE EUPHRATES,  
AND ON THE PRACTICABILITY OF ESTABLISHING  
STEAMERS ON THE RIVERS OF MESOPOTAMIA.

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(*From the Bombay Gazette.*)

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To establish an overland route for the numerous individuals whose interests lead them to or from this country, and the conveyance of dispatches between England and her Eastern dependencies, at once combining safety and celerity, has been a long sought desideratum, and, from the number of travellers that have written on this subject, it has become a trodden path, whereon every idea is pre-occupied; every distance told, and expense calculated. So what follows in these pages, can only be valuable, as drawn from personal observation.

When we turn our thoughts on Steam Communication and look on a map to decide on the best route that a steamer could penetrate to the westward by, the eye at once fixes on those two noble rivers of the first inhabited land—"the land of Shinar." And of the Chaldeans which approach to within 103 miles of the Mediterranean; and in comparison to the Red Sea the mind naturally concludes it must be far preferable to steam twelve hundred miles up a smooth river than the same distance up a boisterous and dangerous Gulf, besides the very idea of paddling up a mighty glassy stream, whose celebrity is of "the olden time," has many pleasing associations coupled with it. Then we naturally infer the inhabitants of the land this bold river invades, are civilized and accustomed by intercourse to their fellow beings of more distant countries. Every country looks the same on a map, even the most savage the prettiest. But alas! the ferocity of man is not in every clime alike subdued. The dwellers of Mesopotamia, Arabs, the descendants

of Ishmail, "the wild man;" in every sense to this day fulfilling the denunciation of the visiting angel by the way to Shur. "His hand will be against every man's; and every man's hand against him." Refinement and knowledge, which commerce has bestowed upon the people of this nation, occupying the ports of Yemen, Oman and Balwain, has been totally denied to those of the interior. The desert, which is the barrier of their independence, at the same time serves to keep them apart from the world, shutting out every chance of improvement, leaving them in the primitive state of the Patriarchal age. Other nations, it is true, are in the same state; but have they had the same chance of improvement afforded to them as the Arabs? Who for centuries have had nations contending for Empire on their borders, being contiguous to the first of civilized nations, and going forth in conquest themselves: still the Arab is the same wild man, anomaly in our nature, and the fulfilment of a wonderful prophecy. Civilization forming a cordon round their barren land leaving them their freedom and wretchedness. Should the establishment of a small steamer on these rivers fail of being immediately useful to the very letter required, and if not able to ascend to Bir, still an object would be gained. Packets might be conveyed from *Baghdad* or to *Hit*; and the nomad aborigines would become acquainted with us, our manners, and customs, and become as friendly as they are now inimical. Intercourse eradicates that hostile feeling all savage nations shew towards strangers, which is clearly grounded on a want of knowledge of the world, and those that inhabit it besides themselves. The good effects of intercourse I have observed in places where, a few years ago, Europeans were treated with the greatest contempt, reviled and spit upon, and even life threatened; now, in these very places a traveller may examine the ruins of antiquity in quiet and with pleasure, since he has ceased to be a novelty.

In preferring this route, the first and grand object to be overcome is the opposition the Natives will exert against a Steamer ascending these rivers, which they are sure to do, without pecuniary considerations are tendered to temper their inherent principle of cupidity. I'll first digress to the affairs of Baghdad, which is the capital of the whole tract of country under consideration. What Baghdad was, as capital of the Califs, and the centre of Saracen greatness and learning, is foreign to the present sketch. In the present days, this once great city is now a heap of rubbish, the capital of an impo-

verished and almost untenanted land, clothed in wretchedness like herself. The late Pasha of Baghdad wished to procure a steamer to ply between his capital and southern dependencies, which would at once have opened and rendered safe a long sought desideratum in inland navigation. But, such an advancement was denied, or thwarted by a supernatural agency, and the whole of the plans which were then devised, the working of an enlightened mind for seventeen years—vanished in a season. The destructive effects of war, plague, and famine has so entirely humbled the power of the Turks in this quarter, that little else than the feeble permission of their Government, can be expected in support of the establishment of a steamer, on either the Tigris or Euphrates.

Doud, the late Viceroy of Baghdad, from what I had seen of him, appeared to be the very prototype of Mahomed Ali of Egypt, actuated as it were by the same pulse of ambition; he meditated a considerable enlargement of dominion, a settled independence of the Porte, and strained every political nerve to increase his power among the Arab tribes who form the grand bulwark of the Pashalic. European merchants were invited to his Court, and afforded protection uniformly as good as Egypt. Baghdad, under a political Viceroy, or Pasha, is the next richest Pashalic to that of Egypt in the gift of the Porte, but so often does it happen a military despot reigns in the city of the Califs, that its resources are perverted, the dues and taxes squandered on military parade, and the Commerce and Government falls into the hands of a few Jews and Armenians. After such a tyrannical sway as this, the country is exceedingly impoverished, the necessaries of life become dear, and the Arabs and Persian flock to a cheaper and safer mart—— Doud succeeded to the Pashalic after it had been put to severe trials by the two preceding Pashas, who were deposed, and suffered death from the ambition. A. D. 1817. He assumed the reigns of Government, with the due elect of the Baghdad Mamelukes, previous to which he had been a slave of Sulimann Pasha, after whose death he followed the profession of a Mullah, inheriting his late master's principles and by some means or other his wealth, lived through the two following reigns in the sanctuary of Abdul Cawder, the Patron Saint of Baghdad. His application for the Pashalic was granted by the Divan, his large regala, and seeming submission led them to imagine him a tame subject; and now considered this province as restored to their extortions; con-



sequently Doud was created a Pasha of three tails, which confirmed him with the power of former satraps. This gained, the wily Moslem determined never again to acknowledge the authority of the Porte. He immediately raised a large army, and reduced the Arabs to obedience, who in the last few reigns obstructed the trade on the rivers, and cut off the supplies from the capital. A tolerable peaceable reign of sixteen years followed, trade was encouraged, and Baghdad again became a rich emporium; a well equipped army commanded by European soldiers of fortune, a well stored arsenal, attended by artificers, whose workmanship copied from English models equalled that of the minor kingdoms of Europe, graced the remotest province of the declining Turkish Empire. With an army of 150,000 men, and a well filled treasury, Doud would probably have succeeded in his ambitious designs, at the time Mahomed Ali made his successful eruption into Asia Minor. We now come to the close of his career, and the singular visitation this country has been subjected to. The Divan impatient of Doud's long independence and neglect of sending the required sums which they annually extort from all the provinces of this extensive empire; always ready to increase but never abating their demands to the exigency of the times; dispatched to Baghdad a copyrè, a messenger of the gate, bearing a firman for Doud's head, subjoining a f-twah from the Ulema, anathemizing him as a renegade and out-law. The bearer of these firmans require to be cunning in politics, for should they fail in stirring a favourable party their head is the sure forfeit. This one like several before him on the same death's errand was conducted in state to the palace, and soon was his fate sealed, in his pillow was found the hated scroll. The secrets of a despot's palace are not long hidden. For before a month had well elapsed we received the news of the Sultan having ordered a large force to assemble at Aleppo under the orders of Ali Reza Pasha of that city purposing to depose Doud. Few preparations were made to counteract the threatened invasion, as the Sultan of Turkey reigns but in opinion. Doud felt himself secure against the wretched clad and ill equipped army that could be sent against him. An eruption of the Arab tribes of the desert bordering on Syria might be expected, the Montifige, a tribe of Arabs in the Pasha's interest, capable of taking the field with 30,000 horse and a host of foot, moved up towards Baghdad to protect the Jezheira and the environs of the city against any marauding parties that might appear.

The city of Kerkook had just been visited by the plague which had progressively been committing a line of devastation from the southern borders of the Euxine towards the either Iraks——Kerkook to Baghdad is but the journey of a few days——every reflecting being now turned his thoughts to the approaching storm—the rainy season had just set in, and the Chaldean skies who had so long been enjoying, were overcast with a gloom, not at all pleasing in a low arid country. The alluvial soil had become a mud gutter, and as it were to keep countenance with the weather, every aspect bore a gloom. March was well advanced when the first symptoms of plague appeared: the Jewish quarter began to cast forth its dead; a few days, and the mortality was general, most of the Christian families shut themselves up in quarantine. The Moslems submitted to their fate, which added fuel to the fire, and an increased pestilence stalked forth to the southward;—the twelfth day of April, and the daily return of deaths averaged a thousand.—The river now began to rise; a circumstance which should have taken place before a protracted summer fused the snows more rapidly. Shortly the bed of the river was full, a dreadful rush in one night inundated the whole country, and lastly broke in on the city. The foundation of the houses sank, and 15,000 persons were summarily hurried into eternity, many of whom were sick of the plague, otherwise the infirm and helpless children, or those who were too callous to attempt escaping from a spot where perhaps, but an hour before his or her best beloved had ceased to breathe, whose fair form had become an abhorrent spectacle from the moimt noisome of diseases. A famine succeeded the inundation. For a long time the streets were in that state, which obliged those passing from one quarter of the town to another to use boats.

The beginning of June the streets were tolerably dry, the water had settled in different parts of the town; stagnant and replete with filth yielding a miasm as pernicious as the plague. The hot winds set in the plague ceased. Deliverance was now believed to be at hand. But no! the burden of misery was increased, the Sultan's army appeared at the gates, which on the north frontier had exultingly watched the quick and sure effects of the plague, and now considered their prey would be fascinated by their appearance, calculating on a speedy possession of the city, and its supposed riches. Anarchy and bloodshed reigned among the Georgians, who withal daily resisted the attacks made on the place for two months—

every resource exhausted; famine obliged the remaining few to surrender.

Thus spared by the plague, flood, and famine, the Bays were invited to a 'Turko political feast, two escaped—the rest were ambitious' sacrifices.

The political existence of the Mamelukes close here, who, from the time of Saladin, have been so famous in Oriental history, a race of Georgians, Circassians, and other natives of the Caucasus, who when young are torn from their homes, and sold for slaves in foreign markets; unnaturally too by their own parents; the males in particular are carried to Baghdad and Egypt, in which provinces they have risen to supreme power, supported by large corps of their own race, perpetuating their numbers by fresh supplies. In person they are tall, fair, and handsome, good horsemen, and excelling in the use of arms, generally distinguished for their abilities in that profession, seldom beyond shew adhering to the principles of Mahomedanism, or a rectitude of morals. The tragic end of the Mamelukes in Egypt, Baghdad, and other parts of the Turkish empire, shew their bravery and turbulent spirit, rendered them as a spear in Turkey's side. Four months previous to the surrender of Baghdad, the number of inhabitants amounted to 120,000, whereas now 15,000 would be a liberal calculation. During the height of the plague, the city was plundered, and the Sultan's army carried off every thing of value they could lay their hands on; the only treasure that escaped, was that which lay buried under the ruins of the houses, which now leaves Baghdad, so lately the residence of a rich and powerful Prince, the capital of a flourishing province, and a great emporium—a scene of desolation and misery. The villages in the districts and along the banks of the river depopulated. Hilla, Lukh Shuckh, and Busrah, lost the flower of their inhabitants, all trade at a stand still, and the people starving. Ali Reza was now installed as Pasha of both Baghdad and Aleppo, a man of far less ability than his predecessor, and a dupe to those around him.

The foregoing brief sketch of the affairs of Baghdad may shew the present state of the country bordering on the rivers is in, and how far the Pasha's power would tend to afford a steamer plying on there protection against the Arab hordes possessing the banks.

From Busrah to Terakeah, a distance of two hundred miles, where the waters of the river unite and flow in an un-



divided stream to Busrah, affords sufficient space and depth of water for a vessel of small draught, say not exceeding four feet, at all seasons. The Arabs inhabiting the banks of the river, the whole of this distance are tolerably peaceable, and under the Government of the Shaikh of Montifige; and as for as the *sookh* commerce, and the constant arrival of pilgrims for Meshid Ali, has given them a slight tinge of civilization. This chief is at present in alliance with the Pasha, binding only as convenient; but the Shaikh of this tribe has always willingly afforded Europeans protection, passing through his territory; as long as a good understanding is kept up, a few presents made, and the regular customs paid (a refinement which is in full force from the source of the river till it mingles its waters with the ocean.) There is little fear but a steamer would be able to pass up or down with safety. The several custom houses along this route, which are all farmed out to the chiefs of different tribes, amount to four, the exactions they levy are arbitrary, which might be made regular, although not to be altogether avoided. Our able Resident of Baghdad would be able to settle this satisfactorily from his great influence with the Arab chiefs to the Jezheira. A large boat of 200 tons pays on the whole between Busrah and Hilla, about 300 Rs., and by the Tigris to Baghdad 200 Rs. besides presents of coffee and dates to the different chiefs, and the never ceasing demand, *buksheish*, must be in some measure satisfied. In our treaty with the Pasha, it is stipulated that all boats under English colours without laden shall pass free of all dues, but this is beyond the power of the Pasha, as has been shewn in a hundred instances. In 1829 the Residency yacht was plundered and several lives lost, for not complying with the demands made at one of these petty custom houses on the Tigris. The articles plundered amounted to several thousand rupees; with the utmost exertion about half was recovered.

The upper Delta of the Euphrates extends to this from Lemloom, a distance of 38 miles. The river flows by three principal branches, besides numerous small canals, which intersect the country in every direction. During the season of the freshes, caused by the fusion of the snows, renders this whole tract a vast lake, the course of the principal streams cannot be distinguished by the eye. In the autumn the whole of the waters assuage, and the country which is thickly overgrown with reeds waves with verdure. The river flows by

three paltry steams, which are bunded up at the pleasure of the Natives to irrigate their rice grounds, or to let the trading boats pass.

From the end of November to July, in any of the channels of the river, there is always five feet water; but in autumn there are spots where the water is shallow, and the stream narrow. The branch called *Ba Kuneer* and *Shat Halefa*, have never less than three feet water in the autumn. The difficulties presented by the river are few to those presented by the Arabs of this tract. The tribes inhabiting these marshes are independant of each other. The most numerous are the Ghuzail, the Shaikh of which resides in Lemloom. Every tribe independently levies dues on passing-boats. In passing through these marshes I had to pay at four different places, before I reached Lemloom. They constantly boarded the boat I was in, and carried off every article they could lay their hands upon; several times detaining me till I paid some exaction or other, till I was eased of all my cash and culinary utensils, even the rags the trackers were clothed in did not escape: this was in ascending the stream then totally at their mercy.

Between Lemloom and Dewannea, the river is broad, with high banks and deep water; the inhabitants are scant; there is but one station where dues are levied on boats which is at Sura. The trading boats pay dues at Dewannea, but an English vessel having a pass would not be troubled: next, at Cush Cusheyeh customs are paid to the Government of Hilla—having a pass from the Pasha would clear a vessel of this Hilla, Rewaunea and Felugia. The Zobaid Arabs at times possess themselves of the country about Cush Cusheyeh, in which case, dues would be levied by them.

If it is in possession of the Jerboi tribe of Arabs, it would be requisite to come to some understanding with their Shaikh: they are totally independent, and a most ferocious set, and would be sure to make some exorbitant demand at a time, too, when perhaps it could not be avoided? The foregoing remuneration of custom stations on this river is as they were in 1832. These *Goamruks* often change their positions, as from war and other circumstances the natives are obliged to shift their place of encampment.

*Fuel.*—The banks of the lower portion of the Euphrates yield but a scanty supply, so the different stations for having a supply of wood stacked at, must be chosen as embracing both

convenience and cheapness.—At Busrah wood is about 4½d a cwt., and is either old fruit trees or brought from the Hye or Tigris.

Busrah to Karna is 48 miles. Tamerisk brought from the Tigris.

This village is at the mouth of the Hye Canal, the bank of which abound with the Euphratic poplar, the largest wood in the country.

This would be the longest stage, and consume upward of 24 hours when ascending. Wood might be stacked at any of the villages between this and Arjeih, but the expenses would be considerable, as the banks of the river this whole distance hardly yield a shrub; but should the vessel not be able to carry a dry fuel, it would be requisite to bring it from the country between Dewannea and Hilla.

The banks of the river here yield a few topes of Tamerisk, Hillareach, date and fruit trees. Wood in Hilla is 3d per cwt., most of which comes from above *Hilla* to Feluzia.

Between Hilla and Hit the banks of the river would yield a sufficient supply of tamerisk; a small wood which burns quickly. At Hit fuel is 2d per cwt. If a fair price is offered, there is no doubt but the inhabitants at the different stations would stack fuel sufficient for the purpose required. Most all boats passing down the rivers stop where wood is plentiful, loading their boats with the same; for the Busrah market being then generally only half laden—the return of commodities being very small in comparison to what is carried up.

Bitumem might perhaps be used, but could not be burned without a particular constructed furnace, to prevent it from falling through, as the least heat renders it a liquid: it might be used to advantage with charcoal; it is sold in Hit for about 4d. per cwt. that is, just in the state it is taken from the pits.

A steamer plying between Bombay and Basran would require to touch at Karack for a pilot; the sum paid for pilotage is 10 Rs. a foot on the draught of the vessel, besides a present of a couple of bags of rice to the Shaikh and pilot's family, and 20 Rs. a month during the vessel's stay at Busrah, the pilot remaining with the vessel the whole time. The chances of grounding on the bar, or the Dubbah's, are many; but these obstructions being composed of deposit brought down by the river, vessels are never endangered by grounding.



Busrâh is 86 miles from the mouth of the river, which distance a steamer would run in one tide. Bombay to Busrâh is a run of 1700 miles, which, on a calculation of the voyages of the *Hugh Lindsay*, would consume about fourteen days, during the discontinuance of the monsoon. If a passage across the Arabian Gulf during the monsoon is not practicable for a steamer, what advantages has this route over that by the Red Sea? The depôts for fuel would be nearer and more easy of access, and the expenses tending its conveyance considerably less.

Then, on the other hand, the expense of a river steamer would be equalized by the sums expended on pilotage, and customs, and presents to the natives, to that of carrying coal and its great expenditure in the Red Sea. Passengers would not be so satisfied with this route; as the road home by Persia is long and expensive. That by the desert of Arabia, attended with risk and deprivation, and lastly, by Baghdad, Turkey or Kurdistan, troublesome and dangerous. Dispatches would be forwarded with more expedition, as long as we have no established packet steamer in the Mediterranean. Our home Government prefer sending their communications to India by Constantinople than by Egypt, as when the dispatches arrive at the European shores of the Mediterranean, vessels are seldom in readiness or procurable to carry it to Asia, and the expense to hire one for this purpose, would be more than the intelligence which the generality of packets convey is worth. Whereas the other route is sure as far as Bushire, where there is generally a cruizer ready to sail at the shortest notice.

What sort of a vessel is best suited for these rivers is the next consideration.

A small steamer drawing about 20 inches water would be the best adapted, and most likely to succeed in ascending the steamer when it is at its lowest ebb. Perhaps such a one as was sent out with the expedition to the Niger, or of those for the Ganges. If carrying passengers is the object, the whole of the vessel, excepting the engine room, might be fitted up with accommodations. The average current is from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to five miles an hour, and as these vessels will steam nine miles in still water, we may fairly allow the average she will gain hourly will be from eight to three miles.

The distance to be run to *Hit* is 470 miles, which, at the above rate, will consume about four days, allowing for detention for fuel and provisions.

Good pilots, which are always procurable, would be essential, as the banks and shoals in the river are constantly shifting regarding the forwarding of dispatches by this route.

Ascending the river beyond this point would be unnecessary expence, trouble and risk, even were it practicable, which the strata of rocks crossing the bed of the stream near Haditha, and the ferocity of the natives leave little to doubt from in its favour. After the arrival of the river steamer here, allowing nineteen days to have been consumed, Arab messengers should be in readiness to convey the dispatches across the desert to Damascus, which would always be accomplished in five days.

The chief of this desert, Ebu Hadad, Shaikh of the Anaza, resides at Palmyra; to him all passing caravans pay a toll.

Messengers pursue the direct road for expedition; they are always procurable for eight dollars a day, and a small present on the safe delivery of their charge. The Anaza and the Agail are the chief carriers on this desert; the former tribe claiming it as their patrimony. The distance between Hit and Damascus is 151 hours, camel rate of travelling, which, when lightly laden, is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour. The only villages are Cubaise and Mucksureyeh, the former  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles west of Hit, the latter on the confines of the desert 20 miles east from Damascus.

On the arrival of the messenger at Damascus, the dispatch might be forwarded on without delay to Bierout, where we have a consul and the most convenient port on this coast. The distance from Damascus is 56 miles direct; foot messengers carry letters across the ranges of Libanus between these places in 30 hours. The harbour of Bierout is tolerably safe during the winter for vessels with good ground tackle, and would answer for a steamer to lay in. The Eastern harbour is safe, and there is good holding ground in 5 feet mud; during the summer vessels lay off the town one mile in 11 feet sand and rocks. There is a small cave to the southward of the town, called *Mena al Husun*, in which there is nine feet water, and large enough to contain one vessel. The surly gales of winter blow very strong. During the prevalence of this season, the only port that can, with any degree of safety, be approached along the whole line of coast from Alexandria to Tarsus are, Bierout, Tripoli and Secunderoon. To ensure the furtherance of the packet to the European shores of the Mediterranean,

it would be requisite to have a steamer, or fast sailing packet, to ply between this coast and Ancoria or Missina, a distance of 1380 miles, or any other eligible port, whence the dispatches could be forwarded by the continent to London. Couriers pass between Ancoria and Paris in nine days, allowing there was a steamer on the coast to carry the packet across the Mediterranean, it would reach London in 47 days.

So far I have nearly wholly considered the forwarding of dispatches, the safety of which is certain; but for passengers the Red Sea has the advantage in every way. There are few persons that could ever proceed by the Euphrates and across the desert, the deprivations on which are certain without security. Those true lovers of travel without baggage, and a strong constitution, might brave the heats, and laugh the plundering Arab to scorn: but how few are these, returning from India. By the Tigris a little more safety can be depended upon; and from Baghdad the traveller has three routes before him, none of which afford expedition or economy. The only object gained to Government by maintaining a small steamer on these rivers, would be for the purpose of carrying dispatches, between Busrah and Hit, and from Baghdad. A few passengers, and the postage on private letters, would lessen the expense, what is now cost to send a packet from Baghdad to Busrah would defray the expenses of fuel for a trip up and down.

As regards the practicability of ascending the river of Beles, a distance beyond Hit of 500 miles along the whole route, the banks are peopled by the most uncivilized hordes of Arabia, noted for treachery and deceit. In the vicinity of Anna and Haditha and Al Doher the navigation is obstructed by stratas of works crossing the bed of the stream, which would render it necessary to have another vessel to shift the passengers and packets to. Then all this is totally at the mercy of the Arabs; who would have the *primum mobile* of locomotion fuel, in their power, which would be withheld on the slightest pretence, or to aid extortion. The Arabs are naturally watchful and suspicious. Our motives for visiting their country would be misconstrued; an age would wear on before they could understand what leads scientific travellers, or Europeans returning from India, to traverse their barren land. Then again the crossing of the desert from Beles to Aleppo, a distance of 62 miles, is attended with fresh dangers. Mahomud Ali Pasha has lately added Aleppo to his dominions,



and it is said intends cutting a canal from the Orontes to the Euphrates, the distance between their nearest points is 99 miles of undulating country and hard soil: this will prove a more difficult undertaking than the canal of *Mahomedeah*; thousands of bondage men will not assemble at his nod. The independent Arabs of the Syrian desert will hardly suffer such an undertaking to be carried on without their interference, by which they might be bereft of the great sums they levy on caravans, even were it ever accomplished, the expences of locks and levels, and guard over the Arabs. What would repay this in the present declining state of commerce and decreasing population of this empire? Would the traffic which now so safely buffets the storms of the Cape return to this channel of shipment and reshipment of custom and extortion, to fill the coffers of an ambitious Pasha, with whom falls alike his projects and ambition. The Orontes is unnavigable, the bar is shallow over which rolls a heavy surf. The Bay of Antioch could never be cleared in the winter, the westerly gales of that season setting dead in shore.

The existence of the port of Selencia of itself affords sufficient proof. The Orontes was never navigable with safety. Hardly any vestiges of this place remains, excepting an extensive necropolis. The discovery of coal in the Mount of Libanus, may ultimately prove of some advantage.

Near the village of Curneil E. N. E. from Beirout, distant 8 hours, in the territory of the Emul Beshire the Drusic Chiefs, coal was discovered a few years ago, from which spot Mahomud Ali carried away three ships load, his subsequent quarrel with Abdulla Basha of Acre prevented him getting any more. When in Syria I visited these mines; the road to them which lays over the low hills of Libanus is winding, rugged, and exceedingly steep, about a  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile from the village in a deep chasm through which ran a small stream, the natives pointed us out the spot Mahomud Ali had excavated. We endeavoured to lay a small vein of coal bore, which strata was embedded in a soft willow out slatish earth (clunch) the hills about are calareous and bare, abounding in putrified wood, shell, and marine organic remains. There are a few groups of pines on the declivity of the hills. I burned some of the coal and found it burned as well as any I recollect having seen in England. I cannot state in what quantities it is to be found for want of means to excavate with. The expense in procuring this coal would be the carriage.

Having crossed the Euphrates at Hit en route to Damascus, I enter a few observations from a narrative of that journey.

Hit is supposed by Major Rennel and other geographers to be the Islands of Herodotus which supplied the cement of bitumen used in the construction of the walls of Babylon, and is said to have been eight days journey above that great capital.

The present town occupies the whole site of a steep isolated hill close to the western bank of the river, of about half a mile in circumference, and two hundred and fifty feet in altitude: the houses are rudely constructed of stone, and from the nature of the spot they are built upon rise one above the other like the seats of a Theatre, at the base of the hill their gable ends join, which forms a tolerable mural defence. There are two gates, one to the northward, and its opposite. There is no cannon in the place; but a few roof holes in the walls of the lower range of houses; thus fortified it is considered as a stronghold by the people of the country. The appearance of the houses is exceedingly mean; few are better than hovels; and in number they amount to five hundred; in the centre of the town stands the mosque for public worship, to which is attached a tall minaret, badly proportioned, and is conspicuous as the chief architectural feature of the place.

The military force of the Governor consists of about sixty horse and four hundred foot; hardly a quarter of which is armed with musquets.

The Shaikh of Hit is at present appointed by the Pasha of Baghdad; but in general the district is ceded to the chief of the Jerboi tribe, who then appoints a creature of his own. The present Shaikh of this tribe is an artful designing rascal, who, from the plunder and devastation he has committed, may well be titled the Timour of the *Jezheira*: his tribe are from the deserts of Nejd, and consist of about six thousand tents.

The inhabitants of Hit are natives of the town, a few Arabs who have separated from their tribes, and twelve families of *Sabeans*.

The principal articles of commerce are grain, bitumen, salt and lime, the greatest part of which is sent to the Bagdad market; the bitumen is monopolized by the Pasha, who has an agent here to send it to Bagdad and Hilla; the demand for this article is very considerable; as it is used in the construction of houses, boat's bottoms, and all other work that comes in con-

tact with water. Many rafts come from the northward with cotton, wool, and wood: the latter I observed principally to be Euphratic and plain poplar Ash and Tamerisk, (excepting the plain poplar) all crooked spars of about four to five inches in diameter.

The Asphaltum springs which has rendered this place so conspicuous in history's page, are situated to the westward of the town about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile. The country round is a flat desert of sandy soil, strewed with small flint and lime stone pebbles, table hills appear to the northward, but of no considerable height: to the westward extends the deserts of Shaum: eastward, the fertile land of the Chaldeans: and southward flows the *great river*, having the ruins of the once mighty capital of the East.

A little to the northward of Hit the hills that bind the river may be said to terminate; still they continue a few miles further southward, but partial and of no principal feature.

These hills commence at Erzi one hundred and nineteen miles by the course of the river above *Hit*.

During their whole course they run parallel to and bind the river on both sides, having a valley about a mile in breadth, through which the majestic Phrat winds its course among a luxuriance of vegetation, entirely confined to its banks. So far the bed of the stream is either rocky or of hard clay and the water clear, but once past these hills it becomes soft mud, by which the water is coloured, and is at times so thick that it is impossible to drink it without allowing the sediment to settle; after which it becomes as clear as crystal, and is as wholesome and sweet as the water of the Nile.

The bitumen bubbles up in two places, where are dug two pits about 40 feet in diameter: the water that rises with the resinous substance is of a dark colour, having a sulphurous smell and saline taste: warmth 102 Farenheit: the aqueous portion is carried off by a subterraneous duct, and led into small beds banked round, in which an exposure to a powerful sun soon leaves a considerable residue of salt. The resinous substance that collects on the surface of the water in the pits is skimmed off and laid out to cool, and is immediately fit for use, which without further preparation is the bitumen that is sold in the markets; but before it can be applied to any purpose, it requires to be boiled with oil. The price is very variable, depending much on the state of the country; four pence a cwt. is considered exceedingly cheap; the quantity procured from



these pits is very considerable. There are several other asphaltum springs in Mesopotamia and Irak: viz. *Ker-kook* to the eastward of the Tigris; Huminum Ali on the Tigris above Baghdad, Bacouba; and several between Hir and Haditha. There are many others but of no celebrity. The general name for these springs is *Kur-a-kur*, or *Bab at Jahnum*. The springs of Hit produce no naptha, but several of the others do.

The hills of Erziabound in Gypsum, which is calcined into lime with the ready fuel, the refuse of the bitumin offers. The cultivated grounds in the vicinity of Hit, and all along the valley of the river, are celebrated for an abundant fertility, and producing the best corn in the country; and from the easy method the Fellahu has of watering the grounds, the agriculture is considerably facilitated and the produce cheapened.

These commodities are carried down the river in boats, or on rafts of willow, and inflated skins to Feluzia or other places, where the rivers close, and thence to Baghdad.

The caravans that ply between Damascus and the further eastward cross the river here, on which an arbitrary exaction is levied by the Shaikh. The arrival of a caravan is a source of considerable emolument to the people of Hit, ferrying them over the river, supplying provisions, and plundering them; towards me I found them kind and shewing sympathy for my misfortunes.

From the spot of our mishap an hour's smart walk brought us opposite the town, where we immediately shipped ourselves, and only remaining camel on board an ill shapen vessel, constructed of date spars and willow twigs, coated over with bitumen, although of such original construction this craft admirably served its intended purpose, being large enough to hold four camels: it is only by this single craft that whole caravans of a thousand camels, and some hundred tons of rich goods are carried across this rapid river. Twelve days is often spent before a caravan has collected on the opposite bank, which delay is beneficial to the people of Hit.

Six miles to the northward of Hit we descended to the river, where it is 390 yards wide, the current to-day (8th April) running  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour; the banks about ten feet high and steep withal. There are many revolving wheels throwing up water to irrigate the cultivation bordering the river. The arches on which these are borne extend a considerable way in to the stream purposely to throw the wheels into the force of the current; but always leaving sufficient space for all navigable pur-

poses. The banks of the river are overgrown with Tamerisk, Humraé, or Gharkad, Liquorice, Willow, Ash, Acasia, Capers, the Euphratic poplar, and a thick undergrowth of lierbaceous plants—the trees are all dwarfish.

The valley of the river, which commences at Gozi, is called Wady al Phrat, is generally half a mile or more in breadth; but in some parts the steeps approach the bed of the river, the hills binding the valley are about 300 feet in height, composed of calcareous sand and pudding stone, with large patches of Gypsum; mostly ending abruptly towards the river.

The river varies very considerably in breadth; for a few miles below *Hit* the stream becomes much narrower; at *Hit* the average is about two hundred and fifty yards with deep water on the western side: the Natives told me it was *two spears* deep. The river is not fordable either here or to the southward in the summer season; the deep water channel is not more than forty feet broad, where the Arabs cross the stream with facility on small rafts, carrying with them their whole stock both of cattle and goods. Along the banks of the river, there is erected small square towers, built to defend the cultivators and their labours from the predatory incursions of the Bedouins.

My particular examination of the river reached no higher than *Hilla*, between which and *Hit*, a distance of 160 miles, the same facilities for navigation exist as the lower portion of the river affords.

Felugia, a small village on the eastern bank of the river, on the site of *Aubar*, by the tortuous course of the river 80 miles from *Hit* and the same from *Hilla*. The northern limit of the Biglic of *Hilla* extends to this, commencing at *Dewannea*: the communication between this and Baghdad is constant, the distance by the road is eight hours, it laying west of the above city 34 G. miles; the intermediate country is low and marshy, and during the seasons of the freshes, (April and May) boats and rafts have been known to pass from one river to the other. In the travels of Cæsar, Fredric, and John Eldred, who journeyed and traded by the Euphrates in the sixteenth century, we find *Feluchia* mentioned as the port they debarked their goods at, and carried them thence to Babylon (Baghdad) a day and a half's journey. In the same travels we find a description of the bitumen pits of *Hit*, but from the laconic and marvellous style of those days, little information can be gleaned.

To the time of the eruption of the Seljukian Turks, the canal of *Issa* was in repair, and flowed between Anbar and Baghdad, from the Euphrates to the Tigris, shortly after which *Haluku*, the grandson of Gengis, took Baghdad, destroyed *Wasut*, and other flourishing towns of this tract, since which time the canals and other useful works have been neglected. From some remarks I made upon the geography of Mesopotamia I insert the following one, particularly as the late Pasha intended opening a communication between the two rivers on the course of the ancient *Nahr Issa*.

Close by *Accad*, or the *Akr* of the *Sabacan* Chronicles, one of the four cities of *Shinar*, and afterwards the *Sitace* of the Greeks, flowed the *Nahr Issa*, one of the four grand canals of communication between the two rivers, dug more particularly to carry off the redundant waters of either. The *Nahr Issa* was the most northern of these flowing from *Aubor* on the Euphrates, an ancient city mentioned in history as the granary of the Kings of Persia, afterwards known as *Hashamezeh* in honour of the Kalifs of that house, who had a summer residence here. The Arabs of the present day call it *Felugia*. The other three are the *Nahr Kothar*, *Nahi Sorsar*, and *Nahr Malik*. Through the last of these the Emperors Trajan and Julien carried their fleets from the Euphrates to the Tigris. *Fluvius Regum* and *Nahi Malik* having the same meaning, leaves little doubt but this was the same canal that Trajan decored, and from which Julien cut another branch to throw his fleet into the Tigris above *Cresiphow*.

Zenophon describes them in his time as very deep and through which large barges laden with corn sailed. And further says, they were just a pharasary distance from each other. Abul Feda minutely describes their courses. "The *Nahr Issa*," he says, "flowed from the Euphrates, where stood the city of *Aubor*, across the narrow portion of the *Jezheirah*, to the Tigris, into which river it empties the water of the Euphrates—the spot where its estuary is, is low and marshy, about three miles above Baghdad."

While in search of the *Nahr Issa* near the tomb of *Imaum Mousa*, I indentified the low ground, but could discover no traces of the canal: however, at some distance from the river near the ruin of *Accarkuff*, I traced the remains of a canal for a short distance, which I have supposed to be the *Issa*; but the inundation of eight centuries, with the deposit of muculage the river annually leaves, is quite sufficient to



obliterate any such works in this alluvial soil in less even than one century.

It is to be observed the distance between the two rivers is 34 G. miles, on the supposed line of the Issa canal; but between the ruins of *Selewin* on the right bank of the Tigris and the village of *Rewannea* on the Euphrates the distance is only 19 G. miles, which is the nearest approach of the rivers. Few years pass but during the freshes produced by the melting of the snows on the mountains of Towras and Kurdistan; but what the rivers overflow these banks and flood this portion of *Jezheira* from one river to the other, a circumstance which the four canals tended to obviate, as the grounds now annually flooded contained a city and many villages. Some seasons this inundation is so great that rafts pass from the gates of Baghdad to Felugia. During the great flood of 1831 boats passed from Baghdad to Hilla by the high road, a distance of 54 G. M., a route on which the travellers formerly found well built khans and villages.

The river Tigris near Baghdad flows on a lower level than the Euphrates, but twenty miles below it gains the ascendancy, and eighty miles further we find its waters flowing through the Hye canal into Euphrates: this canal was cut by the Hye Beni Laieth and Beni Assud, two powerful tribes that possessed themselves of this part of Irak on the first invasion of the Arabs eastward.

Doud, the late Pasha, intended to have cut a communication between Felugia and Baghdad, by re-opening the old Issa canal, which, if projected in time, would have saved Baghdad, which suffered so much by an overflowing of the Tigris in April 1831, caused by a protracted summer on the verges of Towras as, by these canals, this fertile and well populated country, in the time of the splendour of Babylonian and Median Empires, was kept free from inundation, by a proper level having been kept up between the waters of the rivers.

The cutting of a canal, a distance of 34 miles in a flat country, composed of alluvial deposit, could not be attended with much expense, particularly as labour is cheap. The advantages of such work are not to be denied, as the trade would be considerably benefitted, and the possessions in the surrounding district rendered more secure, as the rivers flooding the country, would be in a measure guarded against.

Hilla, a considerable town distant from Baghdad 54 G. M., and the next largest town to Busrah in the Pashalic. The houses are neat and built of bricks, most of which are procured from the adjacent ruins of Babel; well built mosques and extensive bazaars speak the opulence of the place. The Euphrates flows through the town, dividing it into two equal parts, and is 385 feet broad, crossed by a bridge of boats. In February, just below the bridge, I sounded four fathoms mid stream; at which time the current was running four miles per hour. The western portion of the town is defended from the attacks of the desert Arabs by a low mud wall, having a few flouking towers with loop holes for small arms. The Government house is a good building, enclosed in by a high wall; a couple of platforms are mounted with ordnance of small calibre.

The number of inhabitants amounts to about 25,000, who are chiefly of Arab extraction and of the Soonie sect of Moslems, Armenians, Jews, and Chaldeans, furnish a portion which is the most industrious. All those connected with the Government are Albanians or Georgians. The Bey is appointed by the Pasha of Baghdad, generally selected from his household, consequently follows the same defective administration as in practice throughout Turkey.

The Governor's guard amounts to about three hundred soldiers, otherwise he is wholly dependent upon Baghdad for military support.

Provisions of all kinds are exceedingly plentiful, and cheap fruit is also abundant. Boats are constantly arriving from Busrah and Lemloom; the former laden with commodities from more southern parts; those of the latter with rice boats and rafts from *Hit*, with the produce of the northern parts of the *Jezheira*. In former times the whole trade of Baghdad came by this river in preference to the Tigris, but of late the latter is the safest.

*(To be concluded in the next number.)*

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# SINGAPORE.

## EXPEDITION TO THE LOUISA SHOAL.

The following particulars have been kindly furnished us by a gentleman who accompanied the expedition which has lately returned from the Louisa Shoal.

“ On the 30th January last, the ship *Madeline*, Captain Hamilton, and the schooner *Reliance*, Captain Wallace, having been chartered by a body of Singaporeans, to proceed to the Louisa Shoal and recover a quantity of Quicksilver, and other articles, from the wreck of the American ship *New Jersey*; the former sailed on the 31st January to join the schooner, then at anchor under Point Romania, she having returned from a previous expedition to the Shoal, which was partially successful, as already noticed. The two vessels joined company off the Point, where they found the barque *Alexander*, a vessel chartered by another party, to proceed on the same expedition,—repairing damages. On the 2d at 4 P. M. the three vessels weighed and worked out of the Straits, when the *Madeline's* superiority of sailing was manifest, and in consequence of this, at 4 P. M. on the 3d the *Reliance* being then just in sight to leeward, the *Madeline* bore down to her, and received on board the divers, &c., each vessel agreeing to make the best of her way to the Shoal. The *Reliance* however, kept in sight for two or three days subsequently.

On the 21st February, the *Madeline* made the Shoal, after a hard beat of 20 days. We found the bow of the American ship still in on the Shoal, though it had drifted to the extreme edge. This part of the vessel was found separated from the wreck, on the *Reliance's* first voyage, and had been set fire to them, for the copper bolts, &c.

On the 22d we made three desperate attempts to obtain an anchorage to leeward of the Shoal, and though we twice let go the anchor in 14 fathoms, close to the breakers, it slipped off as from a wall, giving us no little trouble to heave up 60 fathoms chain and anchor. We afterwards ascertained there was no secure anchorage on the southern or western edges of this very dangerous shoal. On the 23d we hoisted out our boats, and after some delay found the wreck in  $3\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms at low water. This day we fished up 214 bottles of Quicksilver; and on the following 109, before noon, when it came



on to blow, throwing in heavy rollers and breakers over the wreck which caused the last boat of Quicksilver to part her cable, and we were near losing her. The weather continued bad until the 28th and prevented us from working at the "Quicksilver Mine," as we called it, during which time we visited the Reef to leeward, and erected there a conspicuous flagstaff and hoisted an ensign, which was of great service to us in the day-time, it being visible 7 or 8 miles from the mast-head, when the shoal was hardly discernable at 5 or 6 miles.

On the 27th the *Reliance* joined us, and this gave us a degree of confidence in our operations, which we had not hitherto experienced. On the 28th the divers brought up 480 bottles without being much fatigued; also a cask of Dollars, which at that time, we considered the forerunner of many more. On the 29th the writer of this visited the spot where the boats were at work, when a grand spectacle presented itself in the water, as if in a mirror—a view similar to the wreck of the *Thetis* frigate, as represented in the *Nautical Magazine*, some time ago. Here lay part of the broad-side of the ship, jammed amongst huge masses of mushroom coral;—there, an immense pile of pig lead completely separate from the wreck;—and scattered about were the windlass with the chain cables bitted to it—guns, anchors, coils of rope, bottles of quicksilver, &c. &c. The divers behaved exceedingly well this day, two of the best loading a long-boat without getting out of the water. A Sedi Arab was often—minutes under water. This and another diver, a Malacca man, were the only ones who would venture into that part of the wreck which was entire, the entrance to which was under the keel, (a small place through a bottom plank, stove in.) From this was extracted about 300 bottles and I think it probable the remainder of the quicksilver and the dollars are embedded there.

On the 7th March, we had saved altogether between the two vessels 1450 bottles of quicksilver, 2 boxes of treasure, and about 350 piculs of lead, when on standing in for the shoal as we usually did at day-light, we were startled with cry of—"A vessel a-head dismasted" from the man on the look-out. At this time, the shoal was not visible, and we formed different opinions. It is the *Alexander*, our former companion?—or perhaps the *Reliance*, capsized during the night, and Captain Wallace has cut away her masts to righten

her? Opinion was however soon quieted, and the reality presented itself of the *Reliance* on the shoal, with the surf washing up her broadside. As we neared, a gun was fired, and this convinced us that the crew were safe. At 9 o'clock Captain Wallace, his officers and crew boarded us in 4 boats, with whatever they could stow in them. Captain W. related that at 7 P. M. our night signal for tacking, (double lights,) was distinctly seen from the schooner, that the officer on watch did not report it, but stood on for 40 minutes longer, and in the act of tacking, the vessel struck at 20 minutes to eight. This mishap occurred, unfortunately, when it was high tide, and though the greatest activity was shown by Capt. Wallace in laying the sails flat aback, carrying out anchors astern, throwing overboard lead, staving in water casks, and as a dernier resort, cutting away the masts all within the space of an hour,—she was irretrievably lost. As the tide ebbed, she thumped violently, and at 11, bilged and was full of water. At low water, her fore-foot was almost dry.

We sent our boats this day to the *Reliance* to save all we could from her; she was, however, surging so heavily, it was hardly possible to obtain a footing. Thus situated, we set her on fire in the afternoon, and stood off from the shoal, for the night, having now about 60 souls on board, principally natives, without proper food, there being but free-traders'-fare,—biscuit and beef,—with only two tanks of foetid water. A council was held, when it was settled that after recovering as much as possible from the *Reliance*, the expedition should return to Singapore.

On the 12th March, at 6 P. M. we had recovered from the wreck of the *Reliance*, some of her stores; and gratified that we had been so far fortunate, bore up for Singapore, having been 20 days boxing about the shoal continually, without losing sight of it, a single day. We found the latitude of the shoal, by a series of observations, to be 6. 20. N. and the longitude 113. 18. East, as stated by Horsburgh. I can assimilate the shape of the shoal to nothing better than that of a plate, the rim being raised out of the water, at low tides, and the centre apparently covered with 2 or 3 feet water. Several rocks are always above water on the Southern and Eastern sides, but very little elevated. I should say the only place where a vessel could anchor is on the N. W. side of the Shoal, where the surf runs off to some distance.

The whole of the lead is easily to be obtained, but I am afraid very little quicksilver, as we found many of the bottles corroded, so as to allow the contents to escape. Had the accident not happened to the *Reliance*, we should have prepared a barrel of gunpowder to blow up the wreck, which still covers a quantity of the quicksilver, and no doubt, have recovered the remainder of the valuable part of the cargo. The loss of this ill-fated vessel, which was blown up at Singapore, and now wrecked, all within eighteen months,—with the want of provisions as before stated, gave the death-blow to the expedition, and obliged the *Madeline*, to bear up for Singapore, where she arrived on the 17th instant.—*Singapore Chronicle*, March 27.





# **THE CALCUTTA MONTHLY JOURNAL.**

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**JULY 1834.**

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**NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS ON SUBJECTS  
CONNECTED WITH INDIA.**

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**No. XXVIII.**

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**ON THE FUTURE INTERNAL GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH  
INDIA.**

The new Charter has now become law ; and the time draws near when it will be promulgated and carried into execution. Considering the magnitude of the interests at stake, at least as regards the people of India, it is incumbent on us to examine its provisions, and endeavour to ascertain what the result may be. The enquiry would resolve itself into two heads—the general superintendence of the Government of India, as existing in the authorities at home—and the internal administration by the local powers here. On the former, it is needless now to descant. It has been well described in a late number of the *Westminster Review* ; and whatever be its faults or excellencies its existence, in its present constitution, has received the sanction of the Legislature for a further period of twenty years. One characteristic has however been strongly manifested in the late discussions in the Parliament and in the Court of Proprietors, viz. the disgusting selfishness of all the parties concerned. The one—the public at large—had for its object the opening of the China trade. The other, to secure the regular payment of their dividends ; while the ministry have

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been taking and trimming between them, willing to do any thing that should please both, and by gaining a little popularity, help them in some measure to retain their places, which they have long since been sensible they hold by a very precarious tenure.

It is lamentable to see the utter indifference displayed by all to the welfare of a hundred millions of people. Some of the speakers even openly avowed, that their opinion it was a minor object compared to the profits of a few English merchants. Provided each party could gain its own selfish and short sighted objects, the Government of India was thrown into the bargain, with as much indifference as if the people in question had been a herd of cattle. All parties will ere long find out how egregiously they have been mistaken, and how completely they have contrived to deceive themselves. With respect to the China trade, it is probable that some slight increase will take place; but as for supposing that it will afford any sensible relief generally to the late and present commercial distress in England, those who have any knowledge on the subject, treat the idea as chimerical; and as to the dividends, if their payment is to rest on no more solid foundation than the territorial revenue of India, we shall ere long witness an East Indian bubble, which will rival that of the South Seas. It is utterly impossible that our Indian possessions can bear the burden, in addition to those under which they at present groan yet such appears to be the intention of the legislature. Oppressed as the people are by a system under which real justice is unknown, and impoverished by constant exactions hardly to be paralleled in any country, it is physically impossible that they can or will bear any more. Exemplary patience and resignation under oppression, is certainly one of the virtues of the people of India, but there is a point at which the ball must rebound, and the Government which shall attempt to exact any more than the existing revenue, may, without the gift of prophecy, easily number the days of its duration. On this head, however, we need not be under much apprehension. The members of Government cannot be so ignorant of the real state of affairs as to make any such attempt; and all parties will ere long be made sensible that the payment of the dividends must be sacrificed in order to preserve our Indian dominions. All other home disbursements, such as salaries of the Directors and others connected with the Government, will of course share the fate of the dividends; and it is probable that



ere long the patronage which they enjoy will be their only emolument; or if this be diminished to such a degree as to render it an insufficient inducement to undergo the fatigues of office, in consequence of the intended employment of natives of the country, we may fully anticipate the abolition of the whole existing machinery of the home Government of India long before the expiration of the new charter, and that the affairs of the country will be under the direction of a Secretary of State. All pensions of retired officers, both civil and military, must of necessity be annihilated; a miserable conclusion to the career of those who after having spent the best years of their lives in labouring under an Indian sun have retired to conclude their remaining years with their friends and families in England. Still it will cause a less amount of evil than would inevitably result from the sudden overthrow of the British power in India. Those who are on the point of retiring with little else but their pension to support them, should think twice before they take an irrevocable step; and wait to see how far the above prognostications will prove correct before they adopted a course which will most probably end in rendering them completely destitute when no longer able to exert themselves to procure a livelihood.\*

These are the prospects which have produced an expenditure of some twenty thousand rupees in the celebration of their appearance. We can hardly suppose that Lord William Bentinck would have ventured on such an outlay to so useless and ridiculous a purpose, unless he had received instructions from home to that effect, and (for some of the Directors at least must have been acquainted with the real state of affairs) they were probably issued in the spirit which prompts a ruined merchant to give a grand entertainment on the eve of his bankruptcy, to keep up appearances to the last. Had the sum been expended in building or endowing a College; in a remission of revenue; or even in feeding for a few days some of the starving thousands who are wandering over the country, there would have been something to boast of in the last display which

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\* The apprehension is not without grounds. Sec. 17 of the new act provides for the payment of the dividends in preference to any other charges; and we may perceive how strong the apprehension of the inability of the revenue to meet these demands, must be in the minds of the framers of the act, by sec. 15, which gives authority to the Commissioners to borrow money to pay the dividends. Our only hope is that these will ultimately be charged on the revenue of England; and then there may be a chance of the pensions being regularly paid.

will probably be made by the merchant princes of India. But it is gone, like the forerunner of their downfall which will speedily follow. In the language of the natives who witnessed it, "It blazed up like the thorns and has died away; but the stink thereof remaineth in our nostrils."

But the point under consideration is the provision made for the administration of the internal affairs of India: and here we have certainly the vision of more cheering prospects than have hitherto existed. The main features are the following:

1st. The Governor, with a Council of four, is to be the ruling power of all India.

2d. There are to be four subordinate Governors, with or without Councils as experience may demonstrate to be expedient.

3d. The Governor General is to be guided by not less than three Councillors in framing laws.

4th. For ordinary occasions one Councillor to assist the Governor General is to be sufficient.

5th. On extraordinary occasions, the Governor General is to have power to act in opposition to his Council.

6th. Natural born British subjects are to have free ingress and egress into certain parts of the British Indian territory, and to be allowed to acquire any rights or property therein, subject to the laws of the country, but to no arbitrary rules.

7th. No native or natural born British subject to be disabled by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, color, or any of them from holding any place, office, or employment under the Governments.

8th. The Governor General in Council to be empowered to make laws for all courts.

9th. The establishment of a Law Commission to enquire into the subject and propose a systematic rule.

On each of which heads I shall proceed to offer a few remarks.

On the first and second, with four local Governors, and a superior with a council to superintend the affairs of all India, it stands to reason, that provided each party only pays as much attention to its duty, as has hitherto been the custom, the interests of the country must be better attended to than formerly. The political and other general arrangements of the British Government will be placed under the supreme authority. This

will produce one consistent mode of Regulation which will greatly conduce to the stability of our empire; and we shall no longer run the risk of falling into the confusion caused by the presidency of Bombay or Madras, forming a treaty with a native Government while that of Calcutta was concluding one of an opposite nature. The subordinate presidencies will be enabled to give their undivided time and attention to the local details of their respective Governments, and will have leisure to suggest matured plans of improvement for the consideration of the supreme power, whose time has hitherto been too much occupied with points of minor importance to allow them to give that enlarged and statesman-like deliberation to matters of superior importance which is requisite to ensure a proper decision.

On the fourth and fifth, it is to be observed, first, that with the exception of the general supervision of the Bombay and Madras presidencies, which he has now leisure to do, the power of the Governor General is not greater than it was before. If one of the three members of council coincided with him in opinion, his casting vote enabled him to carry any measure he pleased. Secondly, that for more than the last fifty years the Governor General has had authority on extraordinary occasions, to act independently of, or in opposition to, the opinion of his council. This is undoubtedly an immense power to be vested in one man, and it is to be hoped that the day will ere long arrive when it shall be neither necessary nor tolerated; but at the present moment I fear that it is still indispensable. The peculiar nature of the British Indian dominion acquired in turn by fraud, conquest, or negotiation dictated by overwhelming military force, existing in opposition to the wishes of by far the majority of the people, and supported chiefly by our native soldiery, an arm which may be either the means of strength or the cause of our downfall,\* requires that there should be some supreme dictator to issue his fiat on occasions of peculiar emergency. Our empire is not more stable now, whatever superficial observers may think, than it was in the time of Warren Hastings: indeed it is probable that the seeds of disaffection are much more thickly scattered than in his days, and the perusal of the history of that period will show that, for want of such a power, the coun-

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\* See the observations of Sir Charles Metcalfe in his Minute of 18th October, 1832.



try was upon the very verge of being plunged into civil war from the disgraceful and factious dissensions between the Governor General and his Council. What might have been the issue then is not very problematical, but were such a crisis now to arise the English name would in a very short time be recorded in the annals of India as having "conquered, ruled, and passed away." The power, however, must be exercised under the very greatest responsibility, and the extreme vigilance of the press should in the first instance be exerted to analyse every instance of its exertion, and the home authorities preserve the most vigorous control, and carry on the strictest examination into every case in which it may be put in practice. The existence of a body of English settlers delivered from the dread of transportation without trial, will greatly tend to establish this desirable object. In one of the minor points, the patronage which is to be exercised respectively between the Governor General and the local Governors, the Court of Directors are very properly allowed to dictate the division which is to be made. It should be regulated so as not to give too much power to the former, and prevent the latter from being reduced to mere organs for carrying his will into effect. Perhaps the most expedient plan would be to vest in the Governor General in Council the appointment of all the superior officers; the Judges of the Sudder Dewannee and Nizamut-Adawlut; the members of all the Boards in each of the presidencies, on the recommendation of the subordinate Governors; while the latter should enjoy the patronage of all inferior appointments, for they will undoubtedly possess the best means of knowing the qualifications of those immediately subject to their authority. Some similar distribution of the military staff appointments will naturally suggest itself. The whole of the political relations should rest with the Governor General. But this is merely *en passant*—for the Court of Directors will, like most who had the power to do so, act according to their own discretion. Some positive and defined rules, however, will be absolutely necessary to obviate the clashing of authority and the jealousies which will otherwise exist, as well as to prevent any Governor General who may be too fond of power from usurping too much.

The third, eighth, and ninth points may be considered together. The establishment of one uniform system of law, founded on justice, common sense, and the established customs of the country; so arranged as to suit all classes; so classed, as

to allow easily of alteration and revision from time to time; and so worded as to be within the comprehension of people of moderate capacities—the establishment of such a code will indeed be the land mark of a new era in the British Indian Legislature, and will call forth the gratitude of the whole people. This point is one of primary importance, and must necessarily first occupy the serious attention of Government. The monstrous system which now exists cannot be any longer tolerated. We have one set of Regulations to which the natives are subject. There is a non-descript set of rules of guidance to which Europeans are amenable, which are in fact virtually impracticable; and the consequence is, that in some cases the natives are ill treated by the European settlers, and in turn cheat and defraud the latter, neither party being able to obtain any real redress. The East Indians again fluctuate between the two classes, being sometimes treated as European British subjects, sometimes as natives. The same uncertainty exists in the courts of law and police. There is one for natives, another for Europeans. In some points the Europeans are subject to the local courts; in others not. Some magistrates possess the powers of a justice of the peace. Others are not invested with such authority. The local courts are supreme in some cases; in others, they have no power; while the Supreme Court has hitherto systematically taken every opportunity to evince the contempt which it entertains for them, and to set at nought their proceedings, to the utter ruin of justice in order to *keep up the dignity* of English law and of *King's Judges*.

It will no doubt be a work of considerable difficulty, requiring much labour, talent, research, and tact, to devise a system which shall provide for the wants of such a mixture of different races; nevertheless, if entered into on an enlightened, and systematic plan, it will not be such an Herculean task as might at first appear; and whatever be the difficulty, it must be done, and that too speedily, to prevent the most insupportable evils to the whole community and obviate the most serious embarrassments to Government.

The subject will resolve itself into two distinct branches. The first, comprising that portion of the law whose provisions will be common to all; and the second, that portion which will be peculiar to each class or sect; as the laws of inheritance, succession, marriage, dower, slavery, caste, &c.; each of which must be a separate head.

Under the first head will be the forms and procedure of the local courts; the laws regarding sales, mortgages, masters and servants, loans and debts, mercantile transactions, insolvent and bankrupt laws, and some others. Under this head will also be classed the criminal law, and the police regulations.

The second sufficiently speaks for itself: each head must be so devised and arranged as to meet the wants, and agree with the customs of that class for which it is intended to legislate. It is to be hoped that some better provision will be made for the guidance of those who are to administer the laws than has hitherto existed. Our Hindoo and Musselman subjects are professedly allowed to enjoy their own laws in these points: but what has been the strange system adopted to secure the proper administration of this enactment. The situations of Judge and Magistrate are filled by a succession of young men, annually sent from England, all of whom are at the beginning of their career totally ignorant of the manners, customs, laws, and language of the people. Their time is sufficiently occupied in learning the language; the routine of business; the regulations of the British Indian Government; and the current duties of their situations. The latter indeed are so absorbing, that little time is left to acquire the other three. They cannot possibly have any leisure to devote to the study of the laws of the people in their original languages; particularly as those in which the laws are written, are for the most part different from those in common use. This our Government has been well aware of; and it might have been expected that in such an extraordinary case, that its first care would have been to have caused a compilation in English of the chief points of the Hindoo and Musselman law, and distributed the same to the different courts. To this day nothing of the sort has been done; and the expedient devised was to appoint to each court a Hindoo and a Musselman law officer, who on each point of difficulty submitted to him was to deliver his opinion (respectively *Bebusta* and *Futwa*) on which the decision was to be founded. The salaries of these officers was fixed on the same miserable scale which our greediness of revenue has prescribed for the whole of the native establishments in our employ; and although they were subject to an examination before they received their appointments, no provision was made for any regular system of education. All the opportunity they had to qualify them for their situation was by attend-



ing a College: legal practice they had none. The consequence has unavoidably been, that the opinions which have been laid down in various respective cases in the different courts, contain as great a variety and as opposite dicta as the greatest lover of contradiction could wish to behold.

Let us illustrate it by the argumentum ad hominem. Suppose that our laws were written partly in Greek, Latin, and good French, and that the business in the courts established by our African Governors was carried on in Roman French; that they had as little acquaintance with our manners, customs, laws, and the language in which the latter were written, as we possess of those of the natives of India; and that to guide the succession of inexperienced African lads who were from time to time appointed to preside in the courts, an English law officer, whose sole education was having attended a course of law lectures, was appointed on a low salary to each court whose opinion virtually formed the decision on the most abstruse points of English law. This is no exaggerated statement: it is precisely a parallel case. *What would be our chance of obtaining justice? And what would not be the irreconcilable contradictions in the different decisions which would obtain?*

It is true that some translations have been made into English of books of native law, and some glossaries or summaries been published, (W. H. Macnaughten's "Hindoo Law" and "Mahomedan Law" for example, and excellent works they are,) and the Government have distributed copies of some of them to the different courts of justice: but the fault is, that even these have not been declared to be *authority*; and a judge who is at the pains to study them and decide according to the examples he may there find, is liable to have his decision reversed by a non-descript "opinion" given by the law officer of the superior court.

The formation of a compendium in the English language of the provisions of the English, Hindoo, and Mahomedan law, on each of the heads above alluded to, and the publication of it *by authority*, is one of the first points to which the attention of Government should be directed; and it would be a still further blessing to the people if when completed, translations were made of it into the vernacular languages of the country.\* There is no reason to defer the execution of this.

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\* This is peculiarly requisite, when we consider that vakeels (practising lawyers) of the courts are all natives of the country, unacquainted with English: and that for many years the majority will be of the same class.

in expectation of the report of the law commission, whose observations will, in the first place, be chiefly of a general nature; besides, whatever be the arrangement of that part of the code which will be common to all classes, it is indispensable that each must have its own distinct code respecting those points which concern itself alone. Moreover, as it will be almost impossible to find any set of men who would be sufficiently acquainted with the laws of the three above named classes, the commission (should there be only one) must be so numerous as to comprise men qualified to arrange each department, and it will in reality be divided into as many distinct branches, each of which will be investigating and consolidating laws perfectly independent of each other.

One of the best provisions of the new act is that which places the Supreme Court under the controul of the Government of the country. This opinion will, I know, not meet the concurrence of many of my readers. Those not in the service of Government, particularly the mercantile class, and especially the great mercantile aristocracy of Calcutta, have always wished to uphold the Supreme Court. Their feelings towards that establishment are, however, a curious medley: as far as themselves were concerned, it was the object of every one of them to avoid having any transaction with the court. Bitter complaints were made of the expense of every proceeding connected with it, and not a few of the injustice of its decisions; by the very men who yet view its existence with satisfaction. The reason of this apparent inconsistency is, that the Supreme Court is considered by those alluded to, as an authority opposed to the Government of the East India Company, and as a check to the exertion of arbitrary power on the part of Government. Were this the fact, there would be some reason for wishing to retain so expensive an institution. But it is probable, that its greatest admirers will find this a difficult point to prove. Every check should, no doubt, be devised to prevent the abuse of authority, still it would appear rather an anomalous mode of proceeding to attempt to do this by the establishment of a court independent of the Government of the country; especially when we consider the effect which such a measure would have to lower the dignity of the Government in the eyes of the natives. This was doubtless the ostensible reason for the original institution of the court in question; but had it been the real and sole object, a far better plan might have been adopted by the

British Parliament.\* The obvious and simple course to have pursued was this: If the Government possessed too unlimited and irresponsible power, let it be curtailed, and proper restrictions imposed; if any individual Governor were guilty of oppressions, he should have been recalled and provision made for his condemnation at home. This would have been a far more just and rational proceeding than to vest the Government of the country with arbitrary power, and at the same time appoint a court with a view of controuling its undue exercise: but even if this had been the intention, it was found that the undue exercise of arbitrary power on the part of the protecting court was a far more intolerable evil than that which it was professedly intended to check, and not only productive of the greatest injustice, but actually in practice tended to the subversion of the Government of the country, so that in 1792, a bill was passed, expressly exempting from its jurisdiction the Governor General in Council; all matters of revenue; and all zemindars, and other native farmers and collectors of the revenue. If examples of undue exercise of arbitrary power be wanted, they will be found in the proceedings of the Supreme Court, a hundred-fold more numerous than any that can be adduced as emanating from the British Government of which sufficient details are recorded in Mill, which were alluded to in No. 24 of these papers. The real cause of the establishment of the Court was to provide, at the expense of the Company, some patronage for the British ministers, and not any philanthropic views of protection for the natives or any other class. Every friend to justice would wish to see proper checks and responsibility imposed on their rulers; but I cannot subscribe to the opinion that this will be effected in India by the introduction at ten times the expense of the local court, of a court of English law, the principal features of which are the sacrifice of all justice, for the benefit of lawyers and rogues.

But if protection against oppression be sought, will any one undertake to point out wherein it was to be obtained from the Supreme Court, in those cases in which the natives or English mercantile class really require it? Can that Court interfere to lessen the intolerable burden of taxation under which the people are groaning? Can it prevent the unjust seizure, under the mild name of *resumption*, of free lands? Can it oblige the Government to encrease the number of local courts, the want of a sufficiency of which amounts to a virtual



denial of justice? Can it alleviate the evils of the Government purveyance system? Can it prevent the ruin of the native aristocracy which has been affected in order to raise a still higher revenue? Can it check that illiberal and short-sighted policy which has induced the Government to consider and treat the people as a degraded race, and to fix the salaries of those necessarily employed at so low a rate as to compel them to be dishonest? Can it rescue the East Indian community from the unmerited obloquy and degradation in which they have been placed by Government? Can it rescue an English *interloper* from transmission without trial? These and many other questions may be asked, to all and each of which the mournful reply is "No." In the last case the Court did occasionally attempt to interfere and stand forth in defence of an oppressed individual. Then indeed did the Supreme Court shine forth in all its benignity. Lawyers would make motions and talk grand about rights, privileges, and liberty. Habeas corpus writs would be issued to the officer who had charge of the individual ordered for transmission, and public expectation raised to the highest pitch in anticipation of the result. But could the court prevent the transmission? No!—and this the judges well knew. What then was the real motive of all this display to gain popularity with the English public, and put money in the pockets of the Lawyers—for no other ends did it or could it answer. But is there no other point in which relief from oppression could be obtained from the Supreme Court which could not be found elsewhere? If an English traveller were to refuse to pay a village buckster the price of grain for his horse, and to beat him when he applied for it, in event of the latter being refused all redress by the local authorities, would the Supreme Court willingly receive the complaint? Certainly; and here we should have a noble specimen of the protection to be derived from a Court of English law. The counsel for the prosecution would make a splendid speech, illustrated by tropes, figures of rhetoric, similes, and quotations; he would set forth the oppression and ill-treatment which the poor, harmless, innocent natives constantly received from the English. He would point to the peculiar atrocity of the case before the court; and, finally, would call upon the judge to mark his abhorrence of such intolerable oppression, by a severe sentence proportionate to the magnitude of the offence. The lawyer on the opposite side would then rise. He would begin by observing that his

hatred of oppression, injustice and tyranny of every description was fully equal to that of his learned brother's, and that he was equally anxious to punish every instance of the kind on the part of the English; but at the same time, that there were always two sides of a question. He would then proceed to state on the other hand, that the frauds and roguery of the natives were unparalleled; and their insolence so great, that he himself, or even the learned judge upon the bench, might, if subject to it, be attempted to take the law into his own hands, and inflict summary chastisement upon the offending party; and would conclude by turning the whole affair into ridicule, declaring the present case was one of the most trivial he had ever heard of, and that he was ashamed to see such brought into Court. Then would follow the summing up of the learned judge, who would steer midway between the contending parties; declaring, on the one hand, his hatred of oppression, and readiness to afford redress and distribute impartial justice; but admitting that there was much truth in what had been urged by the counsel for the defendant. What is the conclusion? Why, that after the native huckster had spent some months in travelling backwards and forwards, a distance of some hundred or perhaps two thousand miles, and disbursed some thousand rupees in fees, law charges and his own expences; he would gain a verdict in his favor of one rupee eight annas for his grain; damages, ten rupees for his beating, with costs that would cover about one-half or one-third of his outlay. I have no intention of throwing any imputations on any individual, judge or counsel. It is not persons, but the system of law which I would assail,—a system which renders justice utterly unattainable, unless by such enormous sacrifices.

I would wish to allude to one point, which is often mentioned to the credit of the Supreme Court, viz. the impartiality with which causes are investigated and decided in which Government are a party. Are there none such to be found in the local courts? Let the records be examined, and I will engage to say, that in any court in the country a far greater number of suits of the above nature in which Government have been cast will be brought to light than could be instanced in the Supreme Court in any equal given period. If the judges of the latter, who are totally independent of the Government, deserve credit for this, what should be said of the conduct of the local judges, whose livelihood is solely dependent on the pleasure of Government?

Where then are the benefits, let me ask its admirers, which have resulted from the establishment of this Court? while, on the other hand, evils without number may be adduced. Power for evil they possess in abundance, and have usurped a much greater share than the legislature ever intended to bestow. But we may challenge any one to instance one single beneficial effect produced by the existence of the Supreme Court which would not equally have resulted from a local one.

It is indeed monstrous that a court of this nature should be established in opposition to the Government of the country; a court from which there is really no appeal, and whose decisions are at once carried into effect:—a court in which the judges declare that their orders must be obeyed, whatever be the nature of them. According to their dictum, from the death or illness of the others, a single judge may be left upon the bench; may declare whatever he chooses to be *law*; and this is to be obeyed as implicitly as an act of Parliament, whatever may be the consequences, even to the risk or the ruin of the British Empire. The almost total subversion of the civil government of the country, in consequence of the arbitrary proceedings and extraordinary pretensions of the Supreme Government, is already matter of history. We have also heard a judge declare from the bench, that he is the sole representative of the king and the government of the country! That government which is intrusted with the sovereignty of a hundred millions of people can only communicate with him by humble petition! The late trial of Mr. Betts is fresh in the memory of my readers, and is a strong instance of the effects resulting from the establishment of a Court of English law, which is virtually irresponsible. An individual is accused of having caused the death of another by severe beating: the cause is under trial, and the jury are summoned to investigate the matter; the first points of which are naturally, the fact of the beating having been given and the severity with which it was inflicted. In the midst of the proceeding, the judge declares that there was no evidence to show that the beating caused the death of the deceased; that this is a point of law; that the jury are bound to take all directions on all points of law from the bench; and that he will receive no other verdict than one of acquittal.

Now a man of plain common sense would have supposed that the point of there being sufficient evidence or not to show that the beating caused the death, was the very one which



the jury were impanelled to determine: but according to the proceedings in this case, it appears that unless an English surgeon is on the spot to examine the body at the moment of death, there can be no legal evidence on this head: and at this rate, the grossest outrages may be perpetrated against the natives with impunity in the interior of the country where no surgeon resides. I have no intention however to impugn the decision of the Court. It is, we may conclude, perfectly consonant to English law; and is only an additional instance to the thousands that might be adduced of the wide distinction between law and *justice*. These two have indeed been aptly compared to two parallel lines which, according to Euclid, being protracted to any extent, never coincide. They not unfrequently resemble two diverging lines, the further the proceedings extend, the wider apart they become.

But if this be English law, what becomes of the "palladium of our rights," our boasted trial by jury? and what a precedent does it not establish. Under this rule of conduct, a judge may at any time declare any thing to be a point of law, and that he will receive no other verdict than the one he dictates. If this be correct, it is high time that the legislature should alter the law; or the institutions of trial by jury may as well be abolished, and the juror be saved the trouble of attending and the loss which they incur by the neglect of their business.

The time has at length arrived, when things will be put upon a proper footing with respect to the transactions of this court. It is the duty of Government to impose some restrictions on the arbitrary proceedings and inordinate graspings of power which have been its characteristics ever since its establishment, and to protect their native subjects from the infliction of a system of law, so totally foreign to their habits, customs, and feelings, and so enormously expensive in its proceedings. Let the court exist, if it were only to prove by contrast the superiority of the regulations of the British Indian Government, faulty and imperfect as these in many respects are, over English law; but let it be confined to its proper limits, and even there provision should be made to allow the people their option in applying to it or that of bringing their business before a tribunal similar to the local court established in the interior of the country.

When this shall be accomplished, the expense of the Supreme Court and the exorbitant fees and law charges to

which the suitors are subject which naturally come under unison. There is not perhaps in the whole world an instance of so expensive an establishment compared with the limited extent of its proper jurisdiction.

If economy be an object with Government, retrenchment may well be applied here, when the officers of the court are infinitely more numerous than is necessary, and their salaries so enormous, and where the expenses of the suitors are about ten to fifty times as great as in the local courts in the interior of the country, and this will, without any increase of expenditure, enable Government to increase the number of the latter and give the people some chance of obtaining justice.

This indeed must be one of the first points to which the attention of our rulers is imperatively called; if neglected, it will be forced upon them by disturbances from which the most serious consequences will result, and which may even affect the stability of the British Indian Empire. English settlers will not submit (now that transportation without trial is happily abolished) with patience to the virtual denial of justice which the natives have hitherto borne. The pressure of business with which every court is overloaded and the great want of local authorities in the interior of the districts, threaten hourly to stop the machine altogether; and if something be not done, and that speedily, it will fall by its own weight.

In justice to itself Government should rouse from its lethargy, and give the opportunity, which has never yet existed by the proper execution of the laws, of judging of their good or evil tendency. This is the more necessary, because in all the complaints that have been made (and God knows they have been sufficiently numerous and just) a proper discrimination has never yet been made between the faults which should be charged on the laws themselves, and those with the effect of their non-execution.

Much of this is I am sensible a repetition of what has been already advanced, but the importance of the subject is a sufficient excuse. A crisis is now fast approaching of which abundant warning have been given. It is not yet too late to avert it, but if any longer neglected, the consequences will be dreadful. The disturbances in almost the whole of the Upper Provinces in 1824 and the late Cole insurrection would never have occurred, could the people have obtained redress against oppression from the established authorities. Serious

as these instances were, they would have assumed a more formidable aspect, had the people found Englishmen ready to assist and direct them.

The next point which should engage the attention of Government, is not perhaps of quite so emergent importance as that just alluded to. If however, the welfare of the people and the future stability of the British Indian Empire be, with rulers who arrogate to themselves the titles of *liberal* and *enlightened*, a point of any importance and more worthy of attainment than the fame of having extracted a large temporary revenue, without regard to future consequences, it is one which cannot be much longer postponed. I mean the creation of some property in land, and the imposing some restriction to the exorbitant taxation with which the people are now oppressed. I allude of course to those parts of the country to which the permanent settlement has not been extended, and there, in reality, property in land does not exist. Estates are constantly advertized for sale without a single bidder being obtained for them; or as if it were done in mere mockery for an estate, paying a thousand rupees a year to Government, an offer of *five rupees* is occasionally made! Rent-free lands will not now command above one or two years' purchase, under the tardy and unjust proceedings of the *resumption* regulations. Under correction, I use the word *tardy*. It is the decision of the case only, to which that will apply: the preliminary resumption is unfortunately speedy enough. In the present impoverished state of the country and total absence of any inducement to improve land or introduce a better system of farming, the revenue has reached its maximum. If the existing system be continued, it is far more likely to fall than to increase. Is this a state of things to be maintained? or to be quoted as one of the proofs of the blessings which the people derive from their subjection to British authority? On the other hand, I am convinced that were the settlement declared permanent; if this be the sole object and end of Government, they would ere many years were passed, begin to derive an increase of net revenue.

In the first place, the expense of collection might be speedily reduced; and as the people became more wealthy, the customs and excise duties would become more productive. This point of view is for those who can only be induced to listen to the prospect of their own interest. To the really enlightened man, one might suppose that the checking of



unjustly exorbitant taxation, and attaching the people to our rule, would be objects of some importance. But the Court of Directors appear to have been short-sighted to perceive this; and each successive Governor General has been too anxious to carry home a large balance sheet to exhibit to his masters, when summoned before them, to render an account of his stewardship, and receive the reward of his services.\*

The main points then, which under the operation of the New Charter ought to occupy the immediate attention of Government, are these :

1st. To provide for the administration of the existing laws.

2dly. To create a property in land and impose some restriction on taxation.

3dly. To define the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and reform its proceedings and the ruinous expenses to which the suitors are subject.

These are imperative, and will be sufficient in themselves to give a new spring to British India. The codification and reform of the laws, and other comparatively minor details, are the next points for consideration, and they must be carried into effect as speedily as possible. Had not the interests of a hundred millions of Indians been considered of minor importance to the price of tea in England, and the obtaining a little popularity for the ministry, the Charter ought to have done more for the former : still the prospects which it affords are better than those we had before. Let us be thankful for what we have obtained. Our internal improvement is now mainly in our own hands. Let the Government do its duty, and let the people and the press unceasingly remind them of it, and India may ere long rise from the degraded state in which she has hitherto been retained by British cupidity.

### A FRIEND TO INDIA.

March, 1834.

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\* There may be some places which, from peculiar local circumstances, may perhaps yield some increase. Agta for instance. The expenditure caused by the establishment of the seat of Government at that place, and the great demand which will be created for all sorts of produce, will improve the condition of the people around. If Government still cling to the hope of a little farther increase, the permanent settlement may in that district be postponed for a short time ; which will afford a famous opportunity for the revenue officer to acquire at an easy rate the character of a "crack collector."

## No. XXIX.

## ON THE IMPEDIMENTS TO IMPROVEMENT CAUSED BY THE EXISTING SYSTEM OF CONDUCTING THE DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT.

The great drawback which has hitherto existed to the promotion of any improvement of British India is the absence of a regular and systematic principle in the government of the country, and the want of any permanent interest among those whose duty it is to devote their attention to this important object in the empire which is committed to their charge. The extraordinary circumstances attendant on the acquisition of our dominion in this country, and the almost unparalleled rapidity of its establishment; together with the limited number of individuals selected for the rulers of so vast a territory, have occasioned such constant labour in carrying on the more current duties of Government, that little or no time has been afforded for enlarged views or general enquiries. Another check has existed in the youth and inexperience of those to whom so large a portion of the government is entrusted,—men brought from a distant hemisphere, whose manners, customs and language have no affinity with those they are destined to rule, and of whom, at the commencement of their career, they have every thing to learn; a study which requires so much assiduity, so much personal investigation; accompanied at the same time with so entire a freedom from prejudice, that even those who have spent the best part of their lives in its pursuit have acquired little real knowledge or satisfactory information on the subject.

Some general observations on this head were offered in No. 17 of these papers; and I now proceed to examine it more in detail, and consider what might and ought to have been done, and what has been the result.

I have already alluded to two of the fundamental articles in the creed of the British Government; first, that the primary object of its existence is the realization of the largest possible revenue; and secondly, the incapacity and inefficiency of the natives, which is to be supplied by European agency to the greatest extent to which it can be admitted: to which may be added the idea of the universal ability of a military or civil officer to hold any situation in the executive administration of Government, however complicated its duties or foreign to his habitual occupations.

The first has been sufficiently discussed, and it seems now to be allowed on all sides that the engine of taxation has been exerted to the extent of its power and can be wound no higher. As long as the whole attention of Government was directed to this point, little hope could be indulged that our rulers could be persuaded to the adoption of any measures to ameliorate the condition of the people or develop the resources of India, a country rich in natural productions and capable of improvement beyond most portions of the world. Now, however, that the above connection has been forced upon our rulers by statements, arguments, and facts which it is impossible to overthrow, we may hope that better prospects are in store. It only remains for them to open their eyes to their true and permanent interests and enact a few measures of common justice to the people under their controul, and the beneficial effects would soon be manifested, both in the welfare of their subjects and the stability of Government.

Let us now consider the second point, and more particularly the latter part of it, for the impolicy and injustice of excluding the natives, as much as possible, from all share in the Government of their country has not only been generally acknowledged, but considerable progress has been made in the abolition of so invidious and disgraceful a distinction. We need not go far for innumerable instances of the extraordinary estimation in which the English character is held, or for proofs of the general opinion of their universal genius. The appointments to offices which are daily made are sufficiently strong evidence. We see one man who has been all his life in the revenue department suddenly nominated a civil and sessions judge; another who has been educated in the judicial line all at once created a commissioner of revenue; a third, whose only employment has been in a secretary's office, or the Calcutta custom-house, is made collector and magistrate; a fourth who has been chiefly occupied in the revenue line, is appointed to audit accounts; a fifth is sent from the commercial to the judicial or revenue department, or vice versa. A young military officer is without any test as to his qualifications or knowledge of the language of the people, promoted under the name of "assistant to a political commissioner," to be judge, magistrate, and collector over a large division; or even to the office of commissioner of revenue and circuit, &c. &c.

Are all these various duties so easy to be learnt that any man, without the slightest previous information, can perform



them, as it were, by intuition? Are the numerous volumes of regulations enacted for the guidance of these different officers so simple that the knowledge of them is to be acquired in a day? Doubtless a man of talent and application may, after his appointment, by dint of study and attention in due time make himself in some degree master of them, notwithstanding the small portion of leisure which the constant pressure of current business affords; but how, in the mean time, is the service of Government performed, and the welfare of the people advanced?—or rather how completely is it not neglected and sacrificed by the ignorance of the new officer of points which are daily brought before him for decision? Business is shuffled through without order or consideration with little or no reference to the result; orders are issued by some at hazard, ashamed to own their ignorance, and ask advice of those who are capable of giving it; whilst others privately refer almost every case to their head native officer, and act according to his decision; so that the people are at the mercy of a man who has every temptation to be dishonest, and to serve his friends at the expense of justice; without the slightest responsibility to act as a check upon him. What else can be the result of such a system? Is the science of Government; the knowledge of a complete set of new and important duties; the acquaintance with voluminous laws; the character and language of a whole nation, to be learnt in a moment? The “*sic volo, sic jubeo*” of the Governor General can undoubtedly appoint any man to any situation, and may, perhaps, stifle the complaints of those who have been unjustly superseded to make way for his friends; but he has not yet attained the power to bestow the qualifications necessary for the performance of the duties of the office; nor can he prevent the secret murmurs and discontent of the juniors or stimulate them to exertion with so uncertain a prospect of reward.

The foregoing are cases on which depend the immediate happiness or misery of millions of people. Those to which I shall now refer are comparatively of minor importance. The chief effect which they produce, is to retard those marks of improvement which are the test of a civilized administration, and to waste the money of Government. In the stud department for example one would imagine that some knowledge of the breeding, rearing, and medical treatment of horses was necessary; that some acquaintance with the subject was necessary to the breeding and management of cattle. In England

the profession of a civil engineer requires a course of previous study in architecture, in the practical detail of building, in drawing plans, and in forming estimates and calculations of expense. The business of surveying and making maps of a country is not usually intrusted to a young man who has never even thought upon the subject. Yet in India all these departments are filled and conducted by military men, selected entirely by interest; and not only are they on their first appointment perfectly ignorant of the business allotted to them, but by the regulations of the service, just as a young man is beginning to understand his duty, he is removed from the post and recalled to his regiment to make way for another. Now can mismanagement and insufficiency in the conduct of the different departments of Government be wondered at when such is the mode of selecting officers to direct their affairs? The evil effects of such a system upon the discipline and well-being of the army is also worthy of consideration. I could mention an officer who performed regimental duty for about three months, on his first arrival in the country, as a cadet. He was then fortunate enough to be employed on the staff, in the pay and stud departments in which he has remained upwards of twenty years, and in which he may continue until he attains the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and then, according to the regulations which have been enacted for the good of the service by preventing the absence of officers from their corps for too long a period, he may be ordered to join a regiment.

Such a man must be eminently qualified to command a corps on service, or even to manœuvre one upon parade! This, perhaps, may be an extreme case; but there are many who obtain political situations or staff appointments after two, three, or five years' subaltern's duty, and after the lapse of fifteen or twenty years rejoin the army as majors or lieutenant-colonels in command of a regiment. With respect to the first selection of young men for staff appointments that will of course, until the world becomes a great deal better than there is any promise of at present, be decided by chance or interest as heretofore: besides, in truth, although it is very fine to talk about merit, to whom should Government apply to know the character of a young subaltern? If the commanding officer gave the truth, without any exaggeration, in nine cases out of ten it would simply be, that ensign or cornet A. or B. had attended drills and parades, and had never done any thing to disgrace or distinguish himself. As to knowledge of the lan-

guage and customs of the people, or probable fitness for the particular duty for which the young man is chosen, these are points held so lightly in estimation that no question is ever asked or test proposed. But we are not yet in Utopia, and granting that interest arranges the matter, I will suggest a plan by which Government may equally employ its patronage in favour of its own friends and yet secure a more effective agency. The Governor General has a certain number of names on his list—instead of appointing them in rotation to the successively vacant situations, suppose he were previously to inquire of each candidate what line he preferred, and make his appointments accordingly. It will easily be understood that one man may have a fancy for horses; another a taste for drawing or surveying; and a third, an inclination for legal studies; and if these be respectively sent to the Stud, Quartermaster-general's, or Judge Advocate's department, each will probably shine; whereas had the appointments been reversed, the inefficiency of all might have been exemplified. The suggestion is worth attention, for it might be productive of good and could do no harm.

But if Government wishes the different departments of the staff to be properly conducted, at the same time that the discipline and efficiency of the army is preserved, it must adopt an entirely different principle from that on which it has hitherto acted. Instead of taking men from the army to serve for a certain time, the only sound plan would be to make the commissariat, the civil engineer, the stud, the judge advocate, the pay, clothing, timber, and gun-carriage agencies, and other staff departments, each an establishment in itself; to select men for each, and to establish tests of qualifications not only for the first appointment, but for promotion to every successive grade. There should be a regular gradation of rank and pay in each department, and those once employed in any one should be confined solely to that branch of the service. Rules might easily be enacted for reward of good conduct, and punishment of neglect or mal-practices; and if necessary, the whole might be made amenable to the articles of war already existing or any others that might be instituted generally, or for the special guidance of those particular departments. By giving military rank to the different grades the respectability of the service would be ensured, and if the pay were higher than that of corresponding ranks in the army, the appointments would be an object of ambition to all classes. I would by no means



exclude military officers from these situations : on the contrary it would seem expedient to give them a preference in the selection ; and as soon as an officer was appointed to the staff he should be struck off the list of the regular army, and his place filled up. This would have the advantage of inciting young military men to study ; of giving promotion in the army, and of keeping up the complement of officers. In the last, an evil so universally complained of, viz. the paucity of officers with regiments, would be obviated. If efficiency be an object the staff appointments ought to be as completely separated as the Artillery, Engineers, Cavalry, and Infantry. The existing plan is as absurd as it would be to officers of the three former in succession from the infantry, and as soon as those employed had been long enough in their respective departments to be well acquainted with their new duties, and to have forgotten their former ones, to oblige them to return to their original line, and to supply their places with a fresh selection of novices. Ultimately when a considerable number of English colonists shall have settled in India, it will be found expedient to separate some of these departments (such as the stud, civil engineer, clothing, gunpowder agency, &c.) entirely from the military branch, and to provide for what is wanted by contract as in England. What an extraordinary farce it is to employ a young subaltern for fifteen or twenty years as head tailor, and then send him as lieutenant-colonel to command a regiment.

The same plan should be adopted when military officers are selected to fill civil situations. They should be obliged to undergo a test in the first instance ; and after a certain period of probation, if found duly qualified, they should be struck off the army list, and permanently fixed in the civil service. On this subject it seems proper to advert to a proposal which has lately been agitated to select the whole of the civil service from the army, and make the latter the first step in the Government employ. This would be by no means judicious. Doubtless in so large a body as the military officers in India, there are, and must be, many individuals of great talents and possessed of eminent qualifications for almost any situation ; but that the general attainments of the military officers can be equal to those of the civilians, a moment's reflections upon the primary education, and subsequent training of the two classes, will show to be impossible. The former usually come to India at the age of between sixteen

and seventeen. The latter at the same age are sent to college where they study for two years, and then after passing an examination are sent to India, having, in addition to the advantages of a college education, had the opportunity of seeing a little more of the world and of society than the former. After his arrival in India, all that the young cadet is *obliged to learn* is parade duty and the words of command. The whole of his time not devoted to these occupations is entirely at his own disposal and is by far the majority spent in idle amusements. The young civilian, on the other hand, is obliged to study until he can pass a second examination in the languages of the country, and is then appointed to a situation, in which, however indisposed to application, he is *compelled to do something*. Under these circumstances, in a given number of each class, which is the more likely to be qualified to fill the high and responsible situations in which the civil functionaries have hitherto been placed in India?

With regard to the civil service, if the welfare of the people and the permanent interests of Government were the real objects, we should adopt the same plan which is above suggested in relation to the staff appointments, viz. throw it open to all, and establish a test for admission to the service and one for promotion to each successive step, but as this will be considered a point of minor importance to the patronage of the Court of Directors, it is probable that the old system will, for a considerable time at least, be retained. This objection does not apply with equal force to the selection for staff appointments. The patronage of the Local Government would in a considerable degree be retained, but that of the Court of Directors would be increased by the appointment of an additional number of cadets to fill the vacancies occasioned, and this might counterbalance the *evil* of the plan, viz. the extra expense which it would entail.

There are also many anomalies in the provisions for carrying on the business of Government which are not only very absurd, but extremely unjust towards the people, inasmuch as the interests of the latter are wofully sacrificed. Some of these have been already mentioned, such as the appointment of men who have spent all their lives in the upper provinces to the charge of a district in Bengal, and vice versa, the character and language of the people of Bengal Proper and Hindostan being nearly as different as those of the French and English. Again, we have now possession of Arracan and Assam, in each

of which is a race of people dissimilar in character and language from either of the above. Yet this circumstance appears never to have any weight in the selection of officers to administer the affairs of the different parts of our empire. Interpreters are, previous to their appointment, obliged to pass an examination in the language of the country; but adjutants to native regiments are subject to no such test. Can our rulers have ever reflected for a moment that it must be impossible for an adjutant to do his duty who is unable to converse familiarly with his men? Surely if it had occurred to them some rule on this head would have been enacted. Of the two, as far as the interests of the native soldiery are concerned, a knowledge of the language is infinitely more necessary in an adjutant than in an interpreter. The services of the latter are only required at court martials, or at other set times and places, when it would be easy to procure a person to perform the duty; but it is out of the question that an adjutant can always find some one to interpret for him in the numberless instances in which he must communicate with his men; occurring, as they must often do, at a moment's warning. It is not very uncommon to see young medical men in charge of a corps who have only been a few months in India, and whose knowledge of the language does not extend beyond a few words sufficient to enable him to give directions to menial servants. How is it possible that the complaints and diseases of those in the hospital under his charge can be properly attended to? Many other instances of this nature might be quoted; but I have already alluded to them in No. 5 of these papers.

In the discussion by the members of Government on the plan for the future government of India, which took place three years since, the Governor General seemed to be of opinion that he had ample leisure not only to conduct the whole local business of the Bengal presidency, but to assume, in addition, the general supervision of Madras and Bombay. He might as well pretend to administer the internal affairs of the whole of Europe. It is not impossible that such an undertaking might be performed to his own satisfaction, but what would the people say to such an administration of affairs? It is to be feared that his Lordship's character for penetration has been over-rated, or his confidence in his informers misplaced, if they have been unable to discover the numerous abuses which exist in his own immediate division of the Government. If



the indefatigable energy which Lord William has shewn in his financial measures had been extended to the far more important points of the welfare of the people and the improvement of the country, he would have discovered ample matter to occupy all his talent and application, great as it has been acknowledged to be. When the new system shall have been brought into full operation, if the Local Governments do their duty, the deliberation and decision upon the various points and suggestions which will be brought to notice, even allowing that the labour of previous detailed enquiry and of digesting the mass of evidence received be performed, will, with the general political relations, be quite sufficient fully to occupy the time of the Supreme Government. It is to this end that the utility of the local Governors will be made manifest, and it is to be hoped that some better use will be made of the voluminous reports that have been constantly made by the different functionaries than to fill the charnel-house of the Government record offices. It is probable that even now, were they made proper use of, sufficient materials exist in these offices to enable a committee to suggest a reform for most of the existing abuses in the government of British India. Take by way of illustration, the immense number of documents quoted in Mill's History; with the exception of the Parliamentary Committee Reports, all these have at various times been sent in to the Supreme Government, copied in their secretary's offices, and dispatched to the Court of Directors; and many of them have been printed in England. Yet it is probable that until the publication of Mill's History no individual member of the Government was aware of the existence of even one-tenth of these. One of the first results of the creation of two governments in the Bengal presidency ought to be the complete separation of the Civil Service into two bodies for the administration respectively of Bengal Proper and Hindoostan: and even in each of these portions it may perhaps be found expedient to make some further sub-divisions. I shall probably be answered with the old observation of the excellence of the existing British administration; of the success which has attended its operation, &c. &c.; to which I shall merely repeat my former allusion to the fable of the lion and the sculptor. We have hitherto been our own historians, our own artists, and we have no other representations to produce, to give the contrast of light and shade, beauty and deformity which is necessary to a perfect knowledge of the whole subject. The people of

India have hitherto been silent; they have borne with the most exemplary patience the injustice, oppression, and extortion to which they have been subject; but it is a very erroneous conclusion to imagine that this resignation and submission will last for ever, especially when they are daily becoming more enlightened and more alive to their own interests. One portion of the hitherto existing boasted system of excellence may be illustrated by supposing the company of African merchants alluded to in No. 2 to have begun their conquest not in England but in Italy, in an obscure sea port of which they had established their seat of Government; that they had gradually extended their rule over the half of Europe; that they deemed it an excellent plan constantly to change their African judges and magistrates from one country, to another, between Italy, France, Spain, Germany and England; and that they chose to conduct the business of the courts in a language foreign to every part of their dominions!

The affairs of those countries would be admirably administered doubtless to the entire satisfaction of the Africans, who after accumulating fortunes, retired to enjoy them in their native land, and to congratulate themselves on the blessings which they had conferred on the Europeans. It is high time we should rouse ourselves from the infatuated vanity in which we have been hitherto enveloped, and act so as to deserve some portion of the praises which we have so liberally heaped upon ourselves. The storm will otherwise burst when it is least expected. When we look upon the real state of things and examine the system on which we have hitherto acted, it will cease to be a matter of surprize that so few marks of a civilized people are to be found in this country. Where is any trace of any institution that would outlive the downfall of our empire? Where are our roads, bridges, serais? Look even at the Government buildings, such as jails, courts, police offices: their wretched state of repair and disreputable appearance sufficiently mark them out to the traveller. Why is this? Because the superintendence of each has been either from a miserable economy, or the abuse of patronage, been intrusted to men who were ignorant of the duty. To construct the latter we had what was denominated a barrack-master's department: one in which the officers ought to have been acquainted with every part of the duty of a civil engineer. Yet the individuals selected to fill the appointments were generally young subalterns from the army, whose sole

recommendation was *interest*. What else could be expected but that the buildings should be miserably constructed, and as badly repaired, and that more money was wasted than would have sufficed to perform the work in an efficient manner: to say nothing of the vast sums that have been *embezzled* by those intrusted with the execution of the duty. I knew an instance where a barrack-master, who was really an honest man, succeeded in securing a pension for his head native workman as a reward for the substantial manner in which he had erected certain buildings, the whole of which fell to the ground in a few years. The mode devised to check such abuses was worthy of those who had established such a plan for the execution of the work required. This was to order a committee to report upon the buildings after they were completed. This sounds well; but I must proceed to the detail. The committee was composed not of engineers or men acquainted with the subject, but of military officers, selected according to their turn for duty, all of whom were still more ignorant of architecture than the barrack-master on whose work they were to report. It was usual too, to hold the inspection after the building had been plaistered and white washed; so that it was utterly impossible to judge of the quality of the materials which had been used in its construction. I recollect an instance which occurred at Meerut some years since. A building was duly surveyed by a committee, and reported to be well constructed. It fell down in the ensuing rainy season. In such a case, the course to have been adopted was plain—either to punish the members of the committee if they had neglected their duty; or if it were their misfortune to be ignorant of what they were called upon to perform, some arrangement should have been made to ensure to the appointment to the next committee men who possessed some knowledge of the business on which they were required to report. But so far from this, all that Government did was to order that those individuals should not sit again on a committee on buildings: forgetting that under the same system every future committee was likely to be just as ignorant as the one which had been first reprimanded. The expression of the displeasure of Government did not give a moment's uneasiness to those concerned, because the business they had been called upon was not considered by the army as any part of military duty. On the contrary they were pleased at the future exemption which was promised them from a troublesome office which they did not understand.



I have already alluded (see No. 17) to the subject of road-making and the entire failure which, with a few exceptions, has attended our attempts in this department. The reasons are sufficiently clear when we examine into the mode in which it has been conducted. The plan has been to entrust the business to the magistrate of each district, who was to employ the convicts and occasionally to engage a young military officer, who was chosen by interest, to perform the work by means of hired labourers. In the former case the labour of the convicts has been completely wasted. In the latter, not only have large sums been thrown away, but too frequently embezzled by the superintending officer. For the last fifty years there have been about fifty-five magistracies in the Bengal provinces, each of whom have had the superintendence of, on the average, about six hundred working convicts, making a total of more than thirty thousand. Supposing that each man had made a furlong of road in a year in a substantial manner, this would have given four thousand miles of road in the first year. The same rate could not have been continued, because some portion of the labour of every succeeding year would have been required to repair the roads previously constructed: still it is not too much to say, that had the exertions of these men been properly directed, we should at the present day have had fifty thousand miles of good roads in the Bengal presidency. But what is the fact, that with the exception of sixteen miles from Calcutta to Barrackpore, there is not in the whole country a road such as in England would be considered worthy of that appellation. Even at the capital itself, with the exception of the roads to Dum-Dum and Barrackpore, beyond the superintendence of the Lottery Committee, there is nothing but tracks such as may be seen in England across a turf\* common. How could it be otherwise when there was no one to superintend the matter? As to the magistrates, there are not perhaps five men in the whole civil service who have the least knowledge of the proper method of constructing a road; and not one who could devote any time to it without neglecting other duties of

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\* In a late number of Blackwood there is a famous puff for the East India Company. Among other things, the writer talks of the splendid roads which have been substituted for the hardly practicable footpaths which formerly existed. It is a pity that for the benefit of travellers he did not point out where these roads were to be found. I have journeyed by land over some three or four thousand miles in various parts of the Bengal Presidency, and have known others who have done as much in other parts. I never met with one who had been able to discover these roads.

greater importance.. They have not been able to make good roads even at the different stations in their own immediate neighbourhood, over which they, their families, and their friends, are daily passing. Look at almost every station in the upper provinces: Saharunpoor, Meerut, Allyghur, Bareilly, Futehghur, Agra, Mynpoorie, Khanpoor, Allahabad, &c. The roads at these places would disgrace the worst parish in England with few exceptions, and these are owing not to the magistrates but to others. At Allahabad there are indeed some good roads, but these were made under the direction of an engineer officer with stone supplied by him from the bed of the Jumna. At Khanpoor there is one road worthy of the name, running nearly through the station;—this was well made and metalled with kankur, by General Sleigh's orders, by hired labourers. Even such a simple matter as planting trees by the sides of the roads has been very generally neglected by the magistrates. There are probably in the whole line from Calcutta to Meerut not ten miles of road which have been so planted, and that too in a country where the quickness of vegetation holds out every encouragement to attend to so useful an object. The constant change of officers, and the absence of any settled plan for road-making, has had much effect in preventing any thing from being done. Few men like to begin a work which they feel pretty sure they shall not remain long enough to complete, or to reap the benefit of, and where they have no guarantee that it will be attended to by their successors. The consequence has been that the whole labour of the majority of this immense number of convicts has been utterly wasted, and the rest have been sent to perform the private work of the friends of the respective magistrates. On this point I would venture an observation, because it seems to have attracted some notice of late; and some remarks have been made as if it were really an unusual occurrence. I have at various times visited nearly twenty different districts, some of them more than once, some three or four times; and can only say that I have never yet known a station where it was not the case. The circuit judges in former days, and the commissioners in the present who ought to have checked such abuses, had usually a large gang of convicts at work in their own gardens and grounds, they could not therefore reproach the magistrates for disobeying the Government orders on this head in favor of the friends of the latter.

Where the erection of a bridge has been sanctioned by

Government, the work was too often intrusted either to a barrack master or to the magistrate of the district : in either case the work has generally been useless, even where the bridge itself has been well built. The barrack master's object was to do it as cheaply as possible and thereby gain credit with the Government ; and no provision was made for a road leading to the bridge, which is often built a considerable height to allow for the periodical floods of the rainy season. The road was left for the magistrates to complete, and consequently it was seldom done at all, and never well done, and there the bridge remained a monument for the admiration of passengers who were wading through the streams over which it was erected.

The first thing in the formation of roads will be to take advantage of the means which at present exist. The second to discover others by which the object may be obtained. Something has been done of late years in changing the designation of barrack masters to that of executive engineers and in appointing engineer officers to hold many of these situations. We must now consider the proper employment of the convicts : had this been attended to from the first, we might have seen, on a moderate computation, about fifty miles of road constructed in each district annually for the last thirty years. Supposing an uncovenanted servant on a salary of two hundred rupees a month had been appointed in each district, that would have been 2,400 rupees for fifty miles of road or 48 rupees a mile, a cheaper rate than is known in any part of the world ; for the expense of feeding and guarding the convicts would have been no more than it is at present. It is not too late to adopt some such measure now ; its good effects would be felt not only in turning to some account the labour of the convicts, but in the introduction of a more efficient system of prison discipline. At present the discipline of the jails, and indeed of every thing connected with them, is in a most infamous state. The magistrates cannot possibly devote sufficient attention to the subject, and the usual miserable system of parsimony has prevented the employment of officers of sufficient respectability and authority to supply the omission. Regulation\* 2 of 1834 has been lately promulgated for the

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\* This is one of the "ad captandum" regulations. The present construction of the jails is a mere division into large wards, each capable of holding a hundred or a hundred and fifty convicts, which are most commonly full. It is a farce to talk of any proper classification of prisoners in jails so constructed.



avowed purpose of effecting the above object, and provision has been made for the Governor General in Council to introduce, from time to time, rules for the better management of the public jails. All this sounds well; but unless it be preceded by two indispensable preliminaries, it will be absurd to hope for any improvement—first, the construction of the jails must be altered, so as to admit of a proper classification of the different prisoners; secondly, a proper person must be appointed whose sole attention should be devoted to the management of the jails and superintendence of the convict labour. In the former duty he should be responsible only to the commissioner of the division; and the local magistrate of the district should be allowed no further interference than to be obliged to visit the jail occasionally, and bring to the notice of the commissioner any abuses or irregularities he may observe. In the latter, the superintendant of the jail should be accountable to the overseer of public works: a formula of the best mode of road-making, or of conducting such labour as is suitable to the convicts, should be drawn up and circulated to each officer, and if he were obliged to serve for a short time under a qualified person in assisting the construction of roads (for this is the work to which the labour of the convicts may be most beneficially applied) it would still further promote his efficiency. There are now hundreds of English and East Indians, men of respectability, many of whom have mixed in the society of gentlemen, well acquainted with the character, customs, and language of the people, who have been rendered so destitute by the late mercantile failures, that they would willingly accept the above situations for a salary of 200 Rs. a month.\*

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In some of the jails there is no debtors' ward for females, so that should one be confined for debt, she must either be placed in a large public ward full of men, or in that appropriated to women who are imprisoned for murder or other felonies. When the settlement of Europeans becomes general in India, it will be necessary to provide some better accommodation for the confinement of those who may be so unfortunate as to deserve it, that at present exists.

\* At all events the superintendence of the labor of the convicts should be taken out of the hands of the magistrates. Vested in whomsoever it may be, it is hardly possible that a greater waste of means and labor could happen. The total inefficiency of the present system is sufficiently proved by the fact, that after thirty years not a single permanent and well executed public work exists as the result of the labor of about thirty thousand convicts! Some time ago an attempt was made to introduce trades and manufactures into the jails. In one or two instances where the magistrates were bitten by the mania, and neglected other duties of far greater importance to superintend this, by dint of whip and spur some little immediate profit to Government resulted; and this was the real object of the attempt—not any philanthropic wish to improve the condition of the convicts, or to create any public benefit, independant of profit. In all other

On the abuses that exist in every department of the public jails, I have not now time or space to enlarge, but shall bring the subject to notice hereafter. Before I quit the subject however, I will suggest the following proposition which is worthy of attention, until some better system be adopted.—To allow the whole of the convicts to remain idle in the jails; to discharge their guards, and expend the money now employed in paying these, in the hire of labourers. To a gang of five hundred convicts, the number of guards is two *jamadars*, (sergeants) at 10 rupees a month each, four *duffadars*, (corporals) at 6 rupees each; and one hundred *burkundases*, (constables) at 4 rupees each—total 444 rupees per month. For this sum might be hired a hundred and twenty labourers at 3 rupees 8 annas each—420 rupees, leaving 24 rupees for the pay of four *tindals*, (inspectors) to overlook them. The advantages of this plan would be twofold; first, the convicts would be prevented from ill-treating passengers and robbing gardens and orchards, which is their chief employment at present, and the numerous escapes which now occur when out on duty would be checked; secondly, the public benefit in the improvement of the roads; for no one can doubt that a hundred and twenty labourers would perform much more than is effected under the present system by five hundred convicts.\*

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cases after much time and money had been wasted the plan was wisely given up. The institution of castes presents great obstacles to any plan of this sort; besides only conceive the wisdom of appointing a man who was already overwhelmed with business to superintend a large manufactory, the business of which he was utterly ignorant of; and which was to be carried on by workmen who knew as little as their master! It seems not to have struck those who set this plan on foot that the fundamental principle of the profitable employment of convicts is to devise some labor which should require as little instruction as possible, and yet be *hard work*. It is to this end that tread-mills have become so general in England. In this country, at least until Government shall be willing to disburse a sufficient sum on this head, and to appoint proper people to devise and superintend an efficient system of jail discipline and convict labor, road-making, and digging canals is that on which the labor of convicts will be most profitably employed. Those who have been employed in agriculture, and these comprize the majority of the prisoners, have nothing new to learn in the use of the mattock and pick-axe; and connected with these works there is lighter labor for the others which is easily learnt in a few days. The benefit to the public is great and immediate. This fact probably is that the projectors of the above mentioned plan perceived the evil of the present system in which the convicts do nothing, but were unable to discover the reason. Lord William Bentinck's plan of collecting the greater part of the convicts to form a grand trunk road is admirable: the work, however, might be much better performed than it is.

\* There need be no apprehension in the event of such a suggestion being adopted of discipline becoming lax, or of bad practices finding their way into the jails; matters could hardly be worse than they are at present.

The second point in the formation of roads and prosecution of other improvements will be to give the people some voice and interest in effecting what is desired, and to endeavor, by the formation of local committees and municipal authorities, to induce them to exert themselves in matters of general importance. "In India," as Elphinstone has justly observed, "the people actually go for nothing"—every thing is to be done by the Government. Even the share which the former possessed in the management of the country under their own rulers has been usurped by the British Government. The result is that little is done, and that little ill-done, and the time of the supreme government is occupied by the most petty and minute details which leaves them little leisure for measures of importance.

Formerly the judges of circuit and superintendants of police were vested with authority to grant small sums of money for local improvements, but in the late economical rage this has been much curtailed and virtually annihilated and at this moment such a trifling point as the construction of a drain, at an expense of a few shillings must be referred for the consideration of the Governor General in Council. Nay to such a pitch is this carried that even the *repair* of a drain\* which was completed in more liberal times, and may perhaps be on a high road, which, being broken in, obliges travellers to make a detour through the cornfields, must be postponed for a reference to the same authority, and months often elapse before the sanction be received, if indeed it be not refused on the plea that the funds of Government must be devoted to general and not local objects of improvements. In all the towns the main streets even are knee deep in mud and water after every heavy rain; and constant encroachments are made by individuals throwing out porticos and verandahs and other excrescences in front of their houses, because there is no local authority to prevent such abuses. I would beg to refer my readers to the observations of Monsieur Dupin on the existence of the same plan of centering every attempt at public improvement in the government in France, the consequence of which is that nation

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\* It is extremely common to find the crown of the arches partly or wholly broken in. The circle with which they were covered becomes worn away, and of course the arch itself is soon crushed by the heavy carts which pass. It seems to be no one's business to attend to these matters; and thus for want of the occasional labor of a dozen men for a day, a work which has cost a considerable sum is rendered useless.



is a century behind England. It is ridiculous to repeat the old assertion that the natives are not fit to be trusted; we have never yet made a fair trial. The only instance in which it has been attempted is in the *chokeedarree* (watchmen) assessment in the large towns; and notwithstanding occasional abuses and partialities, I am convinced that the business is, on the whole, much better managed than it would be if it were exclusively under the magistrates. There should be in every large town some local authority, either municipal or in the form of a committee, who should be appointed to superintend the improvements alluded to. It should possess the power to impose a rate, to appoint officers, and to regulate the disbursements. By degrees the system might be extended over the whole country. It is probable that petty abuses might be perpetrated now and then, but there would be no policy in abolishing the whole plan in consequence, and pronouncing the natives unfit to be trusted. We must not be in too great a hurry; people who have been for years treated little better than slaves, cannot be expected all at once to enjoy their liberty without some little abuse; and this might be soon checked by a proper system of supervision—for this the officer, as above proposed, to have charge of the jail would be a very available person, and he might be employed in a general superintendence, and in suggesting to the native committees the work and the mode of executing it which would be of most general utility. A few days absence from his head-quarters four or five times a year would be sufficient for this; for with a little practice the native subordinate superintendants would be just as capable of conducting the details of the work as any Englishman, and could be procured at infinitely less expense. The employment of the magistrates or collectors in this way would be absurd, they have more duty already than they can perform; besides, when the old prejudice has a little more worn off, we shall find that a man may be possessed of some talent, though he be an uncovenanted or uncommissioned officer, and though his colour be dark. Some years ago Government did in an uncommon fit of liberality appropriate funds and appoint local committees of improvement, and great was the benefit which resulted, notwithstanding the drawback occasioned in some instances by the silly squabbling among the members:—but there every thing was to be done by Englishmen. What a fine opportunity it would have been to have associated some of the respectable natives with the

committees, and to have attempted to introduce some such system as is now proposed. On the score of abuses I shall merely remind my readers that in the subject under discussion such are by no means unknown in England, where justices of the peace, mayors and aldermen, parish overseers, church-wardens, way-wardens, and the whole posse comitatus of a town have been known to make use of their power to their own advantage in various instances. As long as human nature remains as it is, these things will occasionally happen: but notwithstanding their occurrence, in no country in the world have improvements in roads, lighting and paving of the streets, profitable employment of pauper labour, and other minor matters of police, been carried to such a pitch as in England, simply because the controul of these points is left to those who feel the immediate benefit of them. Self-interest and the good or evil opinion of their neighbours and towns-men here operate as the great checks or encouragements to a discharge of duty, whereas if these matters are left in the hands of Government none such can prevail; and whatever may be the extortions or abuses among local authorities they would be ten times greater among the emissaries of Government. What should we think if the repair of a drain in an obscure parish of Northumberland could not be effected without a representation of the matter by the local magistrates, through the lord lieutenant of the country, to the King in Council! "Good heavens!" exclaimed the Turk in America "on what a grand scale is every thing carried on in this country."\*

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\* Among other things we might hope for some improvement in the ferries. When Government first took this business into their management, it was magnanimously set forth that the object was not to raise a revenue but to keep the ferries in good order, provide efficient boats, &c. What has been the result? simply that no improvement of any kind has ever been made or even attempted; every thing connected with the public ferries is in as rude a state as it was before: but the management has been taken out of the hands of the people to whom they belonged, and they have been generally farmed to the highest bidder for the benefit of Government. It was stated some time back by a traveller, in one of the public prints, that at Calcutta, under the very eye of Government on the "grand military road" to Benares, there is not at the public ferry over the Hoogly a single boat fit to cross a horse in; and that passengers who did not wish to run the risk of having their horses seriously injured, were obliged to hire a private boat for this purpose, which belonged to Cook the livery stable-keeper. Also that carts which bring goods from the upper-provinces to Calcutta always remain at Salkea on the opposite side the river, because there is no proper conveyance on which they can cross: thus subjecting the merchants to the extra expense of unloading their goods, and bring fresh carts on the Calcutta side to convey them to their ware-houses. I believe this is still the case!

One advantage of the plan proposed is, that the rate would fall chiefly upon the only part of the community who in those provinces where the permanent settlement has not been introduced, possess any wealth; the merchants and shopkeepers, and who moreover are exempt from any direct tax. With respect to the poorer inhabitants of the towns, the plan would be to oblige every grown man to give so many days' free labour in the year, care being taken to call for this labour at those times when, with reference to his mode of livelihood, it would occasion him least inconvenience, or to pay a fixed sum for exemption. This is not mere speculation. The plan was adopted in one or two districts in which, by the personal influence of the civil functionary, the people were induced to agree voluntarily to such a project, and the benefit resulting was immense. In England, as must be well known to my readers who have had experience of country affairs, the farmers are obliged to give a certain portion of labour every year to keep the parish and public roads in repair.

Before conclusion, I will advert to one more point as connected with the subject of this paper; the policy and even justice of making some provision for preventing the misery which is every where exhibited on the visitations of a season of scarcity, like the present. There are two features of the British Indian Government which are perhaps without a parallel in any other country, and which tell greatly to our discredit by the contrast that is drawn between our rule and that of the native princes whom we have supplanted. We impose taxation to such a pitch on the main source of wealth, on the land, that in an ordinary season the proprietors and farmers have only just sufficient left them to subsist on; and when a scarcity does occur, not until the household goods have been sold for arrears, and the people begin to think of emigrating to the native states, so that the impossibility of realizing the balances is forced upon them, will Government ever consent to any remission. This it is which makes a scarcity far more felt in our provinces than in any native state, and the country much longer in recovering itself. It is also in the end more detrimental to the Government's revenue, for I am convinced that in such cases were one rupee remitted in the first instances, it would prevent an ultimate loss of three or four: for in addition to the loss of revenue, Government are often obliged to devote large sums in feeding the miserable wretches in idleness. At the present moment thousands of all classes, ages, and sex-



es, are wandering about in a state of nakedness and destitution almost inconceivable. They are even giving away their children to any one who will promise to feed them and keep them as servants. In England such a state of things is met by increased poor rates and private subscriptions and charity. In India the former provision does not exist; and the latter goes but a small way in obviating the evil, because the number who have it in their power to give, is so few. It is at such times that it is the bounden duty of Government to stand forth and give some effectual relief. This should not be done by indiscriminate donations of money or food, because there are numerous vagabonds who would take advantage of such liberality to live at ease in idleness. The truly useful plan would be to appoint a person for the time in each district to make some road or work of public utility, and to offer employment to all who come. To prevent abuses, the rate of pay should be fixed at about three fourths of the usual rate of labourers' wages; for the object is merely to prevent people starving in a scarcity which it has pleased Providence to inflict, or from being driven by want to the commission of crime. With such a resource as this in every district, every able-bodied person found begging should then be punished as an impostor, and the well-disposed would be saved from impositions which are now too successfully practised. The money expended would also be the cause of immense public benefit. Such a plan as this would be worthy of a Government which has been so highly extolled for its liberality and benevolence, but which, as regards the people of India, has hitherto done so little to deserve it.

A FRIEND TO INDIA.

March, 1834.

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# EAST INDIA CHARTER.

ANNO TERTIO ET QUARTO.

**G U L I E L M I I V . R E G I S .**

CAP. LXXXV.

*An Act for effecting an Arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better Government of his Majesty's Indian Territories till the Thirtieth Day of April One thousand eight hundred and fifty-four.*

28TH AUGUST, 1833,—Whereas by an Act passed in the Fifty-third Year of the Reign of His Majesty King George the Third, intituled An Act for continuing in the East India Company for a further Term the Possession of the British Territories in India, together with certain exclusive Privileges; for establishing further Regulations for the Government of the said Territories, and the better Administration of Justice within the same; and for regulating the Trade to and from the Places within the Limits of the said Company's Charter, the Possession and Government of the British Territories in India were continued in the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies for a Term therein mentioned: And whereas the said Company are entitled to or claim the Lordships and Islands of St. Helena and Bombay under Grants from the Crown, and other Property to a large Amount in Value, and also certain Rights and Privileges not affected by the Determination of the Term granted by the said recited Act: And whereas the said Company have consented that all their Rights and Interests to or in the said Territories, and all their Territorial, and Commercial, Real and Personal Assets and Property whatsoever, shall, subject to the Debts and Liabilities now affecting the same, be placed at the Disposal of Parliament in consideration of certain Provisions herein-after mentioned, and have also consented that their Right to trade for their own Profit in common with other His Majesty's Subjects be suspended during such Time as the Government of the said Territories shall be confided to them: And whereas it is expedient that the said Territories now under the Government of the said Company be continued under such Government, but in Trust for the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and discharged of all Claims of the

said Company to any Profit therefrom to their own Use, except the Dividend herein-after secured to them, and that the Property of the said Company be continued in their Possession and at their Disposal, in Trust for the Crown, for the Service of the said Government and other Purposes in this Act mentioned. Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the Twenty-second Day of April One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four the Territorial Acquisitions and Revenues mentioned or referred to in the said Act of the Fifty-third Year of His late Majesty King George the Third, together with the Fort and Island of Bombay and all other Territories now in the Possession and under the Government of the said Company, except the Island of St. Helena, shall remain and continue under such Government until the Thirtieth Day of April One thousand eight hundred and fifty-four; and that all the Lands and Hereditaments, Revenues, Rents, and Profits of the said Company, and all the Stores, Merchandize, Chattles, Monies, Debts, and Real and Personal Estate whatsoever, except the said Island of St. Helena, and the Stores and Property thereon herein-after mentioned, subject to the Debts and Liabilities now affecting the same respectively, and the Benefit of all Contracts, Covenants, and Engagements, and all Rights to Fines, Penalties, and Forfeitures, and other Emoluments whatsoever, which the said Company shall be seized or possessed of or entitled unto on the said Twenty-second Day of April One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, shall remain and be vested in, and be held, received and exercised respectively, according to the Nature and Quality, Estate and Interest of and in the same respectively, by the said Company in Trust for His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, for the Service of the Government of India, discharged of all Claims of the said Company to any Profit or Advantage therefrom to their own Use, except the Dividend on their Capital Stock, secured to them as herein-after is mentioned, subject to such Powers and Authorities for the Superintendence, Direction and Control over the Acts, Operations, and Concerns of the said Company as have been already made or provided by any Act or Acts of Parliament in that Behalf, or are made or provided by this Act.



II. And be it enacted, That all and singular the Privileges, Franchises, Abilities, Capacities, Powers, Authorities, whether Military or Civil, Rights, Remedies, Methods of Suite, Penalties, Forfeitures, Disabilities, Provisions, Matters, and Things whatsoever granted to or continued in the said United Company by the said Act of the Fifty-third Year of King George the Third, for and during the Term limited by the said Act, and all other the Enactments, Provisions, Matters, and Things contained in the said Act, or in any other Act or Acts whatsoever, which are limited or may be construed to be limited to continue for and during the Term granted to the said Company by the said Act of the Fifty-third Year of King George the Third, so far as the same or any of them are in force, and not repealed by or repugnant to the Enactments hereinafter contained, and all Powers of Alienation and Disposition, Rights, Franchises and Immunities, which the said United Company now have, shall continue and be in force, and may be exercised and enjoyed, as against all Persons whomsoever, subject to the Superintendence, Direction and Control herein-before mentioned, until the Thirtieth Day of April One thousand eight hundred and fifty-four.

III. Provided always, and be it enacted, That from and after the said Twenty-second Day of April One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four the exclusive Right of trading with the Dominions of the Emperor of China, and of trading in Tea, continued to the said Company by the said Act of the Fifty-third Year of King George the Third, shall cease.

IV. And be it enacted, That the said Company shall, with all convenient Speed after the said Twenty-second Day of April One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, close their Commercial Business, and make sale of all their Merchandize, Stores, and Effects at Home and Abroad, distinguished in their Account Books as Commercial Assets, and all their Ware-houses, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Property whatsoever which may not be retained for the Purposes of the Government of the said Territories and get in all Debts due to them on account of the Commercial Branch of their Affairs, and reduce their Commercial Establishments as the same shall become unnecessary, and discontinue and abstain from all Commercial Business which shall not be incident to the closing of their actual Concerns, and to the Conversion into Money of the Property herein-before directed to be sold,

or which shall not be carried on for the Purposes of the said Government.

V. Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall prevent the said Company from selling, at the Sales of their own Goods and Merchandize by this Act directed or authorized to be made, such Goods and Merchandize the Property of other Persons as they may now lawfully sell at their Public Sales.

VI. And be it enacted, That the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India shall have full Power to superintend, direct, and control the Sale of the said Meschandize, Stores, and Effects and other Property, herein-before directed to be sold, and to determine from Time to Time, until the said Property shall be converted into Money, what Parts of the said Commercial Establishments shall be continued and reduced respectively, and to control the Allowance and Payment of all Claims upon the said Company connected with the Commercial Branch of their Affairs, and generally to superintend and Control all Acts and Operations whatsoever of the said Company whereby the Value of the Property of the said Company may be affected ; and the said Board shall and may appoint such Officers as shall be necessary to attend upon the said Board during the winding-up of the Commercial Business of the said Company ; and that the Charge of such Salaries or Allowances as His Majesty shall, by any Warrant or Warrants under His Sign Manual, countersigned by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the Time being, direct to be paid to such Officers, shall be defrayed by the said Company, as herein-after mentioned, in addition to the ordinary Charges of the said Board.

VII. And be it enacted, That it should be lawful for the said Company to take into consideration the Claims of any Persons now or heretofore employed by or under the said Company, or the Widows and Children of any such Persons whose Interests may be affected by the Discontinuance of the said Company's Trade, or who may from Time to Time be reduced, and, under the Control of the said Board, to grant such Compensations, Superannuations, or Allowances (the Charge thereof to be defrayed by the said Company as herein-after mentioned) as shall appear reasonable : Provided always, that no such Compensations, Seperannuations or Allowances shall be granted until the Expiration of Two Calendar Months after Particulars of the Compensation, Superannuation, or

Allowance proposed to be so granted shall have been laid before both Houses of Parliament.

VIII. Provided always, and be it enacted, That within the first Fourteen sitting Days after the first meeting of Parliament in every Year there be laid before both Houses of Parliament the Particulars of all Compensations, Superannuations, and Allowances so granted, and of the Salaries and Allowances directed to be paid to such Officers as may be appointed by the said Board as aforesaid during the preceding Year.

IX. And be it enacted, That from and after the said Twenty-second Day of April One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four all the Bond Debt of the said Company in Great Britain and all the Territorial Debt of the said Company in India, and all other Debts which shall on that Day be owing by the said Company, and all Sums of Money, Costs, Charges, and Expences which after the said Twenty-second Day of April One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four may become payable by the said Company in respect or by reason of any Covenants, Contracts, or Liabilities then existing, and all Debts, Expences, and Liabilities whatever which after the same Day shall be lawfully contracted and incurred on account of the Government of the said Territories, and all Payments by this Act directed to be made, shall be charged and chargeable upon the Revenues of the said Territories; and that neither any Stock or Effects which the said Company may hereafter have to their own Use, nor the Dividend by this Act secured to them, nor the Directors or Proprietors of the said Company, shall be liable to or chargeable with any of the said Debts, Payments, or Liabilities.

X. Provided always, and be it enacted, That so long as the Possession and Government of the said Territories shall be continued to the said Company all Persons and Bodies Politic shall and may have and take the same Suits, Remedies, and Proceedings, legal and equitable, against the said Company, in respect of such Debts, and Liabilities as aforesaid, and the Property vested in the said Company in Trust as aforesaid shall be subject and liable to the same Judgments and Executions, in the same Manner and Form respectively as if the said Property were hereby continued to the said Company to their own Use.

XI. And be it enacted, That out of the Revenues of the said Territories there shall be paid to or retained by the



said Company, to their own Use, a yearly Dividend after the Rate of Ten Pounds Ten Shillings per Centum per Annum on the present Amount of their Capital Stock; the said Dividend, to be payable in Great Britain, by equal half-yearly Payments, on the Sixth Day of January and the Sixth Day of July in every Year; the first half-yearly Payment to be made on the Sixth Day of July One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four.

XII. Provided always, and be it enacted, That the said Dividend shall be subject to Redemption by Parliament upon and at any Time after the Thirtieth Day of April One thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, on Payment to the Company of Two hundred Pounds Sterling for every One hundred Pounds of the said Capital Stock, together with a proportionate Part of the same Dividend, if the Redemption shall take place on any other Day than one of the said half-yearly Days of Payment: Provided also, that Twelve Months Notice in Writing, signified by the Speaker of the House of Commons by the Order of the House, shall be given to the said Company of the Intention of Parliament to redeem the said Dividend.

XIII. Provided always, and be it enacted, That if on or at any Time after the said Thirtieth Day of April One thousand eight hundred and fifty-four the said Company shall, by the Expiration of the Term hereby granted, cease to retain or shall by the Authority of Parliament be deprived of the Possession and Government of the said Territories; it shall be lawful for the said Company within One Year thereafter to demand the Redemption of the said Dividend, and Provision shall be made for redeeming the said Dividend, after the Rate aforesaid, within Three Years after such Demand.

XIV. And be it enacted, That there shall be paid by the said Company into the Bank of England, to the Account of the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, such Sums of Money as shall in the whole amount to the Sum of Two Millions Sterling with Compound Interest after the Rate of Three Pounds Ten Shillings per Centum per Annum, computed half-yearly from the said Twenty-second Day of April One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, on so much of the said Sums as shall from Time to Time remain unpaid; and the Cashiers of the said Bank shall receive all such Sums of Money, and place the same to a separate Account with the said Commissioners, to be intituled "The Account of the

Security Fund of the India Company ;” and that as well the Monies so paid into the said Bank as the Dividends or Interest which shall arise therefrom shall from Time to Time be laid out under the Direction of the said Commissioners, in the Purchase of Capital Stock in any of the redeemable Public Annuities transferrable at the Bank of England ; which Capital Stock so purchased shall be invested in the Names of the said Commissioners on account the said Security Fund, and the Dividends payable thereon shall be received by the said Cashiers and placed to the said Account, until the whole of the Sums so received on such Account shall have amounted to the Sum of Twelve Millions Sterling ; and the said Monies, Stock, and Dividends, or Interest, shall be a Security Fund for better securing to the said Company the Redemption of their said Dividend after the Rate herein-before appointed for such Redemption.

XV. Provided always, and be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners for the Redemption of the National Debt from Time to Time, and they are hereby required, upon Requisition made for that Purpose by the Court of Directors of the said Company, to raise and pay to the said Company such sums of Money as may be necessary for the Payment of the said Company’s Dividend by reason of any Failure or Delay of the Remittances of the proper Funds for such Payment ; such Sums of Money to be raised by Sale or Transfer or Deposit by way of Mortgage of a competent Part of the said Security Fund, according as the said Directors, with the Approbation of the said Board, shall direct ; to be repaid into the Bank of England to the Account of the Security Fund, with Interest after such Rate as the Court of Directors, with the Approbation of the said Court, shall fix out of the Remittances which shall be made for answering such Dividend, as and when such Remittances shall be received in England.

XVI. Provided always, and be it enacted, That all Dividends on the Capital Stock forming the said Security Fund accruing after the Monies received by the said Bank to the Account of such Fund shall have amounted to the Sum of Twelve Millions Sterling, until the said Fund shall be applied to the Redemption of the said Company’s Dividend, and also all the said Security Fund, or so much thereof as shall remain after the said Dividend shall be wholly redeemed after the Rate aforesaid, shall be applied in aid of the Revenues of the said Territories,

XVII. And be it enacted, That the said Dividend on the 'Company's Capital Stock shall be paid or retained as aforesaid out of such Part of the Revenues of the said Territories as shall be remitted to Great Britain in preference to all other Charges payable thereout in Great Britain; and that the said Sum of Two Millions Sterling shall be paid in manner aforesaid out of any Sums which shall on the said Twenty-second Day of April One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four be due to the said Company from the Public as and when the same shall be received, and out of any Monies which shall arise from the Sale of any Government Stock on that Day belonging to the said Company, in preference to all other Payments thereout; and that subject to such Provisions for Priority of Charge, the Revenues of the said Territories, and all monies which shall belong to the said Company on the said Twenty-second Day of April One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, and all monies which shall be thereafter received by the said Company from and in respect of the Property and Rights vested in them in Trust as aforesaid, shall be applied to the Service of the Government of the said Territories, and in defraying all Charges and Payments by this Act created, or confirmed and directed to be made respectively, in such Order as the said Court of Directors, under the Control of the said Board, shall from Time to Time direct; any thing in any other Act or Acts contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

XVIII. Provided also, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall be construed or operate to the Prejudice of any Persons claiming or to claim under a Deed of Covenants dated the Tenth Day of July One thousand eight hundred and five, and made between the said Company of the one Part, and the several Persons whose Hands should be thereto set and affixed, and who respectively were or claimed to be Creditors of His Highness the Nabob Wallah Jah, formerly Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic in the East Indies, and now deceased, and of his Highness the Nabob Omduh ul Omrah, late Nabob of Arcot and of the Carnatic, and now also deceased, and of His Highness the Ameer ul Omrah, of the other Part.

XIX. And be it enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty by any Letters Patent, or by any Commission or Commissions to be issued under the Great Seal of Great Britain from Time to Time to nominate, constitute, and appoint, during Pleasure, such Persons as His Majesty



shall think fit to be, and who shall accordingly be and be styled, Commissioners for the Affairs of India; and every Enactment, Provision, Matter, any thing relating to the Commissioners for the Affairs of India in any other Act or Acts contained, so far as the same are in force and not repealed by or repugnant to this Act, shall be deemed and taken to be applicable to the Commissioners to be nominated as aforesaid.

XX. And be it enacted, That the Lord President of the Council, the Lord Privy Seal, the First Lord of the Treasury, the Principal Secretaries of State, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the Time being shall, by virtue of their respective Offices, be and they are hereby declared to be Commissioners for the Affairs of India, in conjunction with the Persons to be nominated in any such Commission as aforesaid, and they shall have the same Powers respectively as if they had been expressly nominated in such Commission, in the Order in which they are herein mentioned, next after the Commissioner first named therein.

XXI. And be it enacted, That any Two or more of the said Commissioners, shall and may form a Board for executing the several Powers which by this Act, or by any other Act or Acts, are or shall be given to or vested in the Commissioners for the Affairs of India; and that the Commissioner first named in any such Letters Patent or Commission, for the Time being, shall be the President of the said Board; and that when any Board shall be formed in the Absence of the President, the Commissioner next in order of Nomination in this Act or in the said Commission, of those who shall be present, shall for that Turn preside at the said Board.

XXII. And be it enacted, That if the Commissioners present at any Board shall be equally divided in Opinion with respect to any Matter by them discussed, then and on every such Occasion the President, or in his Absence the Commissioner acting as such, shall have Two Voices or the casting Vote.

XXIII. And be it enacted, That the said Board shall and may nominate and appoint Two Secretaries, and such other Officers as shall be necessary, to attend upon the said Board, who shall be subject to Dismission at the Pleasure of the said Board; and each of the said Secretaries shall have the same Powers, Rights, and Privileges as by any Act or Acts now in force are vested in the Chief Secretary of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India; and that the Presi-

dent of the said Board, but no other Commissioner as such, and the said Secretaries and other Officers, shall be paid by the said Company such fixed Salaries as His Majesty shall, by any Warrant or Warrants under his Sign Manual, countersigned by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the Time being, direct.

**XXIV.** And be it enacted, That if at any Time the said Board shall deem it expedient to require their Secretaries and other Officers of the said Board, or any of them, to take an Oath of Secrecy, and for the Execution of the Duties of their respective Stations, it shall be lawful for the said Board to administer such Oath as they shall frame for the Purpose.

**XXV.** And be it enacted, That the said Board shall have and be invested with full Power and Authority to Superintend, direct, and control all Acts, Operations, and Concerns of the said Company which in anywise relate to or concern the Government or Revenues of the said Territories, or the Property hereby vested in the said Company in Trust as aforesaid, and all Grants of Salaries, Gratuities, and Allowances, and all other Payments and Charges whatever out of or upon the said Revenues and Property respectively, except as herein-after is mentioned.

**XXVI.** And be it enacted, That the several Persons who on the said Twenty-second Day of April One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four shall be Commissioners for the Affairs of India, and Secretaries and Officers of such Board of Commissioners, shall continue and be Commissioners for the Affairs of India, and Secretaries and Officers of the said Board respectively, with the same Powers, and subject to the same Restrictions as to Salaries as if they had been appointed by virtue of this Act, until by the issuing of new Patents, Commissions, or otherwise, their Appointments shall be respectively revoked.

**XXVII.** And be it enacted, That if, upon the Occasion of taking any Ballot on the Election of a Director or Directors of the said Company, any Proprietor, who shall be resident within the United Kingdom, shall, by reason of Absence, Illness, or otherwise, be desirous of voting by Letter of Attorney, he shall be at liberty so to do, provided that such Letter of Attorney shall in every Case express the Name or Names of the Candidate or Candidates for whom such Proprietor shall be so desirous of voting, and shall be executed within Ten Days next before such Election: and the At-

to be constituted for such Purpose, shall in every Case deliver the Vote he is so directed to give openly to the Person or Persons who shall be authorized by the said Company to receive the same; and every such Vote shall be accompanied by an Affidavit or Affirmation to be made before a Justice of the Peace by the Proprietor directing the same so to be given, to the same or the like Effect as the Oath or Affirmation now taken by Proprietors voting upon Ballots at General Courts of the said Company, and in which such Proprietor shall also state the Day of the Execution of such Letter of Attorney; and any Person making a false Oath or Affirmation before a Justice of Peace for the Purpose aforesaid shall be held to have thereby committed wilful Perjury; and if any Person do unlawfully or corruptly procure or suborn any other Person to take the said Oath or Affirmation before a Justice of the Peace as aforesaid, whereby he or she shall commit such wilful Perjury, and shall thereof be convicted, he, she, or they, for every such Offence, shall incur such Pains and Penalties as are provided by Law against Subornation of Perjury.

**XXVIII.** And be it enacted, That so much of the Act of the Thirteenth Year of the Reign of King George the Third, intituled An Act for establishing certain Regulations for the better Management of the Affairs of the East India Company as well in India as in Europe, as enacts that no Person employed in any Civil or Military Station in the East Indies, or claiming or exercising any Power, Authority, or Jurisdiction therein, shall be capable of being appointed or chosen into the Office of Director until such Person shall have returned to and been resident in England for the Space of Two Years, shall be and is hereby repealed: Provided, that is the said Court of Directors, with the Consent of the said Board, shall declare such Person to be an Accountant with the said Company, and that his Accounts are unsettled, or that a Charge against such Person is under the Consideration of the said Court, such Person shall not be capable of being chosen into the Office of Director for the Term of Two Years after his Return to England, unless such Accounts shall be settled, or such Charge be decided on, before Expiration of the said Term.

**XXIX.** And be it further enacted, That the said Court of Directors shall from Time to Time deliver to the said Board Copies of all Minutes, Orders, Resolutions, and Proceedings of all Courts of Proprietors, General or Special, and of all



Courts of Directors, within eight Days after the holding of such Courts respectively, and also Copies of all Letters, Advices, and Dispatches whatever which shall at any Time or Times be received by the said Court of Directors or any Committee of Directors, and which shall be material to be communicated to the said Board, or which the said Board shall from Time to Time require.

**XXX.** And be it enacted, That no Orders, Instructions, Dispatches, Official Letters, or Communications whatever, relating to the said Territories or the Government thereof, or to the Property or Rights vested in the said Company in Trust as aforesaid, or to any public Matters whatever, shall be at any Time sent or given by the said Court of Directors, or any Committee of the said Directors, until the same shall have been submitted for the consideration of and approved by the said Board; and for that Purpose that Copies of all such Orders, Instructions, Dispatches, Official Letters, or Communications which the said Court of Directors, or any Committee of the said Directors, shall propose to be sent or given, shall be by them previously laid before the said Board, and that within the Space of Two Months after the Receipt of such proposed Orders, Instructions, Dispatches, Official Letters, or Communications, the said Board shall either return the same to the said Court of Directors or Committee of Directors, with their Approbation thereof, signified under the Hand of One of the Secretaries of the said Board, by the Order of the said Board; or if the said Board shall disapprove, alter, or vary in Substance any of such proposed Orders, Instructions, Dispatches, Official Letters or Communications, in every such Case the said Board shall give to the said Directors, in Writing, under the Hand of One of the Secretaries of the said Board, by Order of the said Board, their Reason in respect thereof, together with their Directions to the said Directors in relation thereto; and the said Directors shall and they are hereby required forthwith to send the said Orders, Instructions, Dispatches, Official Letters, or Communications, in the Form approved by the said Board, to their proper Destinations: Provided always, that it shall be lawful for the said Board, by Minutes from Time to Time to be made for that purpose and entered on the Records of the said Board and to be communicated to the said Court, to allow such Classes of Orders, Instructions, Dispatches, Official Letters, or Communications as shall in such Minutes be described to be

sent or given by the said Court without having been previously laid before the said Board.

**XXXI.** And be it enacted, That whenever the said Court of Directors shall omit to prepare and submit for the Consideration of the said Board any Orders, Instructions, Dispatches, Official Letters, or Communications, beyond the Space of Fourteen Days after Requisition made to them by Order of the said Board, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Board to prepare and send to the said Directors any Orders, Instructions, Dispatches, Official Letters, or Communications, together with their Directions relating thereto; and the said Directors shall and they are hereby required forthwith to transmit the same to their proper Destinations.

**XXXII.** Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed to extend to restrict or prohibit the said Directors from expressing, within Fourteen Days, by Representation in Writing to the said Board, such Remarks, Observations, or Explanations as they shall think fit touching or concerning any Directions which they shall receive from the said Board; and that the said Board shall and they are hereby required to take every such Representation, and the several Matters therein contained or alleged, into their Consideration, and to give such further Directions thereupon as they shall think fit and expedient; which shall be final and conclusive upon the said Directors.

**XXXIII.** And be it enacted, That if it shall appear to the said Court of Directors that any Orders, Instructions, Dispatches, Official Letters or Communications, except such as shall pass through the Secret Committee, upon which Directions may be so given by the said Board as aforesaid, are contrary to Law, it shall be in the Power of the said Board and the said Court of Directors to send a special Case, to be agreed upon by and between them, and to be signed by the President of the said Board and the Chairman of the said Company, to Three or more of the Judges of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench, for the Opinion of the said Judges; and the said Judges are hereby required to certify their Opinion upon any Case so submitted to them, and to send a Certificate thereof to the said President and Chairman; which Opinion shall be final and conclusive.

**XXXIV.** Provided always, and be it enacted and declared, That the said Board shall not have the Power of appointing any of the Servants of the said Company, or of direct-

ing or interfering with the Officers and Servants of the said Company employed in the Home Establishment, nor shall it be necessary for the said Court of Directors to submit for the Consideration of the said Board their Communications with the Officers or Servants employed in their said Home Establishment, or with the legal Advisers of the said Company.

**XXXV.** And be it enacted, That the said Court of Directors shall from Time to Time appoint a Secret Committee, to consist of any Number not exceeding Three of the said Directors, for the particular Purposes in this Act specified; which said Directors so appointed shall, before they or any of them shall act in the Execution of the Powers and Trusts hereby reposed in them, take an Oath of the Tenor following; (that is to say,)

‘ I (A. B.) do swear, That I will, according to the best  
 ‘ of my Skill and Judgment, faithfully execute the several  
 ‘ Trusts and Powers reposed in me as a Member of the Secret  
 ‘ Committee appointed by the Court of Directors of the India  
 ‘ Company; I will not disclose or make known any of the  
 ‘ secret Orders, Instructions, Dispatches, Official Letters or  
 ‘ Communications which shall be sent or given to me by the  
 ‘ Commissioners for the Affairs of India, save only to the other  
 ‘ Members of the said Secret Committee, or to the Person or  
 ‘ Person who shall be duly nominated and employed in trans-  
 ‘cribing or preparing the same respectively, unless I shall be  
 ‘ authorized by the said Commissioners to disclose and make  
 ‘ known the same. So help me GOD.’

Which said Oath shall and may be administered by the several and respective Members of the said Secret Committee to each other; and, being so by them taken and subscribed, shall be recorded by the Secretary or Deputy Secretary of the said Court of Directors for the Time being amongst the Acts of the said Court.

**XXXVI.** Provided also, and be it enacted, That if the said Board shall be of opinion that the Subject Matter of any of their Deliberations, concerning the levying War or making Peace, or treating or negotiating with any of the Native Princes or States in India, or with any other Princes or States or touching the Policy to be observed with respect to such Princes or States, intended to be communicated in Orders, Dispatches, Official Letters or Communications, to any of the Governments or Presidencies in India, or to any Officers or Servants of the said Company, shall be of a Nature to require



Secrecy, it shall and may be lawful for the said Board to send their Orders, Dispatches, Official Letters or Communications, to the Secret Committee of the said Court of Directors to be appointed as is by this Act directed, who shall thereupon, without disclosing the same, transmit the same according to the Tenor thereof, or pursuant to the Directions of the said Board, to the respective Governments and Presidencies, Officers and Servants; and that the said Governments and Presidencies, Officers and Servants, shall be bound to pay a faithful Obedience thereto, in like Manner as if such Orders, Dispatches, Official Letters or Communications had been sent to them by the said Court of Directors.

**XXXVII.** And be it enacted, That the said Court of Directors shall, before the Twenty-second Day of April One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, and afterwards from Time to Time so often as Reductions of the Establishment of the said Court or other Circumstances may require, frame and submit to the said Board an Estimate of the gross Sum which will be annually required for the Salaries of the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Members of the said Court, and the Officers and Secretaries thereof, and all other proper Expences fixed and contingent thereof, and of General Courts of Proprietors; and such Estimate shall be subject to Reduction by the said Board, so that the Reasons for such Reduction be given to the said Court of Directors; and any Sum not exceeding the Sum mentioned in such Estimate, or (if the same shall be reduced) in such reduced Estimate, shall be annually applicable, at the Discretion of the Court of Directors, to the Payment of the said Salaries and Expences; and it shall not be lawful for the said Board to interfere with or control the particular Application thereof, or to direct what particular Salaries or Expences shall from Time to Time be increased or reduced: Provided always, that such and the same Accounts shall be kept and rendered of the Sums to be applied in defraying the Salaries and Expences, aforesaid as of the other Branches of the Expenditure of the said Company.

**XXXVIII.** And be it enacted, That the Territories now subject to the Government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal shall be divided into Two distinct Presidencies, one of such Presidencies, in which shall be included Fort William aforesaid, to be styled the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal; and the other of such Presidencies to be styled the Presidency of Agra; and that it shall be lawful for

the said Court of Directors, under the Control by this Act provided, and they are hereby required, to declare and appoint what Part or Parts of any of the Territories under the Government of the said Company shall from Time to Time be subject to the Government of each of the several Presidencies now subsisting or to be established as aforesaid, and from Time to Time, as Occasion may require, to revoke and alter, in the whole or in part, such Appointment, and such new Distribution of the same as shall be deemed expedient.

**XXXIX.** And be it enacted, That the Superintendence, Direction, and Control of the whole Civil and Military Government of all the said Territories and Revenues in India shall be and is hereby vested in a Governor General and Counsellors, to be styled "the Governor General of India in Council."

**XL.** And be it enacted, That there shall be Four Ordinary Members of the said Council. Three of whom shall from Time to Time be appointed by the said Court of Directors from amongst such Persons as shall be or shall have been Servants of the said Company; and each of the said Three Ordinary Members of Council shall at the Time of his Appointment have been in the Service of the said Company for at least Ten Years; and if he shall be in the Military Service of the said Company, he shall not during his Continuance in Office as a Member of Council hold any Military Command or be employed in actual Military Duties; and that the Fourth Ordinary Member of Council shall from Time to Time be appointed from amongst Persons who shall not be Servants of the said Company by the said Court of Directors, subject to the Approbation of His Majesty, to be signified in Writing by His Royal Sign Manual, countersigned by the President of the said Board; provided that such last mentioned Member of Council shall not be entitled to sit or vote in the said Council except at Meetings thereof for making Laws and Regulations; and it shall be lawful for the said Court of Directors to appoint the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces in India, and if there shall be no such Commander-in-Chief or the Officers of such Commander-in-Chief and of Governor General of India shall be vested in the same Person, then the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces on the Bengal Establishment, to be an Extraordinary Member of the said Council, and such Extraordinary Member of Council shall have Rank and

Precedence at the Council Board next after the Governor General.

**XLI.** And be it enacted, That the Person who shall be Governor General of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal on the Twenty-second Day of April One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four shall be the First Governor General of India under this Act, and such Persons as shall be Members of Council of the same Presidency on that Day shall be respectively Members of the Council constituted by this Act.

**XLII.** And be it enacted, That all Vacancies happening in the Office of Governor General of India shall from Time to Time be filled up by the said Court of Directors, subjected to the Approbation of His Majesty, to be signified in Writing by His Royal Sign Manual, countersigned by the President of the said Board.

**XLIII.** And be it enacted, That the said Governor General in Council shall have Power to make Laws and Regulations for repealing, amending, or altering any Laws or Regulations whatever now in force or hereafter to be in force in the said Territories or any Part thereof, and to make Laws and Regulations for all Persons, whether British or Native, Foreigners or others, and for all Courts of Justice whether established by His Majesty's Charters or otherwise, and the Jurisdictions thereof, and for all Places and Things whatsoever within and throughout the whole and every Part of the said Territories, and for all Servants of the said Company within the Dominions of Princes and States in alliance with the said Company; save and except that the said Governor General in Council shall not have the Power of making any Laws or Regulations which shall in any way repeal, vary, suspend, or affect any of the Provisions of this Act, or any of the Provisions of the Acts, for punishing Mutiny and Desertion of Officers and Soldiers whether in the Service of His Majesty or the said Company, or any Provisions of any Act hereafter to be passed in anywise affecting the said Company or the said Territories or the Inhabitants thereof, or any Laws or Regulations which shall in any way affect any Prerogative of the Crown, or the Authority of Parliament, or the Constitution or Rights of the said Company, or any Part of the unwritten Laws or Constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland whereon may depend in any Degree the Allegiance of any Person to the Crown of the United Kingdom, or the



Sovereignty or Dominion of the said Crown over any Part of the said Territories.

**XLIV.** Provided always, and be it enacted, That in case the said Court of Directors, under such Control as by this Act is provided, shall signify to the said Governor General in Council their Disallowance of any Laws or Regulations by the said Governor General in Council made, then and in every such Case, upon Receipt by the said Governor General in Council of Notice of such Disallowance, the said Governor General in Council shall forthwith repeal all Laws and Regulations so disallowed.

**XLV.** Provided also, and be it enacted, That all Laws and Regulations made as aforesaid, so long as they shall remain unrepealed, shall be of the same Force and Effect within and throughout the said Territories as any Act of Parliament would or ought to be within the same Territories, and shall be taken notice of by all Courts of Justice whatsoever within the same Territories, in the same Manner as any Public Act of Parliament would and ought to be taken notice of; and it shall not be necessary to register or publish in any Court of Justice any Laws or Regulations made by the said Governor General in Council.

**XLVI.** Provided also, and be it enacted, That it shall not be lawful for the said Governor General in Council, without the previous Sanction of the said Court of Directors, to make any Law or Regulation whereby Powers shall be given to any Courts of Justice, other than the Courts of Justice established by His Majesty's Charters, to sentence to the Punishment of Death any of His Majesty's natural born Subjects born in Europe, or the Children of such Subjects or which shall abolish any of the Courts of Justice established by His Majesty's Charters.

**XLVII.** And be it enacted, That the said Court of Directors shall forthwith submit, for the Approbation of the said Board, such Rules, as they shall deem expedient for the Procedure of the Governor General in Council in the Discharge and Exercise of all Powers, Functions, and Duties imposed on or vested in him by virtue of this Act, or to be imposed or vested in him by any other Act or Acts; which Rules shall prescribe the Modes of Promulgation of any Laws or Regulations to be made by the said Governor General in Council, and of the Authentication of all Acts and Proceedings whatsoever of the said Governor General in Council; and such

Rules, when approved by the said Board of Commissioners, shall be of the same Force as if they had been inserted in this Act: Provided always, that such Rules shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament in the Session next after the Approval thereof.

**XLVIII.** Provided always, and be it enacted, That all Laws and Regulations shall be made at some Meeting of the Council at which the said Governor General and at least Three of the Ordinary Members of Council shall be assembled, and that all other Functions of the said Governor General in Council may be exercised by the said Governor General and One or more Ordinary Member or Members of Council, and that in every Case of Difference of Opinion at Meetings of the said Council where there shall be an Equality of Voices the said Governor General shall have Two Votes or the casting Vote.

**XLIX.** Provided always, and be it enacted, That when and so often as any Measure shall be proposed before the said Governor General in Council whereby the Safety, Tranquillity or Interests of the British Possessions in India, or any part thereof, are or may be, in the Judgment of the said Governor General, essentially affected, and the said Governor General shall be of opinion either that the Measure so proposed ought to be adopted or carried into execution, or that the same ought to be suspended or wholly rejected, and the Majority in Council then present shall differ in and dissent from such Opinion, the said Governor General and Members of Council are hereby directed forthwith mutually to exchange with and communicate to each other in Writing under their respective Hands, to be recorded at large on their Secret Consultations, the Grounds and Reasons of their respective Opinions; and if after considering the same the said Governor General, and the Majority in Council shall still differ in Opinion, it shall be lawful for the said Governor General, of his own Authority and on his own Responsibility, to suspend or reject the Measure so proposed in part or in whole, or to adopt and carry the Measure so proposed into execution, as the said Governor General shall think fit and expedient.

**L.** And be it enacted, That the said Council shall from Time to Time assemble at such Place or Places as shall be appointed by the said Governor General in Council within the said Territories, and that as often as the said Council shall assemble within any of the Presidencies of the Fort Saint

George, Bombay, or Agra, the Governor of such Presidency shall act as an Extraordinary Member of Council.

LI. Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall extend to effect in any way the Right of Parliament to make Laws for the said Territories and for all the Inhabitants thereof; and it is expressly declared that a full, complete, and constantly existing Right and Power is intended to be reserved to Parliament to control, supersede, or prevent all Proceedings and Acts whatsoever of the said Governor General in Council; and to repeal and alter at any Time any Law or Regulation whatsoever made by the said Governor General in Council, and in all respects to legislate for the said Territories and all the Inhabitants thereof in as full and ample a Manner as if this Act had not been passed; and the better to enable Parliament to exercise at all Times such Right and Power, all Laws and Regulations made by the said Governor General in Council shall be transmitted to England, and laid before both Houses of Parliament, in the same Manner as is now by Law provided concerning the Rules and Regulations made by the several Governments in India.

LII. And be it enacted, That all Enactments, Provisions, Matters, and Things relating to the Governor General of Fort William in Bengal in Council, and the Governor General of Fort William in Bengal alone, respectively, in any other Act or Acts contained, so far as the same are now in force, and not repealed by or repugnant to the Provisions of this Act, shall continue and be in force and be applicable to the Governor General of India in Council, and to the Governor General of India alone, respectively.

LIII. And whereas it is expedient that such special Arrangements as local Circumstances may require a general System of Judicial Establishments and Police, to which all Persons whatsoever, as well Europeans as Natives may be subject, should be established in the said Territories at an early Period, and that such Laws as may be applicable in common to all Classes of the Inhabitants of the said Territories, due Regard being had to the Rights, Feelings, and peculiar Usages of the People, should be enacted, and that all Laws and Customs having the Force of Law within the same Territories should be ascertained and consolidated, and as Occasion may require amended; be it therefore enacted, that the said Governor General of India in Council shall, as soon as conveniently may be after the passing of this Act, issue a Com-



mission, and from Time to Time Commissions, to such Persons as the said Court of Directors, with the Approbation of the said Board of Commissioners, shall recommend for that Purpose, and to such other Persons, if necessary, as the said Governor General in Council shall think fit, all such Persons, not exceeding in the whole at any one Time Five in Number, and to be styled "The Indian Law Commissioners," with all such Powers as shall be necessary for the Purposes hereinafter mentioned; and the said Commissioners shall fully inquire into the Jurisdiction, Powers, and Rules of the existing Courts of Justice and Public Establishments in the said Territories, and all existing Forms of Judicial Procedure, and into the Nature and Operation of all Laws, whether Civil or Criminal, written or customary, prevailing and in Force in any Part of the said Territories, and whereto any Inhabitants of the said Territories, whether Europeans or others are now subject; and the said Commissioners shall from Time to Time make Reports, in which they shall fully set forth the Result of their said inquiries, and shall from Time to Time suggest such Alterations as may in their Opinion be beneficially made in the said Courts of Justice and Police Establishments, Forms of Judicial Procedure and Laws, due regard being had to the Distinction of Castes, Difference of Religion, and the Manners and Opinions prevailing among different Races and in different Parts of the said Territories.

LIV. And be it enacted, That the said Commissioners shall follow such Instructions with regard to the Researches and Inquiries to be made, and the Places to be visited by them, and all their Transactions with reference to the Objects of their Commission, as they shall from Time to Time receive from the said Governor General of India in Council; and they are hereby required to make to the said Governor General in Council such special Reports upon any Matters as by such Instructions may from Time to Time be required; and the said Governor General in Council shall take into consideration the Reports from Time to Time to be made by the said Indian Law Commissioners, and shall transmit the same, together with the Opinions or Resolutions of the said Governor General in Council thereon, to the said Court of Directors; and which said Reports, together with the said Opinions or Resolutions, shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament in the same Manner as is now by Law provided concerning the Rules and Regulations made by the several Governments in India.

LV. And be it enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the Governor General of India in Council to grant Salaries to the said India Law Commissioners and their necessary Officers and Attendants, and to defray such other Expenses as may be incident to the said Commission, and that the Salaries of the said Commissioners shall be according to the highest Scale of Remuneration given to any of the Officers or Servants of the India Company below the Rank of Members of Council.

LVI. And be it enacted, That the Executive Government of each of the several Presidencies of Fort William in Bengal, Fort Saint George, Bombay, and Agra shall be administered by a Governor and Three Councillors, to be styled "The Governor in Council of the said Presidencies of Fort William in Bengal, Fort Saint George, Bombay, and Agra, respectively;" and the said Governor and Councillors respectively of each such Presidency shall have the same Rights and Voices in their Assemblies, and shall observe the same Order and Course in their Proceedings, as the Governors in Council of the Presidencies of Fort Saint George and Bombay now have and observe, and that the Governor General of India for the Time being shall be Governor of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal.

LVII. Provided always, and be it enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the said Court of Directors under such Control as is by this Act provided, to revoke and suspend, so often and for such Periods as the said Court shall in that Behalf direct, the Appointment of Councils in all or any of the said Presidencies, or to reduce the Number of Councillors in all or any of the said Councils, and during such Time as a Council shall not be appointed in any such Presidency the Executive Government thereof shall be administered by a Governor alone.

LVIII. And be it enacted, That the several Persons who on the said Twenty-second Day of April One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four shall be Governors of the respective Presidencies of Fort Saint George and Bombay, shall be the first Governors of the said Presidencies respectively under this Act; and that the Office of Governor of the said Presidency of Agra, and all Vacancies happening in the Offices of the Governors of the said Presidencies respectively, shall be filled up by the said Court of Directors, subject to the Approbation of His Majesty, to be signified under His Roy-

al Sign Manual, countersigned by the said President of the said Board of Commissioners.

LIX. And be it enacted, That in the Presidencies in which the Appointment of a Council shall be suspended under the Provision herein-before contained, and during such Time as Councils shall not be appointed therein respectively, the Governors appointed under this Act, and in the Presidencies in which Councils shall from Time to Time be appointed the said Governors in their respective Councils, shall have all the Rights, Powers, Duties, Functions, and Immunities whatsoever, not in anywise repugnant to this Act, which the Governors of Fort Saint George and Bombay in their respective Councils now have within their respective Presidencies; and that the Governors and Members of Council of Presidencies appointed by or under this Act shall severally have all the Rights, Powers, and Immunities respectively, not in anywise repugnant to this Act, which the Governors and Members of Council of the Presidencies of Fort Saint George and Bombay respectively now have in their respective Presidencies; provided that no Governor or Governor in Council shall have the Power of making or suspending any Regulations or Laws in any Case whatever, unless in Cases of urgent Necessity (the Burthen of the Proof whereof shall be on such Governor or Governor in Council), and then only until the Decision of the Governor General of India in Council shall be signified thereon; and provided also, that no Governor or Governor in Council shall have the Power of creating any new Office, or granting any Salary, Gratuity, or Allowance, without the previous Sanction of the Governor General of India in Council.

LX. Provided always, and be it enacted, That when and so often as the said Court of Directors shall neglect for the Space of Two Calendar Months, to be computed for the Day whereon the Notification of the Vacancy of any Office or Employment in India in the Appointment of the said Court shall have been received by the said Court, to supply such Vacancy, then in every such Case it shall be lawful for His Majesty to appoint, by Writing under his Sign Manual, such Persons as His Majesty shall think proper to supply such Vacancy; and that every Person so appointed shall have the same Powers, Privileges, and Authorities as if he or they had been appointed by the said Court, and shall not be subject to Removal or Dismissal without the Approbation and Consent of His Majesty.



**LXI.** And be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said Court of Directors to appoint any Person or Persons provisionally to succeed to any of the Offices aforesaid, for supplying any Vacancy or Vacancies therein, when the same shall happen by the Death or Resignation of the Person or Persons holding the same Office or Offices respectively, or on his or their Departure from India with Intent to return to Europe, or on any Event or Contingency expressed in any such provisional Appointment or Appointments to the same respectively, and such Appointments again to revoke; Provided that every provisional Appointment to the several Offices of Governor General of India, Governor of a Presidency, and the Member of Council of India, by this Act directed to be appointed from amongst Persons who shall not be Servants of the said Company, shall be subject to the Approbation of his Majesty, to be signified as aforesaid, but that no Person so appointed to succeed provisionally to any of the said Offices shall be entitled to any Authority, Salary, or Emolument appertaining thereto until he shall be in the actual Possession of such Office.

**LXII.** And be it enacted, That if any Vacancy shall happen in the Office of Governor General of India when no provisional or other Successor shall be upon the spot to supply such Vacancy, then and in every such Case the Ordinary Member of Council next in Rank to the said Governor General shall hold and execute the said Office of Governor General of India and Governor of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal until a Successor shall arrive, or until some other Person on the Spot shall be duly appointed thereto; and that every such Acting Governor General shall, during the Time of his continuing to act as such, have and exercise all the Rights and Powers of Governor General of India, and shall be entitled to receive the Emoluments and Advantages appertaining to the Office by him supplied, such Acting Governor General foregoing his Salary and Allowance of a Member of Council for the same Period.

**LXIII.** And be it enacted, That if any Vacancy shall happen in the Office of Governor of Fort Saint George, Bombay, or Agra, when no provisional or other Successor shall be upon the Spot to supply such Vacancy, then and in every such Case, if there shall be a Council in the Presidency in which such Vacancy shall happen, the Member of such Council, who shall be next in Rank to the Governor, other than

the Commander in Chief or Officer commanding the Forces of such Presidency, and if there shall be no Council, then the Secretary of Government of the said Presidency who shall be senior in the said Office of Secretary, shall hold and execute the said Office of Governor until a Successor shall arrive, or until some other Person on the Spot shall be duly appointed thereto: and that every such Acting Governor shall, during the Time of his continuing to act as such, receive and be entitled to the Emoluments and Advantages appertaining to the Office by him supplied, such acting Governor foregoing all Salaries and Allowances by him held and enjoyed at the Time of his being called to supply such Office.

LXIV. And be it enacted, That if any Vacancy shall happen in the Office of an Ordinary Member of Council of India when no Person provisionally or otherwise appointed to succeed thereto shall be then present on the Spot, then and on every such Occasion such Vacancy shall be supplied by the Appointment of the Governor General in Council; and if any Vacancy shall happen in the Office of a Member of Council of any Presidency when no Person provisionally or otherwise appointed to succeed thereto shall be then present on the Spot, then and on every such Occasion such Vacancy shall be supplied by the Appointment of the Governor in Council of the Presidency in which such Vacancy shall happen; and until a Successor shall arrive the Person so nominated shall execute the Office by him supplied, and shall have all the Powers thereof, and shall have and be entitled to the Salary and other Emoluments and Advantages appertaining to the said Office during his Continuance therein, every such temporary Member of Council foregoing all Salaries and Allowances by him held and enjoyed at the Time of his being appointed to such Office: Provided always, that no Person shall be appointed a temporary Member of Council who might not have been appointed by the said Court of Directors to fill the Vacancy supplied by such temporary Appointment.

LXV. And be it further enacted, That the said Governor General in Council shall have and be invested by virtue of this Act with full Power and Authority to superintend and control the Governors and Governors in Council of Fort William in Bengal, Fort Saint George, Bombay, and Agra, in all Points relating to the Civil or Military Administration of the said Presidencies respectively, and the said Governors and Governors in Council shall be bound to obey such Orders and

Instructions of the said Governor General in Council in all Cases whatsoever.

LXVI. And be it enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the Governors or Governors in Council of Fort William in Bengal, Fort Saint George, Bombay, and Agra respectively, to propose to the said Governor General in Council Drafts or Projects of any Laws or Regulations which the said Governors or Governors in Council respectively may think expedient, together with their Reasons for proposing the same; and the said Governor General in Council is hereby required to take the same and such Reasons into consideration, and to communicate the Resolutions of the said Governor General in Council thereon to the Governor or Governor in Council by whom the same shall have been proposed.

LXVII. And be it enacted, That when the said Governor General shall visit any of the Presidencies of Fort Saint George, Bombay, or Agra, the Powers of the Governors of those Presidencies respectively shall not by reason of such Visit be suspended.

LXVIII. And be it enacted, That the said Governors and Governors in Council of the said Presidencies of Fort William in Bengal, Fort Saint George, Bombay, and Agra respectively shall and they are hereby respectively required regularly to transmit to the said Governor General in Council true and exact Copies of all such Orders and Acts of their respective Governments, and also Advice and Intelligence of all Transactions and Matters which shall have come to their Knowledge, and which they shall deem material to be communicated to the said Governor General in Council as aforesaid, or as the said Governor General in Council shall from Time to Time require.

LXIX. And be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said Governor General in Council, as often as the Exigencies of the Public Service may appear to him to require, to appoint such one of the Ordinary Members of the said Council of India as he may think fit to be Deputy Governor of the said Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and such Deputy Governor shall be invested with all the Powers and perform all the Duties of the said Governor of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, but shall receive no additional Salary by reason of such Appointment.

LXX. And be it enacted, That whenever the said Governor General in Council shall declare that it is expedient



that the said Governor General should visit any Part of India unaccompanied by any Member or Members of the Council of India, it shall be lawful for the said Governor General in Council, previously to the Departure of the said Governor General, to nominate some Member of the Council of India to be President of the said Council, in whom, during the Absence of the said Governor General from the said Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, the Powers of the said Governor General in Assemblies of the said Council shall be reposed; and it shall be lawful in every such Case for the said Governor General in Council by a Law or Regulation for that Purpose to be made, to authorize the Governor General alone to exercise all or any of the Powers which might be exercised by the said Governor General in Council, except the Power of making Laws or Regulations: Provided always, that during the Absence of the Governor General no Law or Regulation shall be made by the said President and Council without the Assent in Writing of the said Governor General.

LXXI. And be it enacted, That they shall not, by reason of the Division of the Territories now subject to the Government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal into Two Presidencies as aforesaid, be any Separation between the Establishments and Forces thereof respectively, or any Alteration in the Course and Order of Promotion and Succession of the Company's Servants in the same Two Presidencies respectively, but that all the Servants, Civil and Military, of the Bengal Establishments and Forces, shall and may succeed and be appointed to all Commands and Offices within either of the said Presidencies respectively as if this Act had not been passed.

LXXII. And be it enacted, That for the Purposes of an Act passed in the Fourth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King George the Fourth, intituled An Act to consolidate and amend the Laws for punishing Mutiny and Desertion of Officers and Soldiers in the Service of the East India Company, and to authorize Soldiers and Sailors in the East Indies to send and receive Letters at a reduced Rate of Postage, and of any Articles of War made or to be made under the same, the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal shall be taken and deemed to comprise under and within it all the Territories which by or in virtue of this Act shall be divided between the Presidencies of Fort William in Bengal and Agra respectively, and shall for all the Purposes aforesaid be taken to be the

Presidency of Fort William in Bengal in the said Act mentioned.

**LXXIII.** And be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said Governor General in Council from Time to Time to make Articles of War for the Government of the Native Officers and Soldiers in the Military Service of the Company, and for the Administration of Justice by Courts-martial to be holden on such Officers and Soldiers, and such Articles of War from Time to Time to repeal or vary and amend; and such Articles of War shall be made and taken notice of in the same Manner as all other the Laws and Regulations to be made by the said Governor General in Council under this Act, and shall prevail and be in force, and shall be of exclusive Authority over all the Native Officers and Soldiers in the said Military Service, to whatever Presidency such Officers and Soldiers may belong, or wheresoever they may be serving: Provided nevertheless, that until such Articles of War shall be made by the said Governor General in Council any Articles of War for or relating to the Government of the Company's Native Forces, which at the Time of this Act coming into operation shall be in force and use of any Part or Parts of the said Territories, shall remain in force.

**LXXIV.** And be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for His Majesty, by any Writing under His Sign Manual, countersigned by the President of the said Board of Commissioners, to remove or dismiss any Person holding any Office, Employment, or Commission, Civil or Military, under the said Company in India, and to vacate any Appointment or Commission of any Person to any such Office or Employment; provided that a Copy of every such Writing, attested by the said President, shall within Eight Days after the same shall be signed by His Majesty be transmitted or delivered to the Chairman or Deputy Chairman of the said Company.

**LXXV.** Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing in this Act contained shall take away the Power of the said Court of Directors to remove or dismiss any of the Officers or Servants of the said Company, but that the said Court shall and may at all Times have full Liberty to remove or dismiss any of such Officers or Servants at their Will and Pleasure: provided that any Servant of the said Company appointed by His Majesty through the Default of Appointment by the said Court of Directors shall not be dismissed or

removed without His Majesty's Approbation, as herein-before is mentioned.

**LXXVI.** And be it enacted, That there shall be paid to the several Officers herein-after named the several Salaries set against the Names of such Officers subject to such Reduction of the said several Salaries respectively as the said Court of Directors, with the Sanction of the said Board, may at any Time think fit : (that is to say,)

To the Governor General of India, Two hundred and forty thousand Sicca Rupees :

To each Ordinary Member of the Council of India, Ninety-six thousand Sicca Rupees :

To each Governor of the Presidencies of Fort Saint George, Bombay, and Agra, One hundred and Twenty thousand Sicca Rupees :

To each Member of any Council to be appointed in any Presidency, Sixty thousand Sicca Rupees.

And the Salaries of the said officers respectively shall commence from their respectively taking upon them the Execution of their respective Offices, and the said Salaries shall be the whole Profit or Advantage which the said Officers shall enjoy during their Continuance in such Offices respectively ; and it shall be and it is hereby declared to be a Misdemeanor for any such Officer to accept for his own Use, in the Discharge of his Office, any Present, Gift, Donation, Gratuity, or Reward, pecuniary or otherwise whatsoever, or to trade or traffic for his own Benefit or for the Benefit of any other Person or Persons whatsoever ; and the said Court of Directors are hereby required to pay to all and singular the Officers and Persons herein-after named who shall be resident in the United Kingdom at the Time of their respective Appointments, for the Purpose of defraying the Expences of their Equipment and Voyage, such Sums of Money as are set against the Names of such Officers and Persons respectively ; (that is to say,)

To the Governor General, Five thousand Pounds :

To each Member of the Council of India, One thousand two hundred Pounds :

To each Governor of the Presidencies of Fort Saint George, Bombay, and Agra, Two thousand five hundred Pounds :

Provided also, that any Governor General, Governor, or Member of Council appointed by or by virtue of this Act,



who shall at the Time of passing this Act hold the Office of Governor General, Governor, or Member of Council respectively, shall receive the same Salary and Allowances that he would have received if, this Act had not been passed.

**LXXVII.** Provided always, and be it enacted, That if any Governor General, Governor, or Ordinary Member of the Council of India, or any Member of the Council of any Presidency, shall hold or enjoy any Pension, Salary, or any Place, Office, or Employment of Profit under the Crown or any Public Office or the said Company, or any Annuity payable out of the Civil or Military Fund of the said Company, the Salary of his Office of Governor General of India, Governor or Member of Council, shall be reduced by the Amount of the Pension, Salary, Annuity, or Profits of Office so respectively held or enjoyed by him.

**LXXVIII.** And be it enacted, That the said Court of Directors, with the Approbation of the said Board of Commissioners, shall and may from Time to Time make Regulations for the Division and Distribution of the Patronage and Power of Nomination of and to the Offices, Commands, and Employments in the said Territories, and in all or any of the Presidencies thereof, among the said Governor General in Council, Governor General, Governors in Council, Governors, Commander in Chief, and other Commanding Officers respectively appointed or to be appointed under this Act.

**LXXIX.** And be it enacted, That the Return to Europe or the Departure from India with Intent to return to Europe of any Governor General of India, Governor, Member of Council, or Commander in Chief, shall be deemed in Law a Resignation and Avoidance of his Office or Employment, and that no Act or Declaration of any Governor General, or Governor, or Member of Council, other than as aforesaid, excepting a Declaration in Writing under Hand and Seal, delivered to the Secretary for the Public Department of the Presidency wherein he shall be, in order to its being recorded, shall be deemed or held as a Resignation or Surrender of his said Office; and that the Salary and other Allowances of any such Governor General or other Officer respectively shall cease from the Day of such his Departure, Resignation, or Surrender; and that if any such Governor General or Member of Council of India shall leave the said Territories or if any Governor or other Officer, whatever in the Service of the said Company shall leave the Presidency to which he shall belong,

other than in the known actual Service of the said Company, the Salary and Allowances appertaining to his Office shall not be paid or payable during his absence to any Agent or other Person for his Use; and in the event of his not returning, or of his coming to Europe his Salary and Allowances shall be deemed to have ceased on the Day of his leaving the said Territories, or the Presidency to which he may have belonged; provided that it shall be lawful for the said Company to make such Payment as is now by Law permitted to be made to the Representatives of their Officers or Servants who, having left their Stations intending to return thereto, shall die during their Absence.

**LXXX.** And be it enacted, That every wilful disobeying, and every wilful omitting, forbearing, or neglecting to execute the Orders or Instructions of the said Court of Directors by any Governor General of India, Governor, Member of Council, or Commander in Chief, or by any other of the Officers or Servants of the said Company, unless in Cases of Necessity (the Burthen of the Proof of which Necessity shall be on the Person so disobeying or omitting, forbearing or neglecting, to execute such Orders or Instructions as aforesaid); and every wilful Breach of the Trust and Duty of any Office or Employment by any such Governor General, Governor, Member of Council, or Commander in Chief, or any of the Officers or Servants of the said Company, shall be deemed and taken to be a Misdemeanor at Law, and shall or may be proceeded against and punished as such by virtue of this Act.

**LXXXI.** And be it enacted, that it shall be lawful for any natural-born Subjects of his Majesty to proceed by Sea to any Port or Place having a Custom-house Establishment within the said Territories and to reside thereat, or to proceed to and reside in or pass through any Part of such of the said Territories as were under the Government of the said Company on the First day of January, One thousand eight hundred, and in any Part of the Countries ceded by the Nabob of the Carnatic, of the Province of Cuttack, and of the Settlements of Singapore and Malacca, without any Licence whatever; provided that all Subjects of His Majesty not Natives of the said Territories shall, on their Arrival in any Part of the said Territories from any Port or Place not within the said Territories, make known in Writing their Names, Places of Destination, and Objects of Pursuit in India, to the Chief Officer

of the Customs or other Officer authorized for that purpose at such Port or Place as aforesaid.

**LXXXII.** Provided always, and be it enacted, That it shall not be lawful for any Subject of His Majesty, except the Servants of the said Company and others now lawfully authorized to reside in the said Territories, to enter the same by Land, or to proceed to or reside in any Place or Places in such Parts of the Territories as are not herein-before in that Behalf mentioned, without License from the said Board of Commissioners, or the said Court of Directors, or the said Governor General in Council, or a Governor or Governor in Council of any of the said Presidencies for the Purpose first obtained: Provided always, that no License given to any natural-born Subject of His Majesty to reside in Parts of the Territories not open to all such Subjects shall be determined or revoked unless in accordance with the Terms of some express Clause of Revocation or Determination in such Licence contained.

**LXXXIII.** Provided always, and be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said Governor General in Council, with the previous Consent and Approbation of the said Court of Directors for that Purpose obtained, to declare any Place or Places whatever within the said Territories open to all His Majesty's natural-born Subjects, and it shall be thenceforth lawful for any of His Majesty's natural-born Subjects to proceed to, or reside in, or pass through any Places declared open without any Licence whatever.

**LXXXIV.** And be it enacted, that the said Governor General in Council shall and he is hereby required, as soon as conveniently may be, to make Laws or Regulations providing for the Prevention or Punishment of the illicit Entrance into or Residence in the said Territories of Persons not authorized to enter or reside therein.

**LXXXV.** And whereas the Removal of Restrictions on the Intercourse of Europeans with the said Territories will render it necessary to provide against any Mischiefs or Dangers that may arise therefrom, be it therefore enacted that the said Governor General in Council shall and he is hereby required by Laws or Regulations, to provide with all convenient Speed for the Protection of the Natives of the said Territories from Insult and Outrage in their Persons, Religions, or Opinions.

**LXXXVI.** And be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for any natural-born Subject of His Majesty authorized to



reside in the said Territories to acquire and hold Lands, or any Right, Interest, or Profit in or out of Lands for any Term of Years, in such Part or Parts of the said Territories as he shall be so authorized to reside in : Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be taken to prevent the said Governor General in Council from enabling, by any Laws or Regulations, or otherwise, any Subjects of His Majesty to acquire or hold any Lands, or Rights, Interests, or Profits in or out of Lands, in any Part of the said Territories, and for any Estates or Terms whatever.

**LXXXVII.** And be it enacted, That no Native of the said Territories nor any natural-born Subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his Religion, Place of Birth, Descent, Colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any Place, Office, or Employment under the said Company.

**LXXXVIII.** And be it further enacted, That the said Governor General in Council shall and he is hereby required forthwith to take into consideration the Means of mitigating the State of Slavery, and of ameliorating the Condition of Slaves, and of extinguishing Slavery throughout the said Territories so soon as such Extinction shall be practicable and safe, and from Time to Time to prepare and transmit to the said Court of Directors Drafts of Laws or Regulations for the Purposes aforesaid, and that in preparing such Drafts due Regard shall be had to the Laws of Marriage and the Rights and Authorities of Fathers and Heads of Families, and that such Drafts shall forthwith after Receipt thereof be taken into consideration by the said Court of Directors, who shall, with all convenient Speed, communicate to the said Governor General in Council their instructions on the Drafts of the said Laws and Regulations, but no such Laws and Regulations shall be promulgated or put in force without the previous Consent of the said Court ; and the said Court shall, within Fourteen Days after the first meeting of Parliament in every Year, lay before both Houses of Parliament a Report of the Drafts of such Rule and Regulations as shall have been received by them, and of their Resolutions or Proceedings thereon.

**LXXXIX.** And whereas the present Diocese of the Bishoprick of Calcutta is of too great an Extent for the Incumbent thereof to perform efficiently all the Duties of the Office without endangering his Health and Life, and it is therefore expedient to diminish the Labours of the Bishop of

the said Diocese, and for that purpose to make Provision for assigning new Limits to the Diocese of the said Bishop, and for founding and constituting Two separate and distinct Bishopricks, but nevertheless the Bishops thereof to be subordinate and subject to the Bishop of Calcutta for the Time being, and his Successors, as their Metropolitan; be it therefore enacted, That in case it shall please His Majesty to erect, found, and constitute Two Bishopricks, one to be styled the Bishoprick of Madras and the other the Bishoprick of Bombay, and from Time to Time to nominate and appoint Bishops to such Bishopricks under the Style and Title of Bishops of Madras and Bombay respectively, there shall be paid from and out of the Revenues of the said Territories to such Bishops respectively the Sum of Twenty-four thousand Sicca Rupees by the Year.

XC. And be it enacted, That the said Salaries shall commence from the Time at which such Persons as shall be appointed to the said Office of Bishop shall take upon them the Execution of their respective Offices; and that such Salaries shall be in lieu of all Fees of Office, Perquisites, Emoluments or Advantages whatsoever; and that no Fees of Office, Perquisites, Emoluments, or Advantages whatsoever shall be accepted, received, or taken by such Bishop or either of them, in any Manner or on any Account or Pretence whatsoever, other than the Salaries aforesaid; and that such Bishops respectively shall be entitled to such Salaries so long as they shall respectively exercise the Functions of their several Offices in the British Territories aforesaid.

XCI. And be it enacted, That the said Court of Directors shall and they are required to pay to the Bishops so from Time to Time to be appointed to the said Bishopricks of Madras and Bombay in case they shall be resident in the United Kingdom at the Time of their respective Appointments, the Sum of Five hundred Pounds each, for the Purpose of defraying the Expences of their Equipments and Voyage.

XCII. Provided always, and be it enacted, That such Bishops shall not have or use any Jurisdiction, or exercise any Episcopal Functions whatsoever either in the said Territories or elsewhere, but only such Jurisdiction and Functions as shall or may from Time to Time be limited to them respectively by His Majesty by His Royal Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the said United Kingdom.

**XCIII.** And be it enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty from Time to Time, if He shall think fit, by His Royal Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the said United Kingdom to assign Limits to the Diocese of the Bishoprick of Calcutta and to the Dioceses of the said Bishopricks of Madras and Bombay respectively, and from Time to Time to alter and vary the same Limits respectively, as to His Majesty shall seem fit, and to grant to such Bishops respectively within the Limits of their respective Dioceses the Exercise of Episcopal Functions, and of such Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction as His Majesty shall think necessary for the Superintendence and good Government of the Ministers of the United Church of England and Ireland therein.

**XCIV.** Provided always, and be it enacted, That the Bishop of Calcutta for the Time being shall be deemed and taken to be the Metropolitan Bishop in India, and as such shall have, enjoy, and exercise all such Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Episcopal Functions, for the purposes aforesaid as his Majesty shall by his Royal Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the said United Kingdom think necessary to direct, subject nevertheless to the general Superintendence and Revision, of the Archbishop of Canterbury for the Time being; and that the Bishops of Madras and Bombay for the Time being respectively shall be subject to the Bishop of Calcutta for the Time being as such Metropolitan, and shall at the Time of their respective Appointments to such Bishopricks, or at the Time of their respective Consecrations as Bishop, take an Oath of Obedience to the said Bishop of Calcutta in such Manner as His Majesty by His said Royal Letters Patent shall be pleased to direct.

**XCV.** And be it enacted, That when and as often as it shall please His Majesty to issue any Letters Patent respecting the Bishopricks of Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay or for the Nomination or Appointment of any Person thereto respectively, the Warrant for the Bill in every such Case shall be countersigned by the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, and by no other Person.

**XCVI.** And be it enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, by Warrant under His Royal Sign Manual, countersigned by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the Time being, to grant to any such Bishop of Madras or Bombay respectively who shall



have exercised in the British Territories aforesaid for Fifteen Years the Office of such Bishop a Pension not exceeding Eight hundred Pounds per Annum, to be paid quarterly by the said Company.

**XCVII.** And be it enacted, That in all Cases when it shall happen the said Person nominated and appointed to be Bishop of either of the said Bishopricks of Madras or Bombay shall depart this Life within Six Calendar Months next after the Day when he shall have arrived in India for the Purpose of taking upon him the Office of such Bishop, there shall be payable out of the Territorial Revenues from which the Salary of such Bishop so dying shall be payable, to the legal personal Representatives of such Bishop, such Sum or Sums of Money as shall, together with the Sum or Sums paid to or drawn by such Bishop in respect of his Salary, make up the full Amount of One Year's Salary; and when and so often as it shall happen that any such Bishop shall depart this Life while in possession of such Office, and after the Expiration of Six Calendar Months from the Time of his arrival in India for the Purpose of taking upon him such Office, then and in every such Case there shall be payable, out of the Territorial Revenues from which the Salary of the said Bishop so dying shall be payable, to his legal personal Representatives, over and above what may have been due to him at the Time of his Death, a Sum equal to the full Amount of the Salary of such Bishop for Six Calendar Months.

**XCVIII.** And be it enacted, That if it shall happen that either of the Bishops of Madras or Bombay shall be translated to the Bishoprick of Calcutta, the Period or Residence of such Person as Bishop of Madras or Bombay shall be accounted for and taken as a Residence as Bishop of Calcutta; and if any Person now an Archdeacon in the said Territories shall be appointed Bishop of Madras or Bombay, the Period of his Residence in India as such Archdeacon shall for all the Purposes of this Act be accounted for and taken as a Residence as such Bishop.

**XCIX.** Provided also, and be it enacted, That if any Person under the Degree of a Bishop shall be appointed to either of the Bishopricks of Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, who at the Time of such Appointment shall be resident in India, then and in such Case it shall and may be lawful for

the Archbishop of Canterbury, when and as he shall be required so to do by His Majesty by His Royal Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the said United Kingdom, to issue a Commission under His Hand and Seal, to be directed to the Two remaining Bishops authorizing and charging them to perform all such requisite Ceremonies for the Consecration of the Person so to be appointed to the Degree and Office of a Bishop.

C. And be it enacted, That the Expences of Visitations to be made from Time to Time by the said Bishops of Madras and Bombay respectively shall be paid by the said Company out of the Revenue of the said Territories: provided that no greater Sum on account of such Visitations be at any Time issued than shall from Time to Time be defined and settled by the Court of Directors of the said Company, with the Approbation of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

CI. And be it enacted, That no Archdeacon hereafter to be appointed for the Archdeaconry of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, or the Archdeaconry of the Presidency of Fort Saint George, or the Archdeaconry of the Presidency and Island of Bombay, shall receive in respect of his Archdeaconry any Salary exceeding Three thousand Sicca Rupees per Annum: Provided always, that the whole Expence incurred in respect of the said Bishops and Archdeacons shall not exceed One hundred and twenty thousand Sicca Rupees per Annum.

CII. And be it enacted, That of the Establishment of Chaplains maintained by the said Company at each of the Presidencies of the said Territories, Two Chaplains shall always be Ministers of the Church of Scotland, and shall have and enjoy from the said Company such Salary as shall from Time to Time be allotted to the Military Chaplains at the several Presidencies: Provided always, that the Ministers of the Church of Scotland to be appointed Chaplains at the said Presidencies as aforesaid shall be ordained and induced by the Presbytery of Edinburgh according to the Forms and Solemnities used in the Church of Scotland, and shall be subject to the Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in all Things of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, whose Judgments shall be subject to Dissent, Protest, and Appeal to the Provincial Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, and to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland: Provided always, that nothing here-

in contained shall be so construed as to prevent the Governor General in Council from granting from Time to Time, with the Sanction of the Court of Directors and of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, to any Sect, Persuasion, or Community of Christians not being of the United Church of England and Ireland, or of the Church of Scotland, such Sums of Money as may be expedient for the Purpose of Instruction or for the Maintenance of Places of Worship.

CIII. And whereas it is expedient to provide for the due Qualification of Persons to be employed in the Civil Service of the said Company in the said Territories, be it therefore enacted, That the said Governor General of India in Council shall, as soon as may be after the First Day of January in every Year, make and transmit to the said Court of Directors a prospective Estimate of the Number of Persons who, in the Opinion of the said Governor General in Council, will be necessary, in addition to those already in India or likely to return from Europe, to supply the expected Vacancies in the Civil Establishments of the respective Governments in India in such one of the subsequent Years as shall be fixed in the Rules and Regulations herein-after mentioned; and it shall be lawful for the said Board of Commissioners to reduce such Estimate, so that the Reasons for such Reduction be given to the said Court of Directors; and in the Month of June in every Year, if the said Estimate shall have been then received by the said Board, and if not, then within One Month after such Estimate shall have been received, the said Board of Commissioners shall certify to the said Court of Directors what Number of Persons shall be nominated as Candidates for Admission, and what Number of Students shall be admitted to the College of the said Company at Haileybury in the then current Year, but so that at least Four such Candidates, no one of whom shall be under the Age of Seventeen or above the Age of Twenty Years, be nominated, and no more than One Student admitted for every such expected Vacancy in the said Civil Establishments, according to such Estimate or reduced Estimate as aforesaid; and it shall be lawful for the said Court of Directors to nominate such a Number of Candidates for Admission to the said College as shall be mentioned in the Certificate of the said Board and if the said Court of Directors shall not within One Month after the Receipt of such Certificate nominate the whole Number mentioned therein, it shall be lawful for the said Board



of Commissioners to nominate so many as shall be necessary to supply the Deficiency.

CIV. And be it enacted, That when and so often as any Vacancy shall happen in the Number of Students in the said College by Death, Expulsion, or Resignation, it shall be lawful for the said Board of Commissioners to add in respect of every such Vacancy One to the Number of Students to be admitted and Four to the Number of Candidates for Admission to be nominated by the said Court in the following Year.

CV. And be it enacted, That the said Candidates for Admission to the said College shall be subjected to an Examination in such Branches of Knowledge and by such Examiners as the said Board shall direct, and shall be classed in a List to be prepared by the Examiners, and the Candidates whose Names shall stand highest in such List shall be admitted by the said Court as Students in the said College until the Number to be admitted for that Year, according to the Certificate of the said Board, be supplied.

CVI. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said Board of Commissioners and they are hereby required, forthwith after the passing of this Act, to form such Rules, Regulations, and Provisions for the Guidance of the said Governor General in Council in the Formation of the Estimate herein-before mentioned, and for the good Government of the said College, as in their Judgment shall appear best adapted to secure fit Candidates for Admission into the same, and for the Examination and Qualifications of such Candidates and of the Students of the said College, after they shall have completed their Residence there, and for the Appointment and Remuneration of proper Examiners; and such Plan, Rules, and Regulations and Provisions respectively shall be submitted to His Majesty in Council for his Revision and Approbation; and when the same shall have been so revised and approved by His Majesty in Council, the same shall not afterwards be altered or repealed, except by the said Board of Commissioners, with the Approbation of His Majesty in Council.

CVII. And be it enacted, That at the Expiration of such Time as shall be fixed by such Rules, Regulations, and Provisions made as aforesaid, so many of the said Students as shall have a Certificate from the said College of good Conduct

during Term of their Residence therein shall be subjected to an Examination in the Studies prosecuted in the said College, and so many of the said Students as shall appear duly qualified shall be classed according to Merit in a List to be prepared by the Examiners, and shall be nominated to supply the Vacancies in the Civil Establishments in India, and have Seniority therein according to their Priority in the said List; and if there shall be at the same Time Vacancies in the Establishments of more than One of the said Presidencies, the Students on the said List shall, according to such Priority, have the Right of electing to which of the said Establishments they will be appointed.

CVIII. And be it enacted, That no Appointment of any Professor or Teacher at the said College shall be valid or effectual until the same shall have been approved by the Board of Commissioners.

CIX. And be it enacted, That every Power, Authority, and Function by this or any other Act or Acts given to and vested in the said Court of Directors shall be deemed and taken to be subject to such Control of the said Board of Commissioners as in this Act is mentioned, unless there shall be something in the Enactments conferring such Powers, Authorities, or Functions inconsistent with such Construction, and except as to any Patronage or Right of appointing to Office vested in or reserved to the said Court.

CX. Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to enable the said Board of Commissioners to give or cause to be given Directions ordering or authorizing the Payment of any extraordinary Allowance or Gratuity, or the Increase of any established Salary, Allowance, or Emolument, unless in the Cases and subject to the Provisions in and subject to such Directions may now be given by the said Board, or to increase the Sum now payable by the said Company on account of the said Board, except only by such Salaries or Allowances as shall be payable to the Officers to be appointed as herein-before is mentioned to attend upon the said Board during the winding up of the Commercial Business of the said Company.

CXI. And be it enacted, That whenever in this Act, or in any Act hereafter to be passed, the Term East India Company is or shall be used, it shall be held to apply to the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies,

and that the said United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies may, in all Suits, Proceedings, and Transactions whatsoever after the passing of this Act, be called by the Name of the East India Company.

**CXII.** And be it enacted, That the Island of Saint Helena, and all Forts, Factories, Public Edifices, and Hereditaments whatsoever in the said Island, and all Stores and Property thereon fit or used for the Service of the Government thereof, shall be vested in his Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, and the said Island shall be governed by such Orders as His Majesty in Council shall from Time to Time issue in that Behalf.

**CXIII.** And be it further enacted, That every Supercargo and other Civil Servant of the said Company, now employed by the said Company in the Factory at Canton or in the Island of Saint Helena, shall be capable of taking and holding any Office in any Presidency or Establishment of the said Territories which he would have been capable of taking and holding if he had been a Civil Servant in such Presidency or on such Establishment during the same Time as he shall have been in the Service of the said Company.

**CXIV.** And be it enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act all Enactments and Provisions directing the said Company to provide for keeping a Stock of Tea shall be repealed.

**CXV.** And be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for any Court of Justice established by His Majesty's Charters in the said Territories to approve, admit, and enrol Persons as Barristers, Advocates, and Attorneys in such Court without any License from the said Company, any thing in any such Charter contained to the contrary notwithstanding: Provided always, that the being entitled to practice as an Advocate in the principal Courts of Scotland is and shall be deemed and taken to be a Qualification for Admission as an Advocate in any Court in India equal to that of having been called to the Bar in England or Ireland.

**CXVI.** And be it further enacted, That the Court of Directors of the said Company shall, within the first Fourteen sitting Days next after the First Day of May in every Year, lay before both Houses of Parliament an Account, made up according to the latest Advices which shall have been received,



of the annual Produce of the Revenues of the Said Territories in India, distinguishing the same and the respective Heads thereof at each of their several Presidencies or Settlements, and of all their annual Receipts and Disbursements at Home and Abroad, distinguishing the same under the respective Heads thereof, together with the latest Estimate of the same, and also the Amount of their Debts, with the Rates of Interest they respectively carry, and the annual Amount of such Interest, the State of their Effects and Credits at each Presidency or Settlement, and in England or elsewhere, according to the latest Advices which shall have been received thereof, and also a List of their several Establishments, and the Salaries and Allowances payable by the said Court of Directors in respect thereof; and the said Court of Directors under the Direction and Control of the said Board of Commissioners, shall forthwith prepare Forms of the said Accounts and Estimates in such Manner as to exhibit a complete and accurate View of the Financial Affairs of the said Company; and if any new or increased Salaries, Establishments, or Pensions shall have been granted or created within any Year, the Particulars thereof shall be specially stated and explained at the Foot of the Account of the said Year.

CXVII. And be it enacted, That this Act shall commence and take effect from and after the passing thereof, so so far as to authorize the Appointment or prospective or provisional Appointment of the Governor General of India, Governors, Members of Council, or other Officers, under the Provisions herein contained, and so far as herein-before in that Behalf mentioned, and as to all other Matters and Things, from and after the Twenty-second Day of April next.

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## CONSIDERATIONS ON THE MEANS OF COMMUNICATING THE LEARNING AND CIVILIZATION OF EUROPE TO INDIA.

### SECTION I.

*The subject of the treatise, or the consideration of the means, by which the present highly advanced state of learning and civilization in Europe, can be most effectually communicated to the rest of the world, and to our Indian Empire in particular.*

From the earliest ages of the world a reciprocal interchange of learning and civilization has been in progress between the nations of the East, and those of the West, and in proportion as either of them have made any considerable advance in their acquisition, they have imparted to the other a portion of their superior advantages. The original seat of learning was in Asia, where civil order was first established, and we find the neighbouring barbarous States of Greece, drawing largely from this source during the long period from the introduction of their Alphabet from Syria, to the adoption of the systems of the philosophical schools which are now generally acknowledged to have been a part of the learning of Asia, and from Greece these advantages were extended throughout the Roman world.

During the succeeding age, the countries of the East lost their national character and were subjected to the foreign dynasties of Greece and Rome, and afterwards, to the semibarbarous Saracenic Empire; and the race of men, who were the depositaries of the ancient learning gradually disappeared under the powerful invasion of foreign ideas, consummated by the introduction of the Mahomedan system. In India alone, a remnant of the ancient learning of the East survives, of which it may be considered a pretty fair specimen, for there is every reason to believe that in the early ages of the world, the learning, and even the literature of Egypt, Assyria, Persia and Hindoostan bore very much the same character. The Hindoos have hitherto been exempted from the revolutions of the intellectual world, but, instead of having made the progress that might have been expected from the freedom they long enjoyed from foreign invasion, a system of unexampled depression has scarcely allowed them to emerge from the first grade of civilization, which they enjoyed in the earliest ages of the world in common with the rest of Asia.

The Arabians were a rude and unlettered people at the period when they overspread the countries of the East, but after the first torrent of violence and rapine had subsided, and Bagdad, Cairo and Cordova became the seats of organized and tolerably well regulated Governments, a taste for letters began to prevail among them, and, being sensible of the inefficiency of the means which their own language afforded, they wisely had recourse to the superior funds of their Western neighbours. Under the patronage of the Caliphs of the East and West, the philosophy and science of Athens were largely transfused into the language of Arabia and the system of Medicine of Galen and Hippocrates was implicitly adopted until these advantages, combined with their own researches, made the Saracens decidedly a literary people, at a period when the whole of Europe had been immersed in barbarism by the irruption of the Northern tribes. The Asiatics were now justly acknowledged to be the great depositories of science, which emanating from their establishments in Spain and Italy, began to pass into the other European States. The name of Algebra evinces its Asiatic origin, and the introduction of the mode of computation at present in use; the recovery in the Arabic version of the works of Galen and Hippocrates which have been lost in the original and the adoption of rhyme mark the benefits the modern European world has derived from this source.

But this epoch also has long since passed away. The Caliphates of the East and West at length ceased to exist, the country became subjected to the military occupation of the barbarous Turks and Mamelukes, and the irregular nature of the government and the frequency of revolutions afforded no leisure for literary pursuits, obliging men to look to present safety rather than future improvement, and engendering an exclusively military spirit which is incompatible with the successful cultivation of letters. Owing to these causes, the countries of the East have, for centuries past, been gradually relapsing into a state of barbarism, while the natives of Europe have simultaneously advanced to a height of civilization which has never been attained before in any age of the world. In modern Europe all the sciences have been carried to a much greater extent, and their principles have been more fully developed than they ever were during the most flourishing period of the literary pre-eminence of the Saracens, and we are now compelled to look back with contempt on the erroneous principles,



on which their systems of astronomy and geography were founded, and on the meagre progress they made in the other sciences, while Political Science, Natural History, Anatomy and the higher branches of mechanics, the last of which have been productive of results so beneficial to the resources and prosperity of Europe, were hardly known to them.

We find therefore four distinct epochs at which the people of Asia and Europe have successively surpassed each other in learning and civilization, and have imparted to the other a share of their superior advantages. The first is the civilization of ancient Asia which was imparted to Greece; the second is the civilization of Greece and of the Roman world, which was imparted to the Saracenic Empire; the third is the civilization of the Saracenic Empire, which was imparted to modern Europe, and the fourth is the civilization of modern Europe which is now in the course of being imparted to Asia. As this last step in the progress of civilization is by far the most important that has ever been made, it ought to be communicated to the rest of the world in a more effectual manner than on any former occasion, and the means of doing so, particularly with reference to our Mahomedan and Hindoo subjects in India, forms the subject which is now under consideration.

## SECTION II.

*Translations have proved an inadequate instrument for the communication of our superior knowledge to the people of India, and why they must always be so.*

As it is, generally speaking, easier to learn any science through the medium of one's native language than of any other, it has been very generally inferred, without further consideration, that the most effectual mode of communicating our own superior knowledge to the natives of India, is to embody it in translations in their own languages and to lay it before them in that shape, but, in coming to this conclusion, many difficulties have been overlooked which have proved to be insurmountable, some of which are as follows.

It would be an Herculean, and to all appearances, an impracticable task to translate into the languages of India, all the European works which contain the development of the sciences; yet, until this is accomplished, we cannot be said to have placed our superior stores of learning at the disposal of the people of India. The knowledge they can derive from the few translations of scientific works in their possession, is ex-

tremely limited and incomplete, and no student is able to master any particular science, or to obtain all the information regarding it, which has been displayed in the languages of Europe. The diffusion of general information would no doubt, be promoted to a certain extent, even by these inadequate means, if the natives could be induced to avail themselves of them, but, independent of other causes which will be explained hereafter, they have little encouragement to enter upon a course of study which they can pursue only to a limited extent, far short of that to which it is open to every European, and they therefore naturally revert to their own system of education, which erroneous as it is, presents a wider field for satisfying a spirit of enquiry and a natural and honorable desire of distinction than can be afforded by a few translations of European works. So long as European knowledge is offered in the form of translations, it will continue to be taught only as subsidiary to the regular course of Asiatic studies, and it will be considered both by teachers and students in a secondary point of view, or as a kind of excrescence on their own system. The emulation and ambition of the students will still be directed to a course of study in the Sanscrit, Arabic and Persian languages, which though full of superstition and absurdity, is yet a system and one which is rendered venerable by usage and is recommended to the natives by its identity with their religion. We cannot therefore be surprised that the scraps of European learning which are put in by the way in the form of translations do not excite much attention.

But, even if translations were procurable to any extent required, they would afford after all but very inadequate means of diffusing a knowledge of our sciences, for all translations are in their nature imperfect and unengaging, being destitute of all the charms of originality and abounding in harsh and obscure expressions, and this is found to be peculiarly the case with translations from the languages of Europe into those of Asia, owing to the wide disparity in the genius of the languages.

A still greater difficulty arises from the nearly total absence of scientific terms in the popular languages of the East, and, although this deficiency may be partly supplied by borrowing largely from the Arabic and Sanscrit, yet preconceived ideas of an opposite tendency are so often attached to the terms which are so borrowed, that the spirit and tone of the original writer can seldom be conveyed, and the translation

becomes obscure and not unfrequently childish and disgusting.

It must also be observed that, if it will be necessary, as it undoubtedly will, to make large use of the Arabic and Sanscrit languages in the translation of every work on science, the only advantage which translations usually possess, or the facilitation of the studies of the natives by the adoption as the medium of their instruction of a dialect which is familiar to them, will be lost and the translation will be made into an equally foreign and a far more abstruse and difficult language than that of the original European version.

The practical difficulty and expense of procuring a sufficient number of persons who are qualified to teach the sciences of Europe in the languages of Asia, will also be found too great to admit of the general adoption of the system, and, in the mean time, nothing can be expected from the native professors of Sanscrit, Arabic and Persian, who, of all their countrymen, are the most attached to their own system, and from motives of professional pride and self-interest, the least disposed to any change being made in it.

But fully to exemplify how inadequate an instrument for the regeneration of India is afforded by European translated learning, it requires to be more generally observed that we ought not to pre-occupy the feelings and prejudices of the natives with a false system, and to attempt to instruct them in a better only when their affections have been wedded to the former, nor to draw up our own literature in array in the mind of any one person against every thing that he before deemed learned and venerable and sacred.\* We ought not to oppose and come to issue with the prejudices of the natives, and this too with the very imperfect means which translations afford, but we ought to avoid their prejudices altogether, by instructing them from the beginning in the improved literature of our own country. We shall then cease to carry on, with such imperfect weapons, an open warfare against the old system entrenched, as it is, behind religious feeling and preconceived opinion, and shall make an immediate acquisition of a large

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\* For instance an erroneous system of Astronomy which teaches that the Sun moves round the Earth, forms part of the Koran, and is therefore identified with the religion of the Mahomedans. Now it is natural to suppose and it is found to be the case, that if the Solar system is taught to a Mahomedan in the terms of his own philosophy, which are the same as those of the Koran, his religious prejudices will be offended by the contrast; but, if the Solar system is taught to him in English, especially if he has not been instructed in Arabic nor consequently in the Koran, no such effect is found to be produced.



class of people predisposed in favour of the new literature under which they will be entirely educated, and when a comparison shall be made between them and the persons who have been educated under the old system, the superiority of the former must determine the question in its favour even in the minds of the natives. Our object ought not to be by means of translations, to make at the best an imperfect graft of the tree of knowledge on a trunk, the heterogeneity of which will not admit of its flourishing upon it, but by the introduction of our own literature and the instruction of the natives in it from their earliest youth we ought to plant a young and flourishing tree, which, with the encouragement it is in the power of Government to afford it, will shoot out and spread its branches far and wide, while the trunk of the old system will be left to a natural and neglected decay. Translations of European learning owing to the numerous disabilities which attend them, will never be able to make head against the impenetrable barrier of habit and prejudice backed by religious feelings which is offered by the existing system of Arabic and Sanscrit learning, and it is only by following a new road that we can escape this barrier and lead the minds of the natives to improvement. This road is afforded in an eminent degree by the study of the English language and literature, which, having nothing in common with the preconceived ideas of the natives nor any thing in style or language which can remind them of them, prevents all collision with their prejudices which it supplants, not by arranging itself in opposition to them, as the translations do, but by keeping at a distance and avoiding them altogether. If the natives are educated from their childhood in European literature to the entire exclusion of their own erroneous system, our object will be completely effected; and if subsequent instruction in native learning gives them an opportunity of making the comparison between the two, they will be too sensible of the superiority of the system in which they have been educated to admit of any doubt as to the result, and it must be observed that under these circumstances the original European literature will possess exactly the same advantage over the Eastern, which the Eastern literature possesses over the translated European, that is, it will be a primary, instead of being a secondary object with the Students, and it will have pre-occupied their affections and all their earliest associations will be connected with it.

It is owing to the above causes that the efforts which have been made for a long time past, by many able men to promote the diffusion of European learning through the medium of the languages of Asia, have almost entirely failed of effect. These efforts, no doubt, have been productive of some benefit, but the results of the system have been by no means commensurate with the pains which have been taken to promote it. Hardly any degree of emulation and taste for the acquisition of European science has been excited among the students who are educated in this manner, and the system, not being founded on the wishes and inclinations of the natives and being opposed by the insuperable obstacles above detailed, has made no spontaneous progress, and it has not advanced beyond the precincts of the schools in which it was originally taught. In the Persian College at Delhi it has always been found a matter of difficulty to induce either the Professors to teach, or the students to learn any European science through the medium of translation; unless constant vigilance is exerted the books which relate to it are entirely neglected and a translation of the first four books of Euclid, which form a part also of the Arabic system, and a smattering of Geography, as a task for a few days previous to the examination, is the utmost the most constant exertion has been able to effect. This is the more remarkable as a large portion of the students have evinced an anxious desire to commence the study of the English language, which shows that it is the mode of teaching and not the general object of their studies to which they entertain so decided an aversion, and, in order to gratify their taste for English science, instead of taking up the translated books at their disposal, they invariably commence learning the language itself.

### SECTION. III.

*The only adequate instrument for communicating a foreign system of learning is to educate the people in the literature in which it is embodied and which forms the natural medium of its propagation.*

The truth is, that, before a people can be improved by the adoption of a foreign system of learning in their vernacular tongue, a taste and inclination for it must be diffused by the best educated people among them, making it their study in the original; from this will follow a diffusion of the knowledge of the new literature, a general assimilation of ideas

toward it, and what is of equal importance, an assimilation of the vernacular tongue by the introduction into it of numerous scientific terms. Last of all the vernacular tongue will begin to be cultivated in its improved and assimilated state, and translations of scientific works will be introduced into it simultaneously with the gradual formation of a national literature.

This is the exact process which has taken place in every instance in which the learning of one country has been effectually introduced into any other country. The Romans, in their intercourse with Greece, were polished, not by means of translations of the Grecian writers, but by the study of the Grecian language and literature itself, and, it was only after their taste had been assimilated and improved, and many of the terms of the Grecian Philosophy had been introduced into their own language that translations began to be attempted. In the same manner, the barbarous nations of Africa, Spain, Gaul, Great Britain, &c. were civilized by the introduction of the Roman language and literature which took so deep a root among them, that they still form the foundation of the tongues of all the countries in which the original inhabitants have not been entirely extirpated or driven away. Again, in the middle ages, science and literature were revived in Europe by the study,—not of translations of the languages of Greece and Rome, but of the original languages themselves by which the people modelled their taste and drew from them copiously for the improvement of their respective vernacular tongues. By degrees these vernacular tongues have ripened into a medium fitted for the formation of a national literature, and it may well be questioned whether the study of the original Greek and Latin might not now be laid aside as an instrument, the use of which has been superseded by the gradual perfection of another which is more efficient.

Every set of ideas is clothed in a language of kindred genius and conformed signification, which becomes the natural medium for propagating it. Abstracted from their own language and literature, and located in other producing quite different associations, the ideas can no more flourish than a shrub which has been transplanted from its own soil and climate into others which are quite unfitted for its reception. The learning and the literature proceed with a simultaneous movement, and by an accommodating process, the new literature diffuses itself in all its marked features, through the vernacular



tongues of the countries, whose fate it is to undergo this moral invasion and the acquisition of the learning which it conveys, is thereby facilitated to the great body of the people and a general assimilation of their taste and ideas takes place towards it.

The medium of the Hindoo system of learning and religion is the Sanscrit language, and this has been extended by endless ramifications, forming so many ducts for the genius of the system, through all the provincial dialects. In later days the great Akbar established the Persian language as the language of business and of polite literature throughout his extensive dominions, and the popular tongue naturally became deeply impregnated with it. The literature and language of the country thus became identified with the genius of his dynasty, and this has tended more than any thing else to produce a kind of intuitive veneration for the family which has long survived the loss of their power, and this feeling will continue to exist until we substitute the English language for the Persian, which will dissolve the spell and direct the ideas and sympathies of the natives towards their present rulers. Akbar's adoption of Persian as the language of his dynasty was a masterpiece of policy, which tended materially to the production of a national feeling in behalf of his family and the effects of the measure have long survived even the destruction of their power. The Turkish and Affghaun rulers of Hindostan, who preceded the Moguls, did not introduce any new government language, the consequence of which has been that their dominion was forgotten almost as soon as it ceased to exist, and, so far from having left behind them any vestiges of their system, there is hardly a word in the Indian vocabulary which marks their ever having appeared in the country. The Pehlevee was the medium of propagating the system of Zoroaster. The Lamas of Thibet, the Buddhists, the Jews, all have their sacred languages, each the vehicle of their own system, but no people ever made so signal an application of the principle that the progress of languages and conquests, both physical and moral, ought to be commensurate, as the Arabians.

The early propagators of the Mahomedan religion had too good a practical knowledge of human nature to undress their sacred volume, and, stripping it of every thing that could render it engaging and impressive, to clothe it in the uncouth and unsuitable habiliments of the vernacular tongues of the

various nations, which were afterwards completely subdued to its influence. Half an hour's inspection of Sale's Koran, one of the most polished translations in the most polished language in the world, must convince every person that the experiment must have failed and that the Koran would have become if this course had been pursued, a laughing stock among the nations who now regard it above every other production that has yet appeared among them. A course, the reverse of this, was followed by those intelligent Mahomedans. They presented their sacred book to the nations which had been conquered by them in its unimpaired native dignity. They did even more than this, and founded an argument for its divine origin on the beauty of its language, which they declared could not be equalled by the unassisted efforts of human genius. Acting up to this policy, the Caliph Walid issued a decree that the language of Arabic should be the universal language of the Mahomedan world, and from the Indian Archipelago to Portugal, it actually became the language of religion, of literature, of government, and, generally, of common life. Throughout this vast tract the vernacular tongues were saturated with the idiom of the Koran, and the devout Moslems of every country cherished the language of the new religion. Owing to the divine origin of the Christian religion, less recourse has been had to human means for its propagation. Yet the progress even of the Christian religion was greatly facilitated by the language of Greece, in which it was first generally propagated, happening to be the prevailing language of that day, and it still conveys to the natives of Europe their idea of most of the characteristics of their religion. Latin was also a convenient instrument, while the provincial languages were crude and unfitted for the refinements of the new religion, but to retain it in the church service of the present day, when the provincial dialects have become more refined than the Latin itself, is a monstrous absurdity.

Of all the modern European nations the French appear to be the most sensible of the important influence of language on national habits of thinking, and they have obtained an unnatural elevation in the scale of nations, and no small advantage in their public and private intercourse with foreigners by the adoption of their own language as the international dialect of Europe. If it were necessary to do so, I could enumerate more instances of the irresistible influence that is produced upon the moral habits of nations by the introduction of a new

literature, but I conclude with one to which I always advert with feelings of the most heartfelt gratification. I refer to the African population which has been transplanted into the West India Islands and the continent of America. We have given these people our own language and have thereby put them in a train of necessarily progressive improvement. We have placed them on the high road to civilization, and, although at present in a state of degrading bondage, they will reach the goal centuries before the free blacks of Africa who are groping about in the dark, destitute of any means of acquiring a knowledge of our religion and our sciences, including the science of Government which gives the necessary support and encouragement to all the rest. The dialect these negro slaves speak, is an uncouth perversion of the languages of Europe, suited to the present crude state of their ideas, but their literature, whenever they come to use one, will be the literature of Europe, and their language will gradually assimilate to the same standard. The French literature is the national literature of Saint Domingo. Whether a mass of ignorant savages are transplanted into the centre of civilisation, or a few civilized men are placed in a commanding situation over a country like that of India, the object in both cases is the same, or the communication to the larger portion of the society of the superior advantages of their fellows.

Whatever difference of opinion may be entertained respecting the benefit which has accrued to the world from some of the changes above noticed, every body must agree that the means by which they have been effected, or the introduction of a new national literature, forms the most powerful moral instrument that has been placed at the disposal of mankind, for the purpose of changing the character and habits of thinking of their fellow men.

#### SECTION IV.

*It is therefore incumbent upon the nations of Europe and particularly upon England to avail themselves of this instrument for the communication of their superior knowledge to the neighbouring continents of Africa and Asia.*

It has been observed, that of the four periods at which the natives of the East and West have successively imparted to each other a portion of their superior store of knowledge, the communication in the three first periods was incomplete; the obvious reason of which is, that the people who were superior



for the time being, either did not choose, or were unable to communicate their literature also. Consequently, instead of a new system of learning, only disjointed and unconnected fragments were introduced; useful enough, indeed, but limited in their extent and tame, spiritless and unengaging, because they had been separated from their proper medium and they were therefore unable to produce any effectual or permanent change. Although the early Greeks derived their alphabet from the East, yet it was only applied to the improvement of their own language, and the systems of philosophy and all the knowledge they drew from the same quarter, were expounded to them in their native tongue. Afterwards the Grecian philosophy became known to the Saracens through the medium of translations only, and in the middle ages the European world drew from the superior stores of the Saracens in the same manner.

As the literature of ancient Egypt and Syria, and in after ages, the literature of the Mahomedans were identified with their moral and religious codes, so that the one could not have been introduced without the other, it was a happy thing for the nations of Europe that they only drew from the stream without admitting of its influx, but if the Saracens of the Caliphates, instead of confining themselves to meagre and uninteresting translations of the works of the Grecian philosophers, had pursued the study in the original of the poets, historians and moralists of the free states of Greece, a flame of generous liberty would have been kindled, and a new direction would have been given to the feelings and views of the people of the East, which might have been productive of benefits up to the present day, the extent of which it is impossible to estimate. The season for this change, however, had not yet arrived. In those days the spirit of Mahomedanism was at its zenith, and the pride of those conquerors would not permit them to study the literature of nations, which they considered in every respect inferior to themselves, but we now see this religion gradually yielding to the operation of the same instruments by which it was itself established, that is, the sword or the acquisition of the powers of Government, and the one of which we are now treating; or the introduction of a new literature and system of learning, involving a set of ideas entirely different from those which prevailed before.

This glorious epoch has been reserved for the present age, and Europe having again taken the lead in a more decided

manner than ever, invites her sister continents of Africa and Asia to partake of the store of learning which is the source of her own prosperity in undiminished vigour, through the medium of her own literature. The superior advantages that have now for the fourth time been obtained by a portion of the world over the remainder, as they are immeasurably greater than have ever been obtained before, so the mode that ought to be adopted for communicating them should be far more effectual than has been adopted on any former occasion. Above all nations, it is most incumbent upon England to forward this mighty process, because she is the most replete with benefits to the human race. She is the most highly gifted in the perfection of the arts, and in the enterprise of her people and political institutions, the most beneficial to the human race, are the acknowledged right and inheritance of her children, till at last they have become identified with their feelings, and they impart them sooner or later as a matter of course to every people whom Providence entrusts to their care. England too, the mistress of the ocean, the medium of communication between the civilised and barbarous world, is the nation now in the course of peopling the earth, and having put North America out of hand, we find her replenishing with her children new Holland and the only portions of the vast African continent which have yet been reclaimed to civilization and throughout the continent of India, and the West India Islands, she wields all the powers which God had granted to man for dispensing good to his fellow men. The literature of England will become the standard literature of half the world, and our language will be transfused from this source throughout the various vernacular tongues, becoming to them what Latin is to the languages of Southern Europe; and what Sanscrit and Persian are at present to the languages of Hindoostan and our learning, our morals, and our religion, embodied in the established literature and diffused through the genius of the popular languages, will be imparted far and wide among the nations of the earth.

At this moment it requires only the fiat of the local Government to make the English literature the polite, and ultimately, the standard and national literature of the whole of India. As Latin in former days became the learned language of the West, English will become the learned language of the East, only it will be ten times more effectual for the civilisation of the people, because it has collected in its course all

that is good in the Greek, the Latin, and in all the modern languages, and because no one can acquire it without imbibing the genius of Christianity, under which the language has been gradually formed and the principles of which it inculcates at every step. The vernacular tongues of India, which are in a remarkable degree unscientific and poor, and are therefore capable of improvement to almost any extent, will soon be overwhelmed by an introduction of English words, which convenience and fashion will incorporate with their idiom, and they will gradually become assimilated to the English as they were ages ago assimilated to the Sanscrit, and more lately to the Persian, and as the dialect of modern Europe have been assimilated to the Latin language, English will become the standard of taste throughout India, and every body will endeavour in his writings and conversation to approach as near as possible to it, till at last the vernacular tongue will itself ripen into a medium fitted for the communication of the higher branches of knowledge and for the gradual formation of a national literature.

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## SECTION V.

*Respecting the disposition which the natives of India evince towards the cultivation of English literature.*

As every kind of education requires that the parties concerned should take a personal interest in it, I will next remark upon the feeling with which the natives of India are practically fond to view the introduction of the English literature. The result of all experience on this point, affords a prospect the most gratifying and encouraging. The famous edict of the great Akbar, commanding that the Persian language should be adopted throughout his dominions as the language of public business, affords a precedent for a similar adoption of the English language (the only mode of making the study of English literature general in India) which is present to the mind of every native. As Persian was not the native language of the Mogul conquerors, which was Turkee, and as it offered a very scanty store of scientific information, it is probable that the readiness with which the natives of India commenced the study of the language, did not arise from any predilection they entertained for it, but was the natural consequence of the habitual deference which ages of despotism have taught them to pay to the edicts of their rulers. But English is the native



language of the rulers of the country. and our subjects therefore look to it with confidence and respect, and they are besides fully aware that it contains embodied in it an improved system of learning far superior to any they now possess, and they therefore appreciate its merits and spontaneously desire to adopt it, next after the Mahomedans, the Mahrattas succeeded to the Government of Upper India and they also introduced their own language as the medium of transacting public business in the Provinces subjected to their dominion, and now that the English have succeeded to the Mahrattas, the natives naturally look upon English as the Government language, and they regard its adoption in the transaction of public business to be sooner or later a matter of course. I have often heard them speak of it in this manner, and particularly the large and intelligent classes of Kaiths and Cashmerians, who compose in the Upper Provinces the greater portion of the persons who are employed in the service of the Government, and of individuals as Secretaries, Scribes, &c. It is remarkable that these same classes were the first to undertake the study of Persian in the time of Akbar, and this circumstance, combined with their natural aptness and perseverance, generally secured them a preference to the Mahomedans in the service of that intelligent Monarch.

The progress which has been made by the natives of Calcutta in the cultivation of English literature is well known. The younger part of them lately commenced the publication of a newspaper in the English language, containing notices on general and scientific subjects, which was shortly after suppressed through the influence of their parents and guardians from an apprehension that the principles inculcated by it would be subversive of Hindooism. If those parents and guardians had been themselves educated in the new literature the result would have been very different.

But the taste is by no means confined to Calcutta, although the opportunities the natives possess of pursuing the study in more distant parts of the country are very limited. Many natives of the first distinction throughout the country have pursued the study of English for many years past, generally under very discouraging circumstances, owing to the difficulty of procuring teachers, and many more have expressed a desire to be furnished with the means of instruction. In short, the study of English is beginning to be considered throughout India as a necessary part of a polite education, and

is often referred to as in the native newspapers and in common conversation.

The house of Timour itself has not been exempted from the infection and the favorite son of the titular Emperor and his wife have for a long time past been engaged in acquiring a knowledge of our literature. Bhurtpoor also, which was so long the rallying point of our enemies and was so lately in arms against us, has caught the same spirit in a remarkable degree. About a year and a half ago it was intimated to the ministers of the Bhurtpoor state that the British Government expected them to give a proper education to its ward, the minor Raja, under the idea, I believe, that he would be made to commence the study of Persian. To this requisition the ministers replied that the Bhurtpooreans had been accustomed to oppose the Mahommedans in arms and not to adopt their customs, that none of the former Rajas had ever studied Persian and that they could see no reason why they should commence at this time of day; but they had no objection, they said, to their young Raja being taught English if we pleased. This proposition was, of course, readily assented to, and the Raja has been pursuing the study ever since with considerable success, in conjunction with a large class composed of the sons of some of the principal people about the Court. So that English is likely to become the standard literature of our ancient enemy of Bhurtpoor, before it is established as such in our own provinces. I say this to our shame.

At the Persian College at Delhi numerous applications were for a long time made for the provision of some means of instruction in English literature, and when a teacher came at last to be appointed, the zeal of the Arabic and Persian students to undertake the study of English was so great, that their original classes seemed likely to be deserted. Since this period a separate College has been established there under the name of the Delhi Institution, for the sole purpose of affording instruction in English literature, and the students continue to make the most satisfactory progress and their numbers (now about 150) are limited only by the extent of the means of instruction. A peculiarly gratifying feature in this seminary is, that boys of every religion and denomination are cordially united within its walls in the study of English literature. English, French, and Portuguese Christians, Hindoos and Mahomedans are associated indiscriminately throughout the classes, and no inconvenience of any description has ever been

experienced from the mixture. This is a degree of liberality which has not been attained even at Calcutta, where the disunion of the society into castes is encouraged by appropriating separate Colleges to the Mahomedans and Hindoos, and by keeping the Christians distinct from them all.

Throughout the Madras country, English is very generally understood, and it is rapidly becoming the common medium of communication between people speaking the various provincial languages in use under that Presidency. The only language which is studied by the natives of Pondicherry is French and in the Island of Bombay, all who do not look to the Government for promotion, (I speak again to our shame) learn English. The natives have also adopted in their language a variety of English terms, for they are sensible that new ideas ought not to be clothed in old terms which convey quite a different notion.

Besides evincing the favourable disposition of the Indians towards the acquirement of our literature, the examples I have adduced, prove that they are able to pursue the study with success. The English language is incomparably easier for them to acquire than the Arabic and Sanscrit, and in this respect, it is at present on about a par with the Persian. A youth in the full vigour of his understanding may become master of English literature, so as to be able to read the language and compose fluently in it, in about three years, and if he commences the study in his childhood, it will take him five or six years. But it must be observed, that the study will become easier every year in proportion as the vernacular tongues shall gradually assimilate towards the English, in the same manner as they have hitherto assimilated towards the Persian language.

## SECTION VI.

*The introduction of English as the language of public business is necessary to secure the general adoption of English literature throughout India.*

At present the zeal of the few induces them to acquire a competent knowledge of our literature, but the exertions of the many must ever depend on the existence of inducements; connected with their future subsistence and with the prospect of wealth, honors and distinction which can be afforded only by the English language being gradually adopted, in the room of Persian, as the language of public business and of the Courts



of Law.\* This would produce a stimulus to its acquisition which would act immediately, generally and constantly. It is this adoption as the language of business which supports in an artificial existence the Persian language, which is equally foreign to the rulers and to every class of their subjects, and this same adoption would encourage in a much greater degree a general knowledge of English, which is the native language of the rulers, and would therefore greatly increase the confidence of the subjects whose object it always is to procure a thorough understanding of their cases by those who have to decide on them.

More than forty years ago, when our judicial system was introduced into Bengal, it was a question whether the proceeding in the newly established Courts should be carried on in the English or the Persian language, the last of which had, at that period, made a very meagre progress in that distant province of the Mogul empire, and Bengally was the language which was generally used in the transaction of public business. In the choice we actually made we proved ourselves to be staunch friends to Mahomedanism. Had we acted otherwise, the Bengal fathers would not in the present day have interposed to prevent their children from propagating principles subversive of the Hindoo religion.

I have stated my sentiments on this point more fully in the accompanying paper.

The operative detail of making English the Government language is very simple. An immediate preference should be given in the choice of Native officers to those who are masters of the English language. The use of the language should be immediately encouraged in all petitions, memorials and such like detached papers and proceedings, and last of all, a period should be fixed by law, beyond which all public business of whatever kind should be transacted in English. The native advocates, who are the only class at all interested in supporting the present system, are too insignificant to oppose any effectual obstacle to the change, but if time is allowed for them to grow more accomplished and more powerful, they will oppose

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\* Mr. H. Wilson's observations upon the means of encouraging the study of Sanscrit in England equally apply to the study of English in India. "As long as the study of Sanscrit is not obligatory upon any individual—as long as it is mere matter of enlightened curiosity—as long as it holds out no prospect of emolument or distinction—it is not probable that it will be extensively prosecuted. Other and more essential acquirements will necessarily engross the interest and ambition of the Students at the Universities."

it with as many arguments as our English Lawyers did the discarding of the Norman French from our Law proceedings in England.

The English language may be even more easily introduced into our political correspondence with the native independent Sovereigns; and with the chieftains living under our own Government. Many of the Rajpoot Princes had never been accustomed to make any use of the Persian language, until they adopted it in their correspondence with us, out of deference to our customs, and they are all of them at this moment perfectly indifferent whether the medium of this correspondence be in Persian or in English. They have most of them English scholars in their pay. Thus will the English language be ushered in throughout the continent of India, under the most favourable auspices, such as cannot fail to secure its rapid diffusion. In its use by their Kings and Princes the whole of India will have the highest possible authority for its adoption—an idea of dignity and importance will become associated with the study, and its acquisition will become a primary object with all who look forward to political distinction, viz. with all the officers of the native states and with a large portion of those belonging to our own. Attracted by the manifest superiority of the persons who will be educated in this manner, and by the desire of qualifying themselves for employment, numbers will also flock to our schools and Colleges from the neighbouring independent states, many of whom will establish Seminaries on the same plan of their return to their own homes a process which, when we consider our supremacy, cannot fail ultimately to give to the whole of India, in addition to our own Provinces, a national and standard literature big with the amelioration of the human race and with the real and lasting honour of our nation.

## SECTION VII.

*Other advantages that will be obtained by the use of the English language in the transaction of public business.*

It might be considered enough that the adoption of English as the Government language affords the only means of establishing the English literature as the standard literature of the whole continent of India; but there are other advantages inherent in the measure itself which must not be passed over. In judicial proceedings, in the details of the revenue administration, and in the other operations of Government which more

immediately affect the rights of the people, the first object to be kept in view is that the person who has to decide should obtain a good apprehension of the case which is before him, else it is no decision at all. The next object is that the people should have the means of appreciating the grounds of the decision in order that they may satisfy themselves of its justice. The most effectual means of obtaining the first and most important of these objects is to have the proceedings conducted in the language of the rulers. The most effectual means of accomplishing the second is to have the proceedings conducted in the language of the people.

The grand desideratum therefore is to have the proceedings conducted in a language which is familiar both to the rulers and to the people, which was attained when Latin on the continent and Norman French in England were discarded from judicial proceedings, and the national languages were substituted in their place. But, when this double object cannot be effected, the next desideratum is to have the proceedings conducted in the language of the rulers: for instance, at the Cape. Dutch, which is the language of the people, was lately excluded from judicial proceedings at the recommendation of the Commissioners who had been deputed to that Colony, and English, which is the language of the rulers, has been substituted for it.

At present, in the country, neither one object nor the other is obtained owing to the proceedings in the judicial and revenue departments being conducted in Persian, which is the language neither of the rulers nor of the people—Persian therefore ought to be ousted and English ought to be substituted in its place because it is the language of the rulers, and as for the means the people will have of appreciating the grounds of the decisions, they will at least be as well off as they are at present, for English proceedings can be explained to them as easily as Persian, and every year will render them more familiar with the language. This change will be more beneficial than the substitution of English for Dutch at the Cape, because we have not to choose, as in that instance, between the language of the rulers and of the people, but between the language of the rulers and a language which is foreign to both rulers and people. At first it will be less advantageous than the substitution of the national languages in France and England for Latin and Norman French, because the language of the rulers only will be adopted, but, ultimately, the change



will become ten times more beneficial, because it will give the people of India a new literature, replete with benefit to them, and because their vernacular tongues will by the same process, gradually become more applicable for the transaction of business and for the communication of knowledge than they are at present.

Persian being a language quite foreign to the European officers of Government, which they can acquire only at a considerable expence of labour and application, they naturally for the most part possess an imperfect knowledge of it. This produces a degree of irksomeness in the transaction of the public business, and young men, in particular, who are just entering upon their career, see in the accumulated Persian records a mysterious and fathomless depth of toil and vexation which damps their zeal in the outset, and partly from this cause, and partly from an habitual coincidence with the genius of the language which scouts all reference to reasoning and breathes nothing but adulation and arbitrary will, a lax and indifferent feeling in the decision of the rights of our Indian subjects is too often engendered. Therefore between their imperfect knowledge of the language and their indifference, the natives find that they cannot place implicit confidence in their rulers and they are obliged to have recourse to the native officers who possess a competent knowledge of the language, who are indefatigable in their attention to business, and who are always ready to supply the imperfect knowledge of their masters and to give their indifference that direction which is most favorable to their own interested views. The intervention of the Persian language involves the transaction of the public business in a shade of interminable uncertainty and mystery, the necessary effect of which is to throw the people into the hands of intermediate agents. It forms a barrier between the ruler and the people which is left to the occupation of our ill-paid and unprincipled native public servants, who from this fastness, pervert the course of justice and levy contributions from every body who is obliged to have recourse to the Courts of justice and to the public offices of Government.

Vigilance may indeed diminish the evil; but until the cause of it is removed, complaints will continue to prevail of the undue influence of our native officers, and the decisions of the European Judges will never be fully and generally recognized as their own deliberate and unbiassed resolutions, founded on acknowledged principles of law and equity.

The introduction of the English language for the transaction of the public business will produce the reverse of all these effects. The native servants of Government will at once be ousted from the debateable land in which they are maintained by the present system, and the European officers will occupy a high position whence confidence, knowledge and civilization will be diffused, as from a centre, throughout the community. The European officers will be sure to obtain a good apprehension of the cases that will be submitted to them in their own language, and the consciousness of this will greatly increase the reliance of the people upon their rulers and their attachment to the existing institutions. The transaction of business becoming less irksome to the European officers from the adoption of their native language, instances of want of application will become less frequent among them; and instead of deciding upon the rights of our subjects in a language of a spirit and tendency inclining to nothing but arbitrary will, they will hold all their proceedings in the language of freemen, the whole tenor of which inculcates a respect for the dignity of human nature. Many a well known term they have been brought up to cherish and respect will carry to their hearts a sympathetic and irresistible appeal, and they will be recalled at every step to a just impression of what is due to their fellow creatures.

It is a fact that European officers seem to entertain an inferior sense of responsibility, and are comparatively careless and indifferent to the importance of the subject before them and to its real merits when they make use only of a Persian medium of recording their sentiments, and they often venture to express opinions at which they would be themselves startled if they saw them plainly expressed in their own language. Following in the ordinary train of Persian composition they seldom care to look very deep for reasons, but are content with the upshot of their thoughts and hence arbitrary ideas are adopted and whatever absurdities we produce in India are generally to be found in a Persian dress. On the contrary, when writing in our own language, we always appear to have a perfect apprehension of the importance of the subject, and we weigh our words and reasons well before committing our sentiments to paper, of which the Supreme Government seemed to be aware when they directed that the correspondence among their European officers, in the political department, should be carried on in the English language only.

According to the present system, also the youth who are

destined to govern India, are obliged to spend the most valuable portion of their time, when they have got over the mechanical part of their education and their minds have acquired their full vigour in learning the Persian, Arabic and Sanscrit language, which can teach them only to become despots and superficial thinkers, and they are too often made to consider that a competent knowledge of Persian comprises all the qualities necessary for the proper exercise of power. By the adoption of English as the Government language all this will be avoided and future writers will be able to apply that period of their education, which is always productive of the most important results, to the acquisition of legal knowledge, the absence of which is so generally lamented by persons who have given their attention to Indian affairs. As for the colloquial languages of India, they will always be acquired best in the country itself, and the difficulty of acquiring even these will be diminished every year in proportion as they become assimilated to the English. Some public officers are devoted to the study of Persian, and with a pedantry which is perfectly incomprehensible, they seem to consider the most inadequate instrument that is to be found in the history of the world, as a substantive object worthy of the most unbounded attention; these persons, being deprived of their idol, will be obliged to give their views some other direction, and as nothing can be less beneficial than what they now pursue, an improvement will in all probability be effected. Both in youth and in age the attention of our public officers will be directed to learning instead of literature, to substantive objects instead of what is a mere instrument. Already in possession of the English language, which is by far the most efficient instrument for governing India, instead of directing the attention of our writers to the acquisition of legal and political knowledge, their time is wasted in the acquisition of the Persian language which is merely another instrument, and a much less efficient one, than the other.

Similar advantages will attend the introduction of the English language into the political department of the Government. Our allies will place more implicit confidence\* in what

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\* Runjeet Singh attaches uncommon value to the English Letter which he received from Lord Ellenborough which he naturally considers to be a more genuine expression of the sentiments of our Government than the fulsome and hackneyed professions of our Persian Correspondence which are always considered as a matter of course. The other day also we had a striking instance of the superior confidence which the native states place in English Correspondence



they know to be a 'genuine and original expression of our sentiments, a transcript of what we write ourselves without any discretionary medium being used or any possibility existing of alteration or perversion.\* They are also well aware, that when European officers are obliged to express their sentiments and wishes in their own language, they are generally more precise and more attentive both to the general tenor of what they write and to the choice of particular expressions than in the Persian letters which are written under their direction. On the other hand, it will be an equal satisfaction and source of confidence to them to know that the representation of their case is thoroughly understood by the European officers, and that the point and substance of what they say is neither lost in a translation nor misunderstood from an imperfect knowledge of the original; all which combined will add to the weight and impression of our political correspondence, and will proportionally facilitate the accomplishment of the object it has in view, whether it be to inculcate general principles or particular injunctions—to express good will and a friendly disposition, approbation, disapprobation and the like.

But, independent of the general superior efficiency of our own language for the communication of our sentiments to our allies, there are two subjects in the expression of which it possesses peculiar advantages over the Persian. The first of these comprises the general principles and maxims of national government and international policy for which the Persian language seldom possesses any terms, and even when it does, the natives have been so little accustomed to look into it for information on these subjects that they seldom appreciate, and hardly ever recognize it when they see it; consequently, nothing is more difficult than to inculcate any thing like general maxims of civil and international government in that language, or any thing but what relates to some well defined

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in the case of Jerrpoor, where the authorities desired to write to the Governor General in English in order that they might be sure that His Lordship received a correct representation of what they intended to say, and they were deterred from doing so through fear of offending the Agent.

\* No European Officer writes his own Persian letters but he dictates the heads of what he wishes to be written to a Moonshee, who prepares the letter; and, when it happens to be of a friendly and complimentary nature, it is generally left entirely to the Moonshee. The Moonshees therefore are able to use a discretionary power in the Persian Correspondence, just in proportion to the want of vigilance of the European Officer, and his ignorance of the Persian language; and when they happen to possess his confidence, the case is worse than ever.

object immediately in view. The other point in which Persian so decidedly fails as a diplomatic language is in conveying assurances of friendship and good will, for the style of epistolary correspondence has been so thoroughly depraved that no words have been left to express a sincere regard and a really favourable disposition. The obsequiousness and insincerity produced by the despotism of the east have fixed themselves in the style of letter writing, and there is no term of endearment which is not over and over again applied to each other by the bitterest enemies. Durjun Saul continued to profess in his correspondence the most unlimited obedience to the British Government, and the greatest personal friendship for Sir Charles Metcalf, who was charged with the conduct of the negotiations on our part, while a hundred pieces of cannon from the walls of the Fort were thundering defiance to our power.

To conclude this part of the subject, I will observe that the natives attach a degree of implicit confidence and high estimation to all documents in the English language (whether they contain a statement of their own case for the consideration of their ruler or copies of public proceedings for their own information) such as might be expected of transcripts of the dictates of their rulers, and of a language which is the immediate organ of all they have to hope or fear, and this feeling affords a strong earnest that the further extension of the system will increase the attachment of the bulk of the people to our government by producing a more entire confidence in the justice of our decisions, by satisfying them of our views and designs, and more generally, by reducing the space which separates us from them, and amalgamating them with ourselves by a nearer assimilation of taste, language, manners and ideas.

### SECTION VIII.

*The details of a system of public education which will facilitate the general adoption of English literature and will secure to the people all the benefits derivable from it.*

The use of English as the Government language will of itself secure its general adoption as the language of literature and polite education, yet it will not be considered superfluous to organize such a system of education as will facilitate this object, will secure to the people all the benefits derivable from it and will moreover bring up the youth in improved habits of virtue and morality, and with increased feelings of respect for the government and for the principles of the English rule.

After full consideration, the following appears to me to be the system which is best adapted for our Bengal Provinces, being founded upon a division of labour between the elementary and higher branches of education, or between what is mere literature and what forms a part of science and the arts, as well as upon a rising scale of emulation.

A preparatory school should be gradually established in every zillah, to which all who choose to attend should be admitted; and a College should be gradually established in every Commissionership to which all should be admitted who have acquired a certain standard of proficiency, and a portion of the students should be Government foundation scholars who have obtained their scholarships as prizes in the zillah schools. All castes and religions, Christian, Mahomedan and Hindoo should be admitted to the preparatory schools and Colleges excepting only those degraded castes (for instance the sweepers) with whom the other Mahomedans and Hindoos are not in the habit of associating, and the whole system should be under the authority of Government and be superintended by the chief local authorities. For instance the Senior Civil Servant in each zillah, whether Judge or Collector, should be ex-officio President of the Committee of Superintendence of the Preparatory School of that zillah and the Commissioner\* should preside in the Committee for the Superintendence of the College in his Division and the Members of the Committees both of the Preparatory Schools and Colleges should be chosen indiscriminately in their several districts for their superior virtue and influence, whether they be natives or Europeans, or official or unofficial persons.

The plan of education will be as follows. The object of the Preparatory Schools will be to impart a knowledge of English literature or of reading, writing and composing in English and the object of the Colleges will be to afford instruction in science and the arts.

In the Preparatory Schools, after the first elementary books have been got through, the boys will be carried through a course of general history, followed by separate Histories of England and India—a mode which will, at the same time open their minds to general knowledge, and give them an acquaintance with the English language. Geography they will

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\* The Senior Civil Servant in the Division whether Commissioner of Civil and Sessions Judge had better be the President of the College Committee.



learn in the progress of the above historical course and they will simultaneously acquire writing, the rudiments of Arithmetic and Grammar and English composition.

The Colleges will contain Professors in the following departments.

1st. Law, that noblest of all sciences, the general knowledge of which is the most advantageous to the subject. In this department all the students will learn the general principles of Law as they are laid down in Blackstone and Paley; and after that, the Criminal law and such parts of the Civil law as are common to all classes, together with the science of pleading and joining issue. Besides these branches of the science, which will be common to them all, they will follow their own taste in applying themselves to the study of Hindoo, Mahomedan and English law, for which purpose the books at present available are the general regulations of Government. Macnaghten, Strange, translations of the Hidaya, Dayabhaga, and other Mahomedan and Hindoo Law books, and particularly the precedents of Anglo-Indian Law as they are published in the reports of the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut. But it may be hoped that, before long, a new code, or rather an improved digest of Law will be formed, copies of which will be deposited in each College, and it will naturally form the chief ground work of the study in this department. Separate degrees should be conferred in what may be called the general department of Indian law, and in the three particular departments of the peculiar laws of the English, of the Hindoos, and of the Mahomedans.

2d. Mathematics and Mechanics, including the practice of Land surveying.

3d. Moral and Political Philosophy, Logic, Natural History, Astronomy, Physic, Anatomy, Chemistry and the Fine Arts may be added as opportunity offers.

All the Teachers and Professors of the Preparatory Schools and Colleges should be chosen for their qualifications only without reference to religion and tribe, excepting only the few and degraded castes with whom the Mahomedans and Hindoos have as yet refused to associate. It is a gratifying fact that a great variety of English works, particularly of our standard authors, have for many years past, been accumulating in India, till at last the standard works of English literature have become cheaper, and consequently more accessible to the people than they are in England. Most Euro-

peans bring out with them to India a small library of our English Classics, and few carry any home with them; hence there is a stock of these books in India continually on the increase and suffering little or no diminution.

### SECTION IX.

*The amelioration the system of public education will produce in the department of Law and in other respects.*

It will here be proper to point out some of the objects which I have in view, in my desire to raise up a body of well trained Advocates, such as the proposed system of education will gradually create. First, from their professional education and their acquaintance with former precedents, they will be able to restrain the Judge within the strict limits of the law, and to prevent any ill considered and hasty decisions which he might otherwise be disposed to make: nor will they be less useful to guard their clients against the corrupt exactions of the native officers of the Court which have always been so much complained of; for the superior attainments of the new Advocates will qualify them to be entrusted with the examination of the witness in open Court, together with many of the functions which are now performed by the native officers, a circumstance which must break the combination of the latter and diminish their influence, real or supposed, in the proceedings. It is the boast of the English law, that the treachery and collusion of Counsel are crimes unheard of in it: but this assertion is too limited, for whatever the subsistence, and all the prospects in life of a body of men depend on their character for integrity, instances of delinquency will be rare among them. In short, it is a fact beyond all doubt that, in proportion as the people are enabled to entrust the entire management of their cases to Advocates, who are responsible to, and rewarded by themselves, in that same proportion will the opinion that is entertained of the influence of the native officers of the Court diminish, and this, combined with the assurance that the proceedings, being drawn up in the native language of the Judge, are perfectly understood by him, will go far to restore confidence to our system.

But the most important of the improvements to be derived from the superior qualifications of the new Advocates, will be in the law itself. At present all the reports of decisions which have been published as well as the best treatises and commentaries on the law (Macnaghten, Strange, &c.) are

in the English language, and are consequently inaccessible to the Advocates, who are conversant only with Persian, nor is the professional education of the Judge so complete, nor his leisure so ample as to admit in most cases of his obtaining an adequate knowledge, either of the precedents of the law or of the authoritative treatises and commentaries which have been published on it. Consequently, generally speaking, no precedents are observed in our Courts of law, no fixed rules of practice are followed, no reference is made to former decisions on similar cases in the same or in other Courts, but all cases are, with few exceptions, referred to the native law officers (Muftee and Pundit) who are themselves guided by no rule or precedent, but consult their original law books for every case, as if the point of law had never been settled before. Hence the body of Anglo Indian law retains its crude and original character of a collection of general maxims, without the addition of any of the rules of application and practice which are afforded by an attention to precedents and words of standard authority, and hence the inconsistency and consequent frequent revision and upsetting of decisions, the frequent appeals, and the endless litigation which characterise our Indian jurisprudence.

The natural remedy for this state of things consists in the education to a professional knowledge of Anglo Indian Law, including the authoritative treatises and reports which have been published in the English language, of a body of Advocates, who, from their knowledge of the fixed rules and precedents of the law, will give to its administration a more settled character, and in the reports of cases which have been already drawn up, and in those which they might easily be induced to draw up hereafter, precedents will be found for every new case as it arises, whereby the uncertainty of the present system and the endless litigation which it cannot fail to perpetuate, will by degrees be obviated. At present, nobody in India knows what the law is nor can it ever be known until the bar acquires learning and respectability and the practice of deciding by rules and precedents can consequently be introduced. Both bench and bar are unprovided with any kind of legal education, and the latter is in such a degraded and dependent state as to be of little or no use in securing the proper administration of justice. The law in this country may very properly be called the unlearned, instead of the learned profession, for all the other officers of the Government know a



great deal more of their duty than the law officers do. However, I hope to see the time when the bar, as in England, will become the great depository of the legal knowledge of the country, and will tend besides to promote its civilization by their superior education and attainments. A body of men whose profession consists in the constant exercise of their intellectual faculties cannot but require a considerable influence in society, and independent of the improvement which they would be sure to work in the law, we ought to make the most of such an instrument for the general amelioration of the Indian community, by increasing their attainments through the means of a proper education, and raising their character and the estimation in which they are held, by themselves and others by rendering their situations more respectable and independent. We may be sure also, that a class of people who owe their existence and their continued maintenance and prospect of promotion to our system, will be thoroughly attached to it and will take care to inculcate the same sentiments into all those over whom they possess any influence.

Not the least gratifying result of the measure, of introducing the English language into the courts of law, will be the opening it will afford to that amiable and much injured branch of our national family the Indo Britons. They will of course be admitted to become advocates in the Courts of Justice, and their superior qualifications will procure for them a comfortable subsistence, and will enable them at the same time to acquire a more competent knowledge of the law with its rules and precedents, and to reduce this knowledge to writing for the benefit of the world. I know no measure that will contribute more to render the profession of the Law in India respectable, and to improve the law itself than to make the line open to this highly useful and deserving class.

The most distinguished of the advocates for integrity and learning will be promoted to the office of inferior Judge or Sudder Ameen, which will increase the respectability of both those callings, and will moreover greatly contribute to give consistency to the law. As the bar gradually increases in learning and the system of deciding by rules and precedents begins to develop itself, the mustees and pundits or the law officers of the courts, as they are called, whose only use is to supply the learning the bench and bar ought to possess, will of course be dispensed with. The trial by jury will be most naturally introduced by its being given as a privilege to the

European settlers and this, together with the use of their own civil law like the Hindoos and Mahommedans, will be all the protection they will require. The criminal law of the country they will be subject to like all other classes.

In order to secure for the public service the most able and intelligent of the youths who will be educated at the different colleges, and to diffuse a spirit of emulation throughout the whole system of education, it will be desirable to attach the privilege of being employed in the different branches of the public service in their several districts (commissionships) to the taking of particular degrees and to the acquisition of a certain proficiency in the knowledge requisite for each department, for instance, the students who take a first degree may be entitled to employment in any department of the service they may prefer on the first vacancy that occurs in it, while, with those who take only a second degree, high proficiency in the qualifications necessary for any particular department may entitle them to be employed in that department. To all, however, who will thus enter the service in every department, a commission should be given on behalf of the Government, pledging it, that they will not be liable to be ousted from their situations except for some sufficient offence regularly proved against them, on proceedings which have been submitted to, and been approved of, by the superior authorities, else the education of the young men will prove of little benefit either to themselves or to the Government, or to the bulk of the people, but rather the reverse. This plan will also in a great measure put a stop to the odious influx of foreigners who follow the European officers from one district to another, and, by confining the employment of the natives to their own district, their situations will become more valuable to them, they will have a stronger motive for preserving their character and altogether they will become more responsible and trustworthy persons.

Another advantage of this system of education will be, that the association of all castes, Christian, Mahommedan and Hindoo, in the same schools and colleges will tend rapidly to diminish, as it has already been found to do, the ungenial and pernicious influence of those distinctions; and to amalgamate all classes into one great and united whole, and the union of all in the study of English literature, will rapidly create a common vernacular tongue, not pure English perhaps, but sufficiently allied to it, easily to admit of the introduction by

means of translations of our scientific works, and by degrees, it will become sufficiently improved to become the medium of the formation of a new national literature.

The Schools and Colleges, being for the most part founded by the Government and, being all of them regulated and superintended by its officers, the most ample means will be afforded of training up the minds of the rising generation in habits of respect and attachment to the Government and institutions of the country, and, indeed, their minds without any training, will naturally take this bias from the consciousness that they owe the benefits arising from their education to the bounty and wise regulations of the Government, and from the habit of looking upon its servants and representatives as the arbiters of their prospect of success in life.

Moreover these Schools and Colleges will, of all others, be the places where a kindly and cordial intercourse will take place between the native youth and their European superiors, such as can never take place in those seminaries, where the students are conducted in languages which are mostly unknown to the European community; and the youth will be brought up, not, as at present, to feel apprehension at the very name of an European, but with a thorough knowledge of our views and habits, and with feelings of the most friendly nature towards us. But a system of education organized and controlled by the Government, is too generally recognized as a legitimate engine of state policy to require any further remarks, and I will only refer to the example of Imperial France, and to the fact, that, even in England, the royal foundations nourish in the minds of the youth a spirit of loyalty and attachment to existing institutions to an extent to which no other seminaries are found to do it.

The Government will likewise be able to impress upon the minds of the rising generation by a regular and systematic operation from one end of India to the other, that the *summus honos* consist in virtue and truth and honesty and the *summum dedecus* in the reverse of these qualities and the youth thus educated, will acquire habits of veracity and sense of honor which will become the foundation of a superior scale of morality in India. But the institution of a system of public education without any additional pains being taken, will go far to accomplish this object, for in all large societies of well educated youths, the natural amiability of virtue and honesty will al-



ways establish their own pre-eminence and the self-esteem of the youths or their fear of shame, will as invariably induce them to adopt those principles, as the standard and rule of their conduct. In this consists the "high tone" of our English public schools and of all public schools all over the world and it is a feeling which it is the object of every good and wise government to foster and cherish, as well from a regard to the welfare of all its subjects, as to secure integrity and upright conduct in those persons who are destined to become its own servants.

In the course of my observations I have not adverted to female education, because it is a necessary consequence of the superior education of the male portion of the community, which it will encourage and improve; but it cannot be made to precede it, or even to be contemporary with it in the present state of Indian society. We cannot at present penetrate into the recesses of the Zenanas, but the youths whom we educate will in their turn become fathers of families, and being fully sensible of the superior advantages of their own education they will be sure to impart a portion of them to their female children. In addition to this, when we consider the feelings with which an enlightened native must at present regard the deplorable mental inferiority of his own wife, we may feel assured that the education of their female children will be a necessary consequence of the education of men, and it may be hoped that in the course of two or three generations, the Native Ladies of India will recover their station in society, with the power of humanising and polishing all around them of which they have been deprived by barbarism alone.

## SECTION X.

*The means on which we have to depend for the institution of a system of public education throughout India.*

As the schools and colleges which compose the framework of the system of education, which has been detailed, will be established from time to time as funds are readily available for the purpose, no reasonable objection can be made on the score of expence. By degrees also more private foundations will be established, like the Agra and Vidyalaya Colleges, subject to the general organization and control of the system, and both Europeans and Natives will found additional Professorships and Scholarships in the Colleges, which have been

already established and will maintain additional teachers in the preparatory Schools. As the demand for education increases and private Seminaries begin to be in vogue, it will become practicable, and perhaps necessary with a view to keep up the respectability of the Government Schools and Colleges, to require a certain sum for the education of every youth, and the amount thus collected will eventually go far to defray the salaries of the teachers and professors and the other expences of the establishments. Perhaps also the nobles and people of England\* who lately subscribed a large fund to procure translations of Asiatic works, which can at best form a very unimportant superstructure to our own highly advanced system of literature and science, will contribute something to lay the *foundation* of a better system throughout the continent of India, and to raise from the dust millions of their fellow creatures, who can look to them alone for the amelioration of their present condition.

These are the outlines of a system of education, the gradual adoption of which, acting subsidiary to the introduction of the English language in our public offices and Courts of law, will secure for our subjects, of all classes and religions, the best education it is in our power to bestow upon them, and a general intelligence will be diffused throughout the country, causing an increase in its resources and in the happiness of the people which cannot fail to add strength to the Government.

## SECTION XI.

*General observations on the political tendency of the views which have been exposed in these pages.*

To speak more generally of the political effect of the system which has been developed in these pages, the natives, in the pursuit of English literature and English Institutions, will cease to desire or to seek independence after their former fashion, which they will forget, acquiring in its place a sort of national character which may be denominated Anglo-Indian, or, more strictly speaking, a direction of their thoughts and views towards what is English. The two nations will every year become more and more amalgamated, and their union will be confirmed by the coalition the influential natives will form

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\* This is not to be expected. The revenue of India, properly administered is amply sufficient for every purpose of improvement.

with the Europeans, composing both parties in the state, viz. with the Government party to oppose, and with the popular party to obtain greater privileges and a representative form of Government.

As the mass of the wealth and influence of the country must always reside with the natives, they will be courted by both parties, and concessions will from time to time be made to them till at last they will become only a part of one great whole, united in the equal administration and enjoyment of one civil government, and the executive power will be vested in a Governor General deputed from England, as at present, or perhaps in a dynasty of kings, chosen from a younger branch of the Royal Family of England. This too is no theoretical view, but is a process we already see in partial operation. The natives of Calcutta who have imbibed our language and ideas, endeavour to better their condition by watching over and improving the administration and form of the Government, while those who retain their native education and ways of thinking, look for their amelioration only to the subversion of the Government altogether.

Opposed to this is the system of withholding from the natives the means of acquiring European knowledge, whereby they are left to brood over their present exclusion and their former independence, without any new direction being given to their views or any new object substituted for that, which they have lost. A continuance in this line of policy presents, I think no very flattering prospect even of a long duration of our power; certainly, when that power shall from any cause cease to exist, the disunion of the two nations will be final and complete, and, having no sympathy for us, nor for any thing belonging to us, but so long a score against us, the natives will drive us off the face of the land and will root out even such small and scattered remembrances as we may have left behind. In that day too (God forbid that we should continue to follow the policy that will lead to it) we shall have a poor account to render of the trust we have received of these realms, at the hands of providence, a trust so extraordinary and unprecedented, that it can be accounted for in no other way than by supposing that it has for its object the regeneration of one of the families of the human race.

(Signed) C. E. TREVELYAN.

Kotah, May 21, 1830.



## ESSAY

IN CONTINUATION OF THE FORMER ONE ON THE BEST MEANS OF INTRODUCING THE SUPERIOR KNOWLEDGE OF EUROPE INTO INDIA—WRITTEN, 8TH AUGUST, 1832.

## Introduction.

The accompanying is a transcript of a paper which I wrote at Kotah upwards of two years ago, and the Boondee affair occurring before I was able to give the finishing stroke to it, it was laid by at the time and I have never taken it up since. As I have no intention of publishing it, or even of presenting it in an official form, I have not considered it necessary to make any alteration in it, but, such as it is, it contains the substance of my opinions on the important subject to which it relates.

The natural process by which a conquered people in an inferior grade of civilization adopt the language and system of learning of their more civilized conquerors.

The natural connection between the progress of conquest and language has not, I think, been sufficiently understood by the European rulers of India. Subjection to a foreign power is certainly an evil, but when that subjection has once been established, it is not an evil that the rulers of the country should carry on their business in the language with which they are best acquainted, and, if in addition to this, their language contains a literature replete with knowledge and improvement to the conquered people, which is always the case where one nation is subdued by another in a higher state of civilization, the advantages to the former are still greater. The necessary consequence of this change is, that the conquered nation adopts the literature and system of learning of the conquerors; an inundation of new ideas takes place, and, forgetting their old habits of independence, the genius of the conquered nation takes entirely a new direction, and they study to improve their condition upon the principles of the new system which has been imposed upon them. In this manner each day produces a closer union between the two nations. The vernacular idiom becomes saturated with the terms and forms of expression of the new literature until it ripens into a language which is common to both parties. The conquered people, instead of opposing, endeavour to emulate, their masters. By degrees, as they succeed in doing so, they are admitted to greater privileges, and, in the end, both become an united people in the full possession of all the advantages which the superior civilization of the former conquerors was calculated to bestow upon them.

The same exemplified in the case of the Roman, and even the Norman, Conquests.

This is the invariable process which has taken place wherever a nation in an inferior grade of civilization has been conquered by another, which is in a more improved state, and, if it were otherwise, the ends of providence would be defeated, for which it is reasonable to suppose that such sweeping revolutions are permitted. The Romans at once civilized the nations of Europe and attached them to their rule by romanising them, or in other words, by making their own literature the standard literature of the countries which they conquered, and educating the people in the ideas and principles of the Romans. The attention of all parties was thus directed to a common object, and, as the provincials of Britain, Spain, Gaul, Africa, &c. had no ambition except to become like the Romans, and to share their privileges with them, they were for centuries, distinguished as the most faithful and obedient subjects of the empire. Even the Norman conquest, severe as it was, has done good. It must be allowed that it was better for our ancestors, that their Norman masters should understand the business which came before them, and hence the adoption of Norman French in the Courts, was in itself a beneficial measure. The ultimate consequences, however, were far more important—for French becoming in this way the language of education and polite literature, our own rude tongue was improved by a profuse introduction of French words and ideas, till a common idiom was formed, which was understood by both parties in the State, and then of course, the original French was no longer required.

Our language, which was originally in the highest degree unrefined, and totally unfitted for any but the common purposes of life, has not been brought to its present degree of perfection by any internal improvement, but by borrowing liberally from a more generous source. So long as we had no literature of our own, the languages of education and science were French and Latin. Upon these models our scholars formed their taste, and from these they derived their ideas and forms of expression, which they naturally introduced into their own language—not only as being the most familiar to them, but as the only ones which were at all calculated to convey their meaning. Hence the English language was by degrees ripened into a proper medium, for the formation of a national literature, and the same has taken place among all the nations

on the continent, while in Russia it is still in progress. The languages of education there, being French and Latin, while the native Russian offers as yet nothing worth learning.

The same in respect to the Arabian and the Mogul conquests, vide pages 11, 12 and 13 of the annexed paper.

The Arabian conquerors and the Mogul dynasty in India followed exactly the same policy as the Normans did. Wherever they established their power their language became the language of business and polite education, and this has done more to create a national feeling in their favour, and to reduce the distance which existed between them and the conquered people than any of their other institutions.

The effect which has been produced upon the intellectual conditions of the people and upon their disposition towards our Government as far as the same system has been tried by us.

If we were to follow the same course it cannot be doubted that similar results would follow, and, indeed, as far as it has been tried, they have exceeded our warmest expectation. The first occasion on which the plan of giving an English education to the natives was fairly tried, was at the Hindoo College at Calcutta. The boys educated there present an exact counterpart to the Roman provincials, and they are far superior to them in proportion as our system is more advanced than that of the Romans. Having never been taught their own Shasters and other books of the Hindoo religion, of course they are quite free from the prejudices of their countrymen. Proud of their superior attainments and animated by the spirit of a more enlightened system, they are full of that self-esteem and regard for character, the want of which forms such a lamentable defect in the mass of their countrymen, who are still subject to the degrading influence of their own system and they are distinguished for a romantic love of truth, the search for which seems to constitute the main object of their lives. Their intellectual condition, however, although far advanced beyond that of their countrymen is still one of imitation—their ideas and views and hopes of bettering their condition are all formed upon the English model, and the eagerness with which they court European society, is one of their principal characteristics. They look upon us as their natural protectors and benefactors. The summit of their ambition is to imitate us, and, under our auspices, they hope to effect a gradual improvement in their institutions and to raise their countrymen from their present degraded state to a higher rank in civilization. In



short, these youths have been completely Anglicised, and, at the same time that they have been raised to a much higher state of intellectual improvement, they have been converted into most obedient and willing subjects.\* Unlike their unenlightened countrymen of the old regime, whose sole specific for bettering their own condition is to expel the English from the country altogether, they have no idea of any improvement except what brings them into connection with the English, and is to be worked out with the assistance of English protection and English example and instruction. This, I content, is the real way of at once fulfilling the awful trust which has been reposed in us by the care of these realms, and of retaining possession of them for a longer period than we could do under any other line of policy. This was the policy which was pursued by the Romans, the Normans, the Arabs of the Caliphate and the Moguls of India, and although they all derived advantage from it, we shall derive still greater and shall work a still mightier change than any of them, inasmuch as we have a far more improved system of learning and a much larger fund of civilization to communicate.

The basis of this system consists in the gradual rejection of Sanscrit, Arabic and Persian as languages which it is obligatory to learn for the transaction of public business and in the retention only of English and of the colloquial languages of the country.

According to this system, Sanscrit, Arabic and Persian will be gradually dispensed with as languages which it is obligatory either upon Englishmen or natives to acquire with a view to the transaction of the business of Government, and English and the vernacular language of the country will alone be used for this purpose. The relative extent to which these two languages will be used will of course depend upon circumstances; but, generally speaking, English will be the written language of educated people, particularly in papers which require perspicuity, and the use of argument and the records of the courts which are presided over by Englishmen, or by persons conversant with the English tongue will naturally be kept in the same language.

It would take a long time to point out all the advantages which would result from this change.

The fountain head of the Mahomedan and Hindoo systems will be dried up by rendering the study of their learned languages no longer obligatory, and at the same time the strongest in-

1st. As the Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian languages contain the whole body of the Hindoo and Mahomedan system, and the Pundits and Moulavees are their chief expounders and most zealous

ducement will be held out to them to cultivate a new system which will be sure to raise them to a high degree of civilization.

supporters, the fountain head of the two systems will be dried up by making the study of these languages no longer obligatory, while, on the other hand, the strongest inducement will be held out to the people, far stronger than any system of education can supply, to acquire a literature and system of learning which will be replete with benefit to them, and will assuredly raise them from their present degraded state to one of great comparative civilization. By rendering the study of the one no longer of any use and encouraging the study of the other, quite a new direction will be given to the ideas of the natives, and we shall get rid of all that is bad in their system without once opposing it or coming into collision with it.

The consequences which are likely to result from separating their law from their religion and presenting it to them in an English dress.

The identity of the religion and civil policy of the Mahomedans and Hindoos, which makes their laws unchangeable by giving them the sanction of religion, and makes the study of religion obligatory upon every body who desires to acquire a knowledge of worldly wisdom, is the cause which has tended most to retard the progress of improvement among these nations and to render their prejudices stubborn and difficult to be overcome. Now the case will be quite altered, and, by separating their law from their religion, we shall strike at the root of the whole system. Extracted from their religious books and presented to them in an English dress, which will have nothing in common with the genius of their religion, law will be considered by the rising generation merely as a part of the Civil policy of the country, and, as such, it will be discussed by them, and alterations will be suggested for its improvement, and, when this begins to take place, the genius of the people will be changed. The barrier, which is opposed to amelioration by the religious character of their present system, will be broken down, and they will become as susceptible of the highest civilization as any other nation upon earth. Religious instruction also will no longer be obligatory upon them owing to its disconnection with the law, while the English language and literature will become an indispensable attainment, and, with this amazing advantage, we may safely leave the school-master to achieve his final triumph over the Mullah and Pundit.

The improvement which must take place in the administration of justice from the proceedings of the Courts being held in language with which the Judge is best acquainted, vide pages 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29 of the annexed paper.

natives, perceiving this, will place increased confidence in their decisions and the influence of the native omlah will proportionably diminish. The most important thing to the subject is, that the ruler should understand his case and decide justly upon it, and, so long as this point is secured, it matters not in what language the proceedings are held. The object of the proceedings of a law Court is to assist the Judge in coming to a proper decision, and it is certainly a misapprehension of the ends of justice to have them in any other language but that with which the Judge is best acquainted.

And from the European publicity which it will give to the proceedings of the Courts.

to act as a check upon the European functionaries, and by this means the most powerful controlling power upon earth will be brought to the assistance of justice or the sense of shame and public estimation. A controlling power far more effectual than any which the Government can exercise. The publication of the proceedings of the Courts in the Native languages and the comments which are made upon them in the native papers neither have, nor ever can have, much influence upon the European functionaries. To most of their countrymen they are a sealed book, and even if they happen to be afterwards translated, they do not carry much authority with them. It is only European publicity or the estimation in which they are held by their countrymen which the European functionaries stand in awe of.

Having got rid of Persian it will now be practicable to educate our young Civilians in the Laws and system of Administration of the country. The importance for this purpose of having an authoritative digest compiled of all the laws of the country.

2dly. The English Judges and other functionaries having to carry on business in the language with which they are best acquainted, will be able to do it with much greater facility and ease to themselves, and of course with a better chance of being able to exercise a clear and unembarrassed judgment, and the

natives, perceiving this, will place increased confidence in their decisions and the influence of the native omlah will proportionably diminish. The most important thing to the subject is, that the ruler should understand his case and decide justly upon it, and, so long as this point is secured, it matters not in what language the proceedings are held. The object of the proceedings of a law Court is to assist the Judge in coming to a proper decision, and it is certainly a misapprehension of the ends of justice to have them in any other language but that with which the Judge is best acquainted.

3rdly. By having the Records of the Courts kept in English, publicity will be given to their proceedings in the quarter in which it is most likely

to act as a check upon the European functionaries, and by this means the most powerful controlling power upon earth will be brought to the assistance of justice or the sense of shame and public estimation. A controlling power far more effectual than any which the Government can exercise. The publication of the proceedings of the Courts in the Native languages and the comments which are made upon them in the native papers neither have, nor ever can have, much influence upon the European functionaries. To most of their countrymen they are a sealed book, and even if they happen to be afterwards translated, they do not carry much authority with them. It is only European publicity or the estimation in which they are held by their countrymen which the European functionaries stand in awe of.

4thly. Our young Civilians being relieved from the necessity of learning Persian, which not only takes up the greater part of their time in College, but renders their services of little or no avail for the next two or three years, will have time to devote themselves to



other objects, and their attention will naturally be directed to the acquirement of a more perfect knowledge of the vernacular tongue of the country and of our system of administration. Above all, it is desirable to give a legal education to those who are intended for the law, and nobody ought to be admitted into the line who has not taken such a degree as will ensure a competent legal qualification.

Materials for this purpose are not wanting even at present, but still it is of the first importance that such an authoritative digest of every branch of law should be formed as will facilitate the study—will make both bench and bar from their own knowledge independent of the rescripts of the Moofties and Pundits, and by promoting the general knowledge of the Law, and giving certainty and precision to its administration, will secure every kind of property and lessen the extended litigation which at present arises from the absence of these conditions.

The rest of the students also should be made to pass a similar examination in the fiscal and police regulations of the Government, which it is to be hoped will soon be formed into an intelligible code as well as the judicial. When this system comes into operation we shall hear no more of Heaven born Judges and baby Magistrates learning their duty at the expence of the property and rights of the people; and when to their more perfect education we add the advantage of carrying on business in their own tongue, we shall have the best possible security for their duties being properly performed, and a new impulse will be given to the ascendancy of the European character, the influence of which will last for many ages until the natives become as advanced as we are ourselves.

The increase which will take place in the certainty and general knowledge of the law by getting rid of three of the four languages in which the law is at present contained, and reducing all the legal knowledge which is to be found in them into an authoritative digest in the English language.

5thly. Having got rid of Arabic, Sanscrit, and Persian, an enormous saving of human labour will be effected to all classes of the community both European and Native.

At this moment there is a great deal more of law and other knowledge which is required for the transaction of the business of the Anglo Indian Government in the English language than in any other, and, when an authoritative digest of

criminal law and of Mahomedan and Hindoo Civil law is compiled, which will reduce into the English language all those necessary parts of legal knowledge which are still wrapt up in the Arabic and Sanscrit, there will be nothing left to be desired.

As the whole of the legal knowledge of the country will now be displayed in one language instead of being separately locked up in the *ignotæ regiones* of Sanscrit and Arabic, it follows that the persons who devote themselves to the study, whether European or Native, will be able to acquire a much more extended knowledge of the science than can be done at present, and there will consequently be less uncertainty in the law and less room for chicanery and error. Law will no longer be the abstruse and almost unknown science which it is at present, nor will students be deterred by the impossibility of making themselves masters of a profession, the knowledge of which is hid in four different languages, Sanscrit, Arabic, Persian and English. A new impulse will be given to the study, and reports of cases and authoritative treatises will multiply from all quarters of the country, and it is worthy of observation that even in the present state of the law, distracted as it is among so many different languages, the only efforts which have been made to improve it, have been in the English language, while the three remaining languages have not produced a single attempt of the kind. The places of the Moof-ties and Pundits, or particular professors of Mahomedan and Hindoo Law, will now be occupied by the legal advocates of the new system, and the distinctions which are perpetuated by the learned languages of the Mahomedans and Hindoos will gradually cease until all classes of this distracted community become united in one common nationality which may properly be called Anglo Indian. The English language and system will be the common pursuit and point of approximation of all classes of the community, and with a common literature, common learning and common laws they will gradually ripen into an united and great nation.

The consequences which must result from getting rid of the barrier which is opposed between us and the natives by the general use of learning languages, which are equally unknown to both of us, and substituting for them the language of the rulers.

6th. The barrier which is opposed by the artificial systems of Arabic, Sanscrit and Persian, having been removed, we shall be brought into immediate contact with the natives of the country. We shall learn nothing but the colloquial language of the country

and they will learn nothing but English, and does it not stand to reason that we shall understand each other better than we do at present, when we both devote our attention to a neutral language which is equally unknown to both?

As English will now become the standard and polite literature of the country, and as all legal and technical terms must be borrowed from it, the colloquial languages of the country will gradually become saturated with it, which will facilitate our acquisition of the language of the natives as much as it will facilitate their acquisition of our language.

The direct and immediate consequence of the present system is to maintain a barrier between ourselves and the natives, which prevents any approximation by means of an assimilation of language and ideas, and deluges the languages of the country with words which are unknown to both of us. It is a system which perpetuates our separation from any community of language, manners and ideas with the natives, and keeps us from any knowledge of each other.

The immediate effect of the opposite system, as has been before described, is to reduce the distance between us and to facilitate our mutual communication and knowledge of each other. All barriers will be cast aside, each will confine his studies to the language of the other and the language of the country, engrafted with the language of law, literature and science to an extent far exceeding what has taken place from the Persian, will gradually ripen into a common language which will be fitted for the formation of a national literature, and for the transaction of every kind of business whether of a public or private nature. Once arrived at this point the original English will be dispensed with as an instrument which has done its work, as Latin was on the continent of Europe and Norman French in England under similar circumstances, and all the literary talent of the country will be employed in improving the common national tongue. This is the process by which the English language has been brought to its present improved state by ingrafting upon it the French and Latin literature, and the same process must be gone through wherever a whole people are to be improved by the general introduction of a foreign system of learning.

The reason why English will be introduced into the vernacular languages of the country, after it has been

The reason why English will be introduced into the vernacular tongues of India to a much greater extent than the



once established as the language of business, to a much greater extent than Persian has ever been.

Persian has ever been, is to be found in the superior advantages which is offered to the natives by the former. The system of learning which Persian contains is hardly superior to that which the Hindoos before possessed, and the consequence is that they study it merely as the Government language, to the extent which is necessary for the transaction of public business. English, on the contrary, presents the most advanced system of learning which the world has yet beheld, and, when it is once brought into use by its adoption as the Government language, it will be studied for its own sake by all classes to a much greater extent than is required for the mere transaction of business. The Hindoos, in particular, who have never shewn the least inclination to study the literary and scientific works of the Mahomedans, further than they were obliged with a view to acquire a practical knowledge of Persian, have shewn the utmost zeal in the prosecution of their English studies.

English is not more dissimilar to the native languages now, than Persian was, when it was first introduced; and, when English once begins to be adopted as the language of polite education, the difference between them will every day diminish. Even before the language began to be regularly taught, the natives evinced the practicability of introducing English words into their vernacular tongue *ad libitum*, by the voluntary adoption of a number of English designations and legal terms; and, when the laws are studied by them in English, and scientific and literary education, is carried on in the same language; it is impossible to say to what extent this process will be carried.

Another reason why our learning will have a much more powerful effect upon the language and habits of thinking of the natives of India than that of the Mahomedans ever had, is, that we shall encourage the general knowledge of it by the establishment of schools and colleges, and by the formation of an extended and systematic plan of educating the people, which is an advantage the Mahomedan learning never enjoyed in India.

The formation of an authoritative digest of Anglo-Indian law in the English language, is an indispensable part of the system which would exclude the present three learned languages of the country.

The information of an authoritative digest of the whole of the Anglo-Indian law in the English language, is a necessary part of the plan for getting rid of the three learned languages which at present prevail in India, and substitut-

ing English for them all. All the Mahomedan and Hindoo civil law, which yet remains buried in the obscurity of the Arabic and Sanscrit, must be rescued from them and incorporated with the general digest of the laws in the English language, and the necessity of studying those worse than unprofitable languages, will then entirely cease.

The improvement in the law, and the increase in the general knowledge of it, which must also take place from the formation of an authoritative digest, is a copious subject of itself, to which it would not be doing justice to allude in a casual manner. I have remarked in a previous part of this paper, upon the great benefit that would result from reducing the whole of the Indian law into the English language, which already contains the most valuable portions of it; whereby the time and labour spent in acquiring three difficult languages, will be saved; the whole body of Indian law will be placed at every body's disposal, and the uncertainty which arises from the present limited knowledge of it will be avoided.

The organization of an extended plan of education another necessary part of the system, vide pages 32, 33, 34, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, of the accompanying paper.

Another necessary part of the system is the organization of an extended plan of education, upon which subject I have little to add for the present, to what is contained in the annexed paper. The distribution of the country into divisions and zillahs, naturally suggests the formation of a college at the head-quarters of every division, for the study of the higher branches of literature and science, and a preparatory school in every zillah, for instruction in the English language, and by degrees the system would be extended by branch schools in every pergunna under the superintendence of the Tahseeldar and even in every large village. An university on a grand scale ought also to be established at Calcutta and another at Allahabad, to both of which all classes of our subjects should be admitted; both English, half caste, Mohomedan and Hindoo. These universities would form the heart of the system to which the life blood would be continually flowing and returning. They would be resorted to by young men from all the provincial colleges to finish their education—the highest honors would be granted by them and the professor of the Colleges would be supplied from them in the same way that the masters of the zillah schools would be supplied from the Colleges. As the universities would be presided over by the most learned Pro-

fessors, and as their reputation and respectability would be such as to induce even English gentlemen to send their sons to them for their education, it cannot be doubted that natives of rank would do the same and their example would be followed as the Division Colleges, all over the country natives of rank and respectability cannot be expected to send their sons to our Colleges on their present low footing, and the only way in which this great step in the progress of improvement can be attained is by raising the character of our system of education in the manner proposed.

Means should be provided for the study of the Law at each of the Provincial Colleges, vide pages 95, 96, 97, 98 of the accompanying paper.

In order to make this system of education of as much practical use as possible, every College ought to be provided with a Professorship in the Laws of the country. The digest of the laws ought to form a principal subject to study, and nobody ought to be admitted to practice as an advocate who has not taken a degree in the department. In the accompanying paper, I have adverted to the improvement which would take place in the Law and advantages which would result to society from raising up a body of well trained and enlightened advocates, and I shall not therefore dwell upon the subject here.

The legal studies of the young Civilians should be carried on at the two universities of this system.

The legal studies of the young Civilians, which must go hand in hand with that of the natives, had better be carried on in like manner at the two universities which will greatly add to the reputation of those institutions, and will form another great inducement to the native aristocracy to send their sons to receive their education there. The familiar intercourse also which must take place there between the youth of both nations will soften their prejudices, and, by giving each a better knowledge of the other, will add much to the popularity of our officers, and will tend to correct many errors into which they naturally and almost necessarily fall at present in their treatment of the natives. The young Civilians ought also to be obliged to attend the sittings of the Sudder Dewanee and Nizamut Adawluts for a certain number of terms.

The following are the only points which require immediate attention.

mediate attention.

These improvements, however, are all in *prospectu*, and the following are the only points which require im-



1st. To adopt measures for composing an authoritative digest of Anglo-Indian Law in all its branches.

First. To concert measures for composing an authoritative digest of Indian law, in all its branches, upon the formation of which mainly depends the plan of getting rid of Arabic, Sanscrit and Persian, the improvement of the law and the legal education both of English and Native branch of the profession.

2ndly. To encourage the study of English literature among the Natives by making it the language of political correspondence. vide pages 24, 25, 29, 30, 31 of the accompanying paper.

2ndly. To adopt measures for encouraging the study of English literature among the Natives without producing any violent change or affecting any existing interests. The first and great means of effecting this object is to make English the language of political correspondence with the Native Courts, furnishing a Persian translation for the present in those cases where it is required. I have dwelt upon this point at some length in the annexed paper, and I earnestly request that due attention may be paid to it. A mode so unexceptionable and at the same time so effectual of introducing the greatest blessing which we have to bestow upon the natives, can hardly be imagined. No existing interests will be affecting, no body will be deprived of his subsistence, and yet the adoption of English correspondence by the princes and nobles of India, will do more towards bringing the study into vogue among the natives than any other means which could be adduced.

This measure will soon be productive of the most important results in our own provinces, and seeing English in familiar use in the highest department of the State, the people will begin to wonder that Persian is still permitted to linger in the lower grades. One of the principal drawbacks which has hitherto retarded the study of English is, the discredit arising from its having been abandoned to Baboos and other low people, but now the reverse of this will be the case. It will at once be established as the language of polite correspondence, and the character of the study will be so much raised, that it will become an object of ambition to the first Natives in the country to pursue it. In common with all other departments of the Government the substitution of English for Persian will greatly improve the character of our political correspondence, and increase the confidence of the natives in it. I have adverted at some length to this part of the subject in the ac-

accompanying paper, but I wish it to be clearly understood that, although in itself very important, this is only a secondary object of the proposed measure. The main and engrossing reason for adopting the English language in the correspondence in the Political Department is, that it affords the most effectual and the least objectionable means of encouraging the study of the language, and it is upon this ground that I look forward with the greatest anxiety to the adoption of the measure.

3rdly. To adopt English as the language for recording the proceedings of the Courts in the suburbs of Calcutta and twenty four pergunnas.

3rdly. English ought also to be immediately introduced as the language for recording the proceedings of the Courts in the suburbs of Calcutta and the twenty-four pergunnas, where, independent of every other consideration, there are positively more natives who are conversant with English than with Persian, and mere motives of convenience therefore would suggest the propriety of the change. One or two Native Officers conversant with English, and twice that number of Advocates ought at the same time to be added to the Sudder Dewanee and Nizamut Courts to carry the cases through which are brought up from these Districts.

4thly. To procure from England qualified Professors of English literature and science.

4thly. The only remaining point which requires immediate attention is to procure from England some qualified professors of English literature and science. The almost total want of proper teachers has been a great obstacle to the spread of European learning among the Natives. Many respectable Natives, who have been desirous to acquire the language, have been prevented from doing so by the want of instructors, and the low persons who for the most part are the only instruments available for the purpose tend rather to bring the study into disrepute than otherwise. By employing well educated and scientific gentlemen in the business of instruction the reverse of this would be the case. Our system of education would rise at once in general estimation, and the Natives of rank would no longer hesitate to give their sons the benefit of a College education. The principal station of the English Professors would of course be at the Universities, and Calcutta and Allahabad and from thence they would be distributed among Colleges in the Divisions at the Delhi College, the senior students have got through the

mere literature of the language, and I am afraid their ardour will soon begin to slacken for want of scientific instruction, or in other words for want of any adequate object of study to pursue.

**Conclusion.** To conclude, we have nothing to give to the Natives but our superior knowledge. Every thing else we take from them. The revenues, the honours, the private emolument of their country, in fact the greater proportion of the advantages which their own country affords go into our hands. We have, however, our knowledge to give them in return, and if this obligation is properly fulfilled, all the advantages which we derive from them will, in the end, be most amply repaid. While thousands of our countrymen are sent out to carry on the Civil and Military Government of the Country, not even a single individual has hitherto been deputed to communicate the light of our superior knowledge, but is not too late; and we may be assured that this mode of spending a portion of the public revenue will contribute more to improve the intellectual and social condition of the Natives, and to make them faithful and attached subjects than any other mode which could be adopted.

Simlah, August 8, 1832. C. E. TREVELYAN.

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*Note.*—Hindoostanee and the colloquial languages of India in general, are mere neutral quantities, which of themselves possess no terms of a scientific and abstract character, and they are consequently merely fitted for the common intercourse of life of a rude and unlettered people. This being the case, they naturally take their tone and character from the literary language of the day, and whatever happens to be the language of education and public business, they become deeply impregnated with it, and are thereby more or less improved and fitted for higher purposes than the mere ordinary occasions of life. According as Sanscrit or Persian has been the prevailing language of science, they have drawn largely from them, and when the place of both these is supplied by English, the same process must inevitably take place with regard to it.

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## REMARKS

ON THE NAVIGATION OF THE EUPHRATES, AND ON  
THE PRACTICABILITY OF ESTABLISHING STEAMERS  
ON THE RIVERS OF MESOPOTAMIA.

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*(From the Bombay Gazette.)*

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*(Concluded from page 393.)*

Dewannea, a small walled town on the eastern bank of the river, 50 miles from Hilla: along the whole of this run the average breadth of the river is two to three hundred yards; least water in winter two fathoms, in autumn it is said to fall to five feet; in several parts the centre of the stream is occupied by small sand islands, many of which are cultivated with cucumbers and water melons: in winter they are completely under water, often vary their positions.

The villages along either bank amount to twenty six, the inhabitants of which are hospitable, and peaceably pursue the art of husbandry. The banks for thirty miles below Hilla are studded with trees and gardens, where most of the opulent inhabitants of Hilla have summer retreats.

At Dewannea the Begly of Hilla commences, extending to Felugia. The principal tribes of this district are the Zobaid, Terboi, and a Abu Sultan, and the Agail, who reside in Dewannea.

This district, which commences at Sura, and extends to this, is governed by the Shaikhs of the Agaist, who do military service to the Pasha for the same. The Agails are a tribe of Arab mercenaries, who originally came from the westward, and are said to have distinguished themselves under the banners of the faithful who entered Spain. They are to be found in the service of the different Pachas of these parts.

Sura, a small village on the western bank of the stream, 13½ G. miles south of Dewannea: the river to this is about two hundred yards broad; the depth of water in winter is not less than 2½ fathoms, and 1 fathom in the autumn: three miles to the northward of Sura a small island divides the stream, called Al Saufee. The eastern channel has 2½ fathoms and western 1 fathom. The Arabs inhabiting the banks are the Agrah, Beni Hasum, and at times the Zobard, all dwellers in tents. The banks are about sixteen feet high, thickly covered with brushwood, with a few groves of Tamerisk.

Sura to Lemloom is a run of 13 G. miles in a S. easterly direction. The river decreases in breadth to about a hundred yards at Lemloom, and the banks gradually lower; but the depth of water is nearly the same. In this run there are five villages.

Lemloom is a considerable place, erected on the Eastern bank of the river; the houses are built of sun dried bricks and reed huts; the number of inhabitants amounts to 16,000, which are chiefly of the Ghuzail tribe; the principal merchants are Persians, who are attracted here by the locality of Kerbelah, so that on their demise they may be interred near their reverend Saint Ali.

The tribes occupying this district, which extends from Semauva to Sura, are the Ghuzail, Dhualain, Wanwee, Albu Hussain, and Beni Kashm, the chief and most powerful of which are the Ghuzail: all of them are exceedingly hostile, and whose predatory excursions extend to the gates of Baghdad. The villages in this district are enumerated at eighty, most of which are composed of from one to three hundred families, are built of reeds, upon small elevated spots of ground, to be above the inundation of the country, which this district is subjected to from its low situation. In the vicinity of each village there is erected a small mud fort or tower, which affords these war-like people protection during the wars, which they are seldom without, from the feuds that exist between the tribes, caused by their inexterminable spirit of independence.

These tribes principally profess the supremacy of Ali, and are particularly averse to the more orthodox sect of Moslems, which leads them into many broils with their powerful neighbours the Pasha and Montifige Shaikh. When at war with any power that are likely to invade their country, they retreat (their villages being portable,) to the marsh which, like the dykes of the Dutch, constitute their strong holds, being able to inundate the country at pleasure, and their reed huts answering the purpose of rafts, they bid defiance to all the other powers of the Jezbira. During their last war with the Pasha, they defied his power till he gained possession of their principal band. However, they gained the desert, with the whole of their property, so that after an eighteen months' war, the Pasha's troops found nothing but the smoking fires and empty huts of the Arab hordes. When the troops evacuated the district, the Arabs immediately resumed their station in the marshes with increased contempt for the power-grasping Twiks. Boats pro-

ceeding up or down the river pay a toll here, and a small present to the Chief of coffee, dates, or some small portion of the cargo, in default of which they are plundered, and perhaps ill used. However, the Arabs are not a sanguinary race, and persons are more often plundered by composition than violence.

Between Lemloom and Semauva, a distance of 40 miles, the river flows still S. easterly; breadth about one hundred yards, with an average of 1 fathom in winter. Here all the dangers and difficulties of navigating this river exist from the shallowness of the water and the hostile character of the natives.

A short distance below Lemloom the river divides itself into numerous branches, three of which are navigable in the winter: most of the small branches, which traverse the country in all directions, are mostly artificial, dug by the Arabs to lead the water into some particular channel, or to irrigate the rice grounds, of which grain immense quantities is raised in these marshes.

During the season of the freshes—December to May—nearly the whole of this district, called *Hore al Lemloom*, becomes totally inundated, resembling a vast lake, which renders the course of the river unperceptible to the eye. The extent of this inundation runs about forty miles along the river and thirty broad. The depth of water varies in the different channel: in winter the three larger branches of the river have upwards of one fathom water: during the autumn the natives are in the habit of bunding up the different channels for the purpose of deepening one, by which the trading vessels pass. On applying to the natives for information regarding the navigation during the dry season, I was informed that a "Comer" never could ford the principal steam Ghate Bezoul, thereby implying there was upwards of five feet water.

These marshes are inhabited by the *Dhecalem* and *Ghuzail* Arabs: their habitations are of reeds, and many of their wigwams are neatly made, mostly of an oblong shape with a sloping roof.

The riches of these people consists in large herds of buffaloes, which thrive admirably in these swamps: they are seldom slaughtered: the butter produced from their milk finding a ready sale in the Baghdad market, is sufficient to bring their humble possessors all the necessaries of life they



require. Food for these animals is abundant—the marshes producing an abundance of reeds and rank grass.

The tribes of this tract, as I said before, are the most independent in the Jezheira. The situation of their country and ferocity of character has ever supported them against the confederacy of the Pasha and Montifige Shaikh. They were reduced to obedience in 1826, and restrained their depredations till 1831, when the overthrow of the Mameluke Government had again let them free to commit their usual enormities, consequently the trade on the Euphrates is now much confined.

Semauva, i. e. the *Celestial*, is a small walled town, situated on the western side of the Shat a Semauva, which is a small branch of the Euphrates, that turns from the main stream, thirty miles below Lemloom, and after flowing in westerly and S. easterly direction for twenty five miles, again joins the main stream. It is also termed Bu Shilah, embarking *Terakeadh*: through this branch the trade on the river formerly passed, but of late it has become exceedingly shallow and dry in the autumn. The inhabitants of the town amount to about 3000. Rice, wool, horses, and cotton cloth, which is woven in the town. The men of Sevaura are as proverbial for their valour as the women for beauty.

The Shaikh is appointed by the Montifige Chief. This town marking the most northern limit of his territory.

*Terakeah* or *Teracheah*, is a small ruined fort on the eastern bank of the river, where the Shat of Semauva joins. Here the morahs may be said to terminate. The banks of the river now become high, and the stream wider and deeper, having  $2\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms in winter.

From *Terakeah* to *Neghaib*, a distance by the river of 40 miles; the breadth of the stream is about 200 yards; least water in winter  $3\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms, there are a few sand tanks but of no size. The banks of the river are overgrown with brushwood and the *acacia* bush, a few tops of *Tamerisk* and *Euphratic poplar*; and at this time “*Feby*” vary in height from 12 to 18 feet. A few villages are passed en route, inhabited by the *Agra* and *Mahdayne* Arabs, who are tolerably peaceable, and under the Government of the Montifige Shaikh. The cultivation is but scanty, and only to be seen in small portions near the villages.

*Myhaib*, a small tomb raised over the mortality of a Moslem Saint on the western side of the river. The tide swells the

river as high as this, but no northerly current is felt higher than Arjeih at the mouth of the Hye.

The river or canal of Hye is 21 miles to the S. eastward of Myhail and fifteen above *Shuke Shukh*. At present this is the only canal of communication that is opened between the rivers: it flows from the Tigris at *Kooly al Amarah* one hundred miles in a southerly direction to the Euphrates at *Arjeih*, which river it enters by many mouths; but the one at present navigated is called *Al Hassaneych*, following close by the reed village of *Arjeih*. The Hye is dry in summer, but during the winter, when the rivers are high, there is two fathoms, nearly all through the general breadth is from 200 to 70 feet. Most all the trade passes by this route whenever possible, as the country is more safe; consequently the many exaction levied by the Arabs of the Tigris are avoided. The whole country bordering on the Hye is under the Government of the Montifige Chief.

*Shuke Shukh* or *Sookal Shaikh*, i. e. the Shaikh's mart, is a small town on the southern bank of the river, about a mile and a half in circumference, enclosed by a mud wall, having flanking towers pierced for musquetry, situated fifteen miles E. S. E. of *Arjeih*. The houses are constructed of kiln-burnt bricks, in the customary style of the country, in number about three hundred, which bears no comparison to the number of inhabitants, most of them residing in reed huts outside the walls, or scattered in the adjacent date groves. The number of inhabitants it is rather difficult to compute, from the very considerable flux and reflux of Arabs; but in 1831, taking in a circuit of five miles from the town, there was 70,000, hardly four thousand of which live within the walls. The bazaars are daily crowded with Arabs from the surrounding districts. The merchants are exceedingly rich, and trade largely in plundered goods which the Arabs constantly bring in. There are several families of Jews, Sabeans, and a couple of Banians. Coming from Baghdad to *Shuke Shukh* in August 1832, I dropped my dagger somewhere on the banks of the Hye. I retraced my steps, but did not succeed in finding it. Three days after, on sauntering through the bazaar, I espied an Arab bartering with a few others to sell it for 5 dollars and a handkerchief. Of course, I soon recovered my property; but this instance may shew how the ignorant unsophisticated Arab is imposed upon, as the dagger was worth 70 dollars.

A considerable trade is carried on with Nejd; likewise a general market for the Arabs of the Jezheira. Boats are constantly arriving from Hilla Busrah and Baghdad, besides several from Quaite (Grane) in the Persian Gulph. The bazars are exceedingly well supplied with all such articles as the Arabs of the desert require: as powder, arms of all kinds, horse furniture, cottons, ready made dresses, wollen cloaks, culinary utensils, wooden bowls [from Nejd which indicate that province to be well wooded] wearing apparel and trinkets, and other small articles of domestic economy, for which the Arabs barter horses, wool, cotton and cattle, gums, drugs, &c. Many of the desert tribes migrate towards this point at certain seasons, to supply themselves with these indispensable articles; but more particularly for supplies of rice and wheat. The Quaite boats bring various articles of Indian manufacture, and even English, which are brought from Bombay in their large Baghalahs, and carried here by smaller sized craft, they carry back grain and hides. The district of the Jezheira is famous for the whiteness and gluten qualities of its grain. The imports from Baghdad are copper utensils, shoes, dresses made of silk from mosul and damascus, Turkish saddles and arms.

In the vicinity of the town the Shaikh al Montiye generally encamps with his whole personal tribe *al Shebeeb*, which consists of about 300 tents, which in this tract they exchange for the reed hut. This chief's territory extends bona fide from the gates of Busrah to Dewannea on the Euphrates, bound by the Shal al Hye towards the Tigris. The tribes possessing the eastern bank of the Tigris, Beni Lam, Senoy, and others, are in a general war with the Montifige. Montifige is an appellation derived from the verb *Montefie*, to congregate. This tribe being composed of a society of different tribes of the Soonic and Sheak sects. The present Shaikh can bring into the field 30,000 horse, and as many foot; all well armed and mounted, without any exertion.

The late Shaikh at Montifige, Ageil bin Mahmond á Sadoun, of the Shebeeb family, was a fine looking Arab, with the peculiar features of his nation, finely portrayed, his mien is commanding and highly prepossessing; of an age and endowed with a spirit of chivalry and hospitality which so enhances a chief's character in the warm imagination of the nomade of the Arabian deserts, and was noted for his hospitality and mild equitable Government, - a blessing not often to



be met with in the east. He was killed in the war of 1831, and held out to the very last for Dowd Pasha. Ageil's elder brother was confined by Dowd, who was let loose during the ravage of the plague, and raised an army<sup>e</sup> to depose his brother, favoured by the Pasha of Aleppo: both armies met on the plains of Wasut, where Ageil<sup>f</sup> in the arms of victory met his fate. He was in advance of his men with a few trusty followers, eager in pursuit of the enemy, when his horse stumbled and fell, and unfortunately rolled upon him. A few horsemen in the enemy's rear observing this, rushed out, spear-ed him through the body, and cut up the few that were with him. These few being thus cut off, the whole army declared for his brother, and all was immediately amicably settled. Thus fell the pride of Irak, whose fame and deeds are the theme of almost every itinerant story teller or improvisatore in the country. Hospitality is a virtue admired above all others in Arabia, and more likely to gain a chieftan interest and affection from his clansmen. The flowers of the Montifige fell by the plagues and war of 1831 and 1832.

Shuke Shukh was built about ninety years ago by the Shaikh of the Montifige's, and as a depôt the situation is admirably chosen, the facilities of navigating the Shat al Arab and Euphrates below this point and the junction stream, the Hye opening a road to the northern provinces of Persia and the Euphrates through Mesopotamia, will ever render it necessary to have a depôt on the Euphrates about here. The benefit the desert Arabs derive from the Sookh is still greater; the towns of Busrah, Baghdad and Hilla, the three principal marts of the country, being difficult of approach, and the tribes being exceedingly cautious for fear of being entrapped by the Turkish Pashas, who have been known to imprison the Chiefs on pretences, so as to keep the tribe near the capital, and through this machiavilian policy to even elect a creature of their own. The Arabs prefer the desert, and the supply of necessaries is their chief care, as none of the migratory tribes pay the least attention to agriculture.

The flood tide sets as high as Myhaib, but the N. E. current is felt as far as Arjeih, which here was at times about a mile an hour; when N. E. winds prevails it ceases.

The general breadth of the stream from the Hye to this is from 3 to 600 feet at least. Water in winter  $2\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms, the depth in autumn I am informed is about one fathom: the

banks are low and scantily clothed with brushwood; a few groves of palms appear near the villages. The Arabs are of the Mahdajere and Shebeeb tribes; peaceable and civil. Cultivation now, for the first time since leaving Hillareach, becomes general. Vegetables are procurable for a trifle, sheep and fowls are exceedingly cheap.

Korna is  $72\frac{1}{2}$  G. miles E. of the Sook, by the course of the river which now becomes a noble stream, increased in breadth to a quarter of a mile, having three fathoms water in winter and summer. The tide regularly flows and ebbs, and this whole course is free from shoals or other impediments to navigation. The inhabitants bordering on the river more civilized and numerous, which are of the *Shebeeb*, *Reni'a Zud*, *Beni Monsoon*, *Beni Scarner*, *Beni Malitch* tribes, under the Government of the Montifige chief, the whole of them are peaceable and either tend their herds or cultivate the grounds in the vicinity of their villages. Their villages are composed of reed huts, many of which are commodious and of fanciful structure.

The banks of the river after quitting Sookh, approaching Kornah become exceedingly low, and in some places an artificial circumstance adds considerably to the fertility of the country from the easy method it can be irrigated. The river flowing on a higher level than the *western* parts of each country; the northern bank is also low, and the redundant waters of the Hye and Tigris flow into this river by many months, and on high freshes the whole S. eastern part of the Jezheira is inundated: then the northern bank cannot be traced for miles.

Although the high course of the river is an advantage to the agriculturist in case of heavy freshes from a protracted summer or heavy rains, the damage done by the breaking down of the banks is incalculable. 1831 was the year doomed for such a catastrophe. On the 10th of April the rivers began to rise with great rapidity, and before 24 hours had elapsed, it had risen above its accustomed height, shortly after the banks gave way, the district formed a vast lake in which the course of the river was imperceptible. The Tigris flooded more than the Euphrates, from its tributary streams of Kurdistan, which was thrown into this river by the Hye canal. Bagdad suffered much: 15,000 people were drowned and killed by the falling of houses in one night. From the Sookh to Busrah

a distance of a hundred miles was a great lake ; and the town of Busrah from being built on high ground became, as it were, an island. The great plantations of date trees which add to the prosperity of this country, fell by groves from the alluvial soil, becoming a soft mud from saturation ; thousands of lives were lost ; the inhabitants, their domestics and the wild animals of the desert crowded to the little devoted spots of ground ; and as this was during the time the plague raged, the feeble and sick were left to the mercy of the flood. After a couple of days the waters receded to vast lakes, and exposed immense mud flats, the miasma from which was as fatal to the inhabitants of this devoted land as the plague and flood.

In the Universal History there is mention of these great floods of the Euphrates and Tigris : a great one happened about the time of the birth of Mahomed.

We are now fairly in the land of dates, every little village boasts of its date grove (with its hundred uses,) few other trees are to be seen : rank grass and brush wood cover the face of the country near the river ; beyond which all is a level desert as far as the eye can survey.

Koona or Gornah was a place of importance in the time of the Kalifs, and perhaps to the Leliucidæ, as it is supposed to be the site of *Apamia*, but I should imagine the old junction was further westward, of which there is some indication about *Futeyeh*. However, as it may be, this important place has suffered alike with all the towns of old remains, and has now dwindled into a small village of 30 huts, a few remains of the old houses, part of a mosque, and the eastern side of the fortification and the fosse, are indicative of its importance under the Saracens and early Turks. Behind these vestiges a few of the Pasha's regulars have entrenched themselves, and extort a toll upon all boats passing up or down the rivers, which at their conjunction are about the same breadth. The Tigris flowing from the northward, and the Euphrates from the westward.

The united stream is termed by the natives the *Shahd al Arab*, thence 43 miles to Busrah ; general course S. E. ; the depth at low water  $3\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms ; the breadth is nearly half a mile.

A few miles northward of Banah, an island three miles long, divides the stream, *Jezheira al Macaueul* ; the water be-



ing deep in either channel ; the banks of the river are low, and for a quarter of a mile inland studded with date trees.

The rivers Tigris and Euphrates having their sources so near each other, flood and dry about the same time. The falling of rain and the melting of the snows on the mountains of Taurus, Armenia and Kurdistan feed these two great rivers of the old world.

The first rise of the Tigris takes place about the end of November, caused by the falling of rain, both in Armenia and Kurdis, and continues high till April, when a further increase takes place by the approaching summer, melting the snows on the mountains. The severest freshes are felt at this season, and particularly great when the summer is the least protracted.

The river continues at its highest till the middle of May, when the water gradually decreases till August, when it is then at its lowest ebb, and remains so till the end of November. During this period little or no trade passes up or down the Tigris. The Baghalahs that ply on the river are laid on shore and careened for the ensuing season. The banks and shoals shew themselves. The Hye becomes dry, and the drought desert obliges the Arab hordes to encamp on its banks.

The Euphrates is rather later in flooding in the spring, and sooner in the winter, than the Tigris.

The effects of the summer season being felt sooner in Kurdistan and Eastern Armenia. The tale which contribute so largely to this river have their rise in the mountains of the former country.

The rain falls sooner in the western part of Armenia, when all the tributary streams of the Euphrates have their sources.

The Baghalahs by which the whole traffic on these rivers is carried on, are generally about 200 tons burthen, drawing from 5 to 7 feet water. These boats are built in the shape of those seen in the Gulfs, but lower in the water, having immense beam, very taunt masts, with latteen sails : these vessels can only ply *laden* seven months of the year.

In general they start from Busrah in the first week of December, and arrive in Baghdad in a month, tracked against the stream the whole way. North westerley winds prevailing more than south easterly. Boats seldom attempt the voy-

age singly, but proceed in fleets of ten or fifteen, thus evading the extortions of every petty Arab chief en route. There are regular customs paid to the Shaikh of the Montifige, Beni Lam, and other powerful tribes, besides presents. The whole amount paid thus by a large trading boat tracking up the Tigris, on an average, amounts to four hundred piastres *Ine*. The cargoes brought by these vessels, consists of the riches of India and China for the Ozerbijon and Turkish markets; the return commodities are copper from Jocat and Mahdoyn; galls from Kurdistan; gums and raw silks from the two Iraks and salt from the desert. The other crafts which are met with on these rivers of Mesopotamia, are the Goofah, Bullum, and Suffeenah, all ill-constructed of bad plank, coated over with bitumen, and of odd antique shape.

The trade of the Euphrates being chiefly in the necessities of life, requires as little delay as possible; consequently the spirit of navigation is not obstructed by the drought of summer or the gales of winter: the same boats are used as on the Tigris; but those of a lighter construction, called Suffeenah ply during the summer with ease from their small draft of water. Hilla to Busrah is a voyage of three to eight days; the contrary is that of a month.

Baghdad to Busrah, which is a distance of four hundred and twenty miles eastward, by the river, is often run when the current is strong and the northwesterners prevail in three days. Small boats are tracked against the storm from Busrah to Baghdad in ten days, that with two sets of trackers. The trackers employed on these rivers are a strong hardy race of men, denominated *Mellahs*; their usual wages for three trips (Busrah to Baghdad) is fifteen *Ine* piasters, which is certainly well earned, considering the immense labour of tracking a large boat against a current averaging from four to six miles an hour—sixteen being the usual number the large boats employ; they work from sunrise to sunset, allowing a short period at noon and *aphar* for prayers. At night the boat is made fast to the bank. Most of the boats carry a guard of *Sugmaumes*. During the month of December and its following one, the rain is very constant, and both the rivers are subject to fogs which seldom clear up before noon. In general they are so dense, that it is impossible to go across the river. On the Tigris I met but few boats or canoes. The Arabs, wishing to cross the stream, use a bundle of rushes or a few inflated skins.

## TRADE BEYOND THE INDUS AND SUTLEJ.

## DESCRIPTION OF PERSONS WHO CARRY ON THE REGULAR TRADE OF CALCUTTA AND BOMBAY, WITH THE COUNTRIES BEYOND THE INDUS AND SUTLEJ.

The only people who carry on any regular trade in European commodities, with the countries beyond the Indus and Sutlej, are the Bunyans of the Joudhpoor and Shekawatee countries, who are known by the general name of Marwarries. Forty years ago none of these people had left their homes. The security offered by the British Government first induced them to extend their concerns, and now there is not a commercial town from Cashmere to Bombay, in which they have not formed an establishment. Indeed they may be said to be the only general merchants in Upper India—other persons trade in particular articles of local consumption, such as salt, ghee, cloth, &c., but the Marwarries are the only merchants who trade in every kind of article for which there happens to be a demand, and there is a profitable mercantile transaction, however distant it may be, which they are not at all times ready to undertake. Nearly the whole of the inland trade in European goods is in their hands, and they furnish at present the principal medium for procuring an extended circulation for our broad cloths, cotton, copper, iron, &c.

The following instance will help to illustrate the extended scale of Marwarree connections :

Mirza Mul,	Fukeer Chund,	Sheojee Ram,
Kishen Dial,	Ram Rutton,	Jouheree Mul,
Jhalee Ram,	Tara Chund,	Behadur Mul,
	and Heikunt Raj,	

are the grandsons and great grandsons of a person called Bugotee Ram, who was the Photedar or treasurer to the then Newab of Futtehpoor in the Shekawatee country, and hence they are called "the ten Photedars." They have all of them houses at Ramghurh in the Shekawatee country, as well as at Chooroo, in the Biccaneer country, which is only five coss off, and they live either at one place or the other, according as they are well treated by the respective rulers or otherwise. This is a great protection to them, and it obliges the local authorities to treat them with more consideration than they would otherwise be disposed to do.

Some one or other of the ten Photedars have Gomash-tahs or Agents at all the following places, and at some of



them they have all got Gomashtahs—that is—Bombay, Surat, Baonughur, Muscat, Palee, Jodhpoor, Nagore, Jeselnere, Shikarpoor, Ajmere, Biccaneer, Jullemdar, Amritsur, Lahore, Cashmere, Loodiana, Putiala, Nabeh, Ambalah, Jugadree, Hissar, Hansee, Bewanee, Rohtuck, Delhi, Jeypoor, Kotah, Omraotee, Oojein, Indore, Nagpore, Hyderabad, Poonah, Hattras, Chandosee, Furrukabad, Muttra, Agra, Mirzapoor, Benares, Moorshedabad, Patna, Calcutta, Gualpara. These Gomashtahs are all of them from Chooroo in the Biccaneer and Ramghur, Besao, Futtihpoor and Jhoonjoonoo in the Shekawattee country. They are every where distinguished as foreigners by their language and dress, and their families reside in their own country.

The Marwarries are a frugal intelligent race, having fewer expenses than the Bunyans of our provinces. They are able to carry on trade with smaller profits, and this, combined with their extensive connections, and the good understanding they have with one another, has given them a decided commercial ascendancy in Upper India. They are the general insurers for other people, but the superior facilities they enjoy, and the extensive nature of their transactions render insurance unnecessary in their own case.

#### THE NATURAL WANTS OF THE COUNTRIES BEYOND THE INDUS AND SUTLEJ.

The natural wants of the countries beyond the Indus and Sutlej answer to the following general description : having no manufactures to speak of, they require to be supplied from abroad with all the cloth they consume, that is, with English long cloth, chintz, muslin, broad cloth, &c., and with Indian silk and kunkhab. However rich they may be in minerals, they have no mines and their whole supply of metals comes from abroad. This branch of their wants is supplied entirely from England, excepting what finds its way from Russia, owing to our neglecting to avail ourselves of the water communication of the Indus. They produce no indigo, tea or spices, and for their supply of these articles they depend upon India, China and the Eastern islands. No sugar to speak of is produced in the countries on the other side of the Indus, and the whole of their consumption is supplied from India except what is brought from Russia. Besides some articles of minor importance, such as dates, cocoanuts, &c., this completes the outline of the natural wants of the Punjab and the countries to the West of the Indus.

## THEIR NATURAL PRODUCTIONS.

Their natural productions are the shawls of Cashmere; the cotton and sugar of the Punjab, which might be exported to almost any extent, if the navigation of the Indus were open. The tobacco of Multan. Assafoetida which is produced in inexhaustible quantities on the Affghan hills, saffron, mader, costus arabicus, and various descriptions of drugs used for dyeing and for medicinal purposes, saltpetre, sal-ammoniac and chrystal salt, almonds, raisins, currants and other groceries and horses.

Hereafter I shall submit an account, for which the materials are prepared, of the merchantable productions of the countries beyond the Indus and Sutledge, and of the articles which are in greatest demand there, but for the present this short summary must suffice.

## CHANNELS OF TRADE.

The greatest exportation of English piece goods takes place from Bombay by the following route. At Bombay they are re-shipped and taken by sea to Baonuggur, a seaport on the north side of the gulf of Bombay. At Baonuggur they are laden upon camels and carried via Pahlumpoor and Serohee to Palee, which is an important commercial place about 36 miles to the south east of Joudpoor. At Palee the road divides, and a portion of the goods are sent via Pokerum and Jeysulmere to Shikarpoor, and the rest via Nagore, Deedwana, Futtehpoor, Ramgurh, Chooroo, Renee, Bhehadura, Nehur, Bhutnere, Bhutinda, Jugrawun and Jullimdur to Amritsur, which is the great mart for the Punjab.

No metal, except quicksilver, reaches Umritsir by this route. The long land carriage is too expensive for such articles, and they are therefore sent up the Ganges from Calcutta to Furruckabad, and so on by land to Umritsir. But copper, iron, lead and all the other metals are sent via Baonuggur and Palee to Shikarpoor, because there is at present no other way of sending them, although Shikarpoor is situated only a few miles from the Indus.

Tea, spices, cochineal, refined indigo, cocoanuts and dates, Guzeratee silk and kumkhab, &c. &c. are sent by this route, both to Shikarpoor and Umritsir. Spices being heavy goods are sent to Umritsir in the greatest quantities from Calcutta,

and what comes from Bombay is principally the produce of the concern.

A very remarkable trade is carried on in silver by the same route. The countries of Upper India consume large quantities of the manufacture of England, and of the spices and other produce of China and the Eastern isles, and as they have no produce of their own to give in exchange to nearly the same amount, the balance is obliged to be paid in money. The European remittances are also a great drain upon them, and their own consumption of the precious metals, and particularly of silver in ornaments, hoarding, &c. is very considerable. These causes combined keep the value of silver in the Upper Provinces up at a high rate. At Bombay, owing to local causes, the reverse happens to be the case. There vast quantities of opium are every year sent to China, the return for which is principally in Dollars and Bullion to the amount of 30 or 40 lacs of Rs. is annually imported from Persia in return for the piece-goods, sugar, &c. sent to that country. Owing, I believe, to these causes, considerably, upwards of a crore of rupees worth of silver is annually sent from Bombay to Gwalior, Jeypore, Patiala, Amritsur and other principal places in Hindoostan, where the greater part is coined in the Mints, and the rest is sold in the bazar. None is sent to Shikarpore. There the exports of assafœtida, madder, costus arabicus, groceries, &c., bear a very fair proportion to the imports, and silver is consequently more plentiful. When the Mint at Furrackabad was in existence, not less than 20 lacs of rupees worth of silver used annually to be sent there to be coined. The silver is mostly in dollar and it is all sent via Baonuggur and Palee. It yields a profit of from 1 to 3 per cent. on a transaction which takes up at most 40 days; none comes from Calcutta. A few lacs of rupees worth of gold ingots are imported annually by the same route, but it seldom finds its way further than Jeypoor.

Brown sugar (kund) fine ditto (shukr) molasses (ghoor) and sugar candy (misre) are sent in considerable quantities from Palee to Shikarpore. It is all the produce of the Doab and ceded districts and reaches Palee via Ramghurh.

We have no exact data by which to determine the value of the trade, which I am endeavouring to describe, but accord-



ing\* to the account of the Marwarries who carry it on, it is nearly as follows :

Pearls,.....	100,000
Silver,.....	3,000,000
English broad cloth and muslin,.....	500,000
Ditto white cloth and chintz,.....	500,000
Quicksilver,.....	12,000
Cochineal,.....	150,000
Refined Indigo said to be refined at Calcutta, and sent by sea to Bombay,.....	100,000
Tea,.....	80,000
Black pepper, cardamum, and other spices,..	100,000
Vermillion,.....	15,000
Utter,.....	10,000
Camphor,....	5,000
Sandal,.....	20,000
Cocanuts,.....	100,000
Dates,.....	50,000
Goozeratee silk and kumkhab,.....	50,000
Drugs, and articles of every other kind,....	100,000
	<hr/>
	48,92,000

The value of the exports to Shikarpore is about four lacs, making a total of the value of exports from the Bombay Presidency, to the countries beyond Indus and Sutledge, of 5,292,000 of which rupees 3,000,000 is in the articles of silver alone, rupees 1,200,000 in English piece-goods and metal, and the rest in goods of every kind.

Total expence of conveying goods from Bombay to Shikarpore and Amritsur.

#### ENGLISH PIECE GOODS.

Bombay to Baonuggur, 5 days' sail, at 2 annas per maund.

BAONUGGUR TO PALEE, ONE MONTH'S JOURNEY.

Duty to the native chief at Bhaonuggur, ..... 1 14 0

Various duties from Bhaonuggur to Palee, .. 2 12 0

Camel hire including the Bulao, or money paid to the Bheel communities for protection while passing through their country. It rests with the owner of the camels to discharge this demand, ..... 2 4 0

Chowkeydar and other extras. .... 0 8 0

From Bombay to Shikarpoor rupees 10 8 0 per maund, and the time consumed in the journey, one month and twenty-five days.

## PALEE TO RAMGHUR 10 DAYS JOURNEY.

Camel hire,.....	0	14	0
Duty,.....	0	14	0
	<hr/>		
	1	12	0

## RAMGHUR TO UMRITSIR.

Camel hire,.....	1	0	0
Duty,.....	1	0	0
Extra guard on account of the unsettled state of the intermediate countries,.....	0	8	0
	<hr/>		
	2	8	0

Making the total expence of conveying English piece goods from Bombay to Umritsir, rupees 11 12 0 per maund, and the time consumed in the journey two months.

The total cost of conveying the base metals is about two per cent, and of conveying every other kind of goods five per cent less than piece goods. This is on account of the superior value of piece goods. A single camel load is worth 2,000 or 3,000 rupees, and the merchants are therefore careful to intrust it only to persons whose character is approved, and who from their connections and knowledge of the road are not likely to allow of its being plundered. Regarding spices and other less valuable articles they are not so particular, and they consequently have less to pay for their transport. The duties on piece goods are also heavier than on other articles. The carriage of silver costs the same as cloth. The camel hire is heavier, but this difference is made up by the precious metals not being charged with any duty. Each camel carries about 4,000 dollars, and is accompanied by four men, that is two drivers and two guards, and in order to prevent any loss from delay on so valuable an investment, they push on at an extraordinary rate. The dispatches of silver are said to reach Amritsir from Bombay in 40 days.

One main cause of the general high rate of camel hire on the road from Baonuggur to Umritsir is, because the return trade bears no proportion to that which goes to Umritsir, and the back hire must therefore be taken into consideration.

The other great channel of trade, with the countries on the other side of the Sutledge and Indus, is by Calcutta. All

the goods are brought up the Ganges as far as Mirzapoor, and from that place two routes branch off.

The first is up the Ganges to Furrackabad. There the goods are put upon hackeries, and what consist of cloth, are mostly sent on to Umritsir via Bulundshuhur, Saharunpore and Jugadree. The reason of their taking this circuitous route, instead of the more direct one by Delhi is to avoid the numerous frontier chowkies of the Delhi territory, where the taking out and examining of the goods causes great delay and inconvenience. From Jugadree the hackery owners engage to take the goods on to Umritsir for a fixed rate, which includes both carriage and duty, and they make their own arrangements for the duty with the authorities on the road. They are generally Bramins, owing to the superior respect which is paid to the sacred character. Metals, spices, and most other heavy articles are sent from Furruckabad to Umritsir via Delhi.

The other route is from Mirzapore up the Jumna to Muttra, where the goods are put upon hackeries to avoid the Begum's duty, and are sent via Delhi and the Hissar and Pateala districts to Umritsir.

The annual value of the exports to Amritsir by this route are, as far as I can ascertain, nearly as follows :

Broad cloth,.....	150,000
Chintz and white cloth of all kinds (sufadee),.....	400,000
Copper, iron and metals of every kind, .....	200,000
Cochineal,.....	50,000
Native indigo,.....	150,000
Moorshedabad silk,.....	100,000
Benares Kimkhab, Radhanugguree doputtas, & other	
Bengal stuffs, .....	100,000
Tea, spices, and dyeing woods of all kinds,.....	300,000
	<u>14,50,000</u>

Total expence of conveying goods from Calcutta to Umritsir :

1st. Via Mirzapoor, Furrackabad and Jugadree, Calcutta to Furrackabad, time consumed 3 months, boat hire, 1 8 0 per maund. Furruckabad to Jugadree, 23 days journey, 1 10 0 per maund. Duties levied at Jugadree one rupee a maund upon cloth, copper, iron, silk and indigo, and two annas a maund upon pewter, lead, spices, dycs, &c.



Jugadree to Umritsir, 28 days' journey, hackery hire and duty two rupees a maund.

Making the total expence of conveying goods from Calcutta to Umritsir via the Ganges, Furruckabad and Jugadree, rupees 6 2 0 on cloth, metals, silk and indigo, and rupees 5 4 0 on every thing else, and the time consumed 4 months and 21 days.

2nd. Via Mirzapore, Furruckabad and Delhi.

Calcutta to Furruckabad as above.

Furruckabad to Delhi, 15 days journey, 12 annas per maund.

Delhi to Umritsir, 40 days journey, 3 Rs. per maund on piece goods, and 1 8 0 on metals, spices, &c.

Making the total expence of conveying goods from Calcutta to Umritsir via the Ganges, Furruckabad and Delhi Rs. 5 4 on piece goods, and on all other goods Rs. 3 12 0, and the time consumed four months and twenty five days.

3rd. Via Mirzapore, Muttra and Delhi.

Calcutta to Muttra, time consumed 100 days, boat hire 1 8 0 per maund.

Muttra to Delhi, 8 days journey hackery hire, 6 annas.

Delhi to Umritsir as above.

Making the total expence of conveying piece goods from Calcutta to Umritsir, via Mirzapore, Muttra and Delhi, Rs. 4 14 0, and all other goods 3 6 0, and the time consumed four months and 28 days. This is the most direct of all the channels of trade between Calcutta and Umritsir, and it affords the longest water carriage. The only reason why it is not more frequented is the exaction of the Begum's duty between Muttra and Delhi. This obliges the goods to be changed into hackeries thereby causing great delay and inconvenience, increasing the expence of carriage and placing the merchants under the necessity of retaining an Agent on purpose at Muttra.

#### RETURN TRADE.

Under present circumstances the produce of the countries beyond the Indus and Sutledge cannot be exported to any extent.

The piece goods, metals, spices and other articles, which are exported from Bombay and Calcutta to the countries beyond the Indus and Sutledge, are able to bear the long land carriage to a certain extent, because there is no other way by which a supply could be obtained. The only effect it has is to limit their consumption, and to convert into luxuries what would otherwise be in general use.

The case, however, is very different with the merchantable commodities of the countries beyond the Indus and Sutledge, which, with the exception of shawls, consist of bulky raw products. If as-aftetida, madder, saffron, groceries, tobacco, cotton, sugar, &c. could be procured from no other quarter, no doubt their price would rise so as to allow of a certain quantity being imported by land. But they are procured by sea from other quarters, and the price is consequently so low, as to offer no inducement to import them by a long land carriage.

With the exception, therefore, of the single article of shawls, and a little costus arabicus and sal-ammoniac, no return is made to the important exportation of European and foreign goods, which takes place to the countries beyond the Indus and Sutledge. The principal channel for the exportation of English piece goods is by Baonuggur and Palee, and literally nothing except shawls return by the route. Assafoetida, groceries, &c. are certainly imported from Umritsir via Delhi, and from Shikarpoor via Palee, but it is for the consumption of the neighbouring countries of India, and little or none ever reaches Calcutta, and none at all reaches Bombay.

The exportation even of shawls is becoming every year more slack. They are not in such demand as formerly at Calcutta and Bombay, owing to the increased manufacture of imitation shawls in England, and the Marwarries have at this moment large stocks lying on hand at both places. Of late years also the surplus revenue of Cashmere has been remitted principally in shawls, the consequence of which has been that Runjeet Sing has not allowed any other shawls to be sold till his own are disposed of, and sometimes he obliges the merchants to buy them of him at a price, which is arbitrarily fixed by himself. This is called *purna dalna*, and it is in oppressive custom with the Native governments.

The effect of this in limiting the trade in English and foreign goods.

Owing to there being no return trade, the Marwarries are obliged to pay for their investments at Calcutta and Bombay, by raising money in the bazar on bills, which they draw upon their correspondents at Palee, Jyepoor, Delhi and Umritsir. When the goods are disposed of at Umritsir, a portion of the proceeds is employed to answer these bills, and the rest is invested in the inland trade with India, or is remitted by hoondie. Instead, therefore, of the convenience of paying for one investment by disposing of another, they are put to the

inconvenience and expence of borrowing money for the purpose, and instead of investing the proceeds of the sale in another profitable transaction, they have to pay them to the holders of the bills. Instead of a double transaction, and a double profit, this trade is only a single transaction, yielding a single profit, and it is attended with great expence and inconvenience from the necessity of raising and remitting large sums of money. In order, therefore, to enable the merchants to carry on the trade, they must get high profits proportioned to the disabilities which attend it, and hence high prices and a limited consumption of piece goods, metals and other English and foreign goods.

As it regards the consumers of our commodities, the impossibility under present circumstances, of the produce of the countries beyond the Indus and Sutledge, being exported to any considerable extent, has a more pernicious effect than even as it regards the merchants. Unless we take off the productions of a country it cannot afford to buy our manufactures to any extent. By always buying and never selling, its resources become exhausted, and its own productions remaining on its hands, it has nothing of value to give in return for foreign imports.

The way in which it will be remedied, by opening the navigation of the Indus.

By opening the navigation of the Indus the easiest of all channels will be afforded for exporting the produce of Afghanistan, and the Punjaub, on the downward navigation of a magnificent river. These countries are rich in natural productions, and the time may come when the exports of the Indus will vie with those of the Ganges. The cotton of the Punjaub will find a ready sale for the English and Chinese markets. The tobacco of Multan, which is some of the finest in the world, the almonds, raisins, currants and other groceries of Caubul, which already supply the whole of Upper India, the chrystal salt of the Punjaub, which is so highly prized throughout India, and its saltpetre and sal-ammoniac, will now become available for general exportation. The assafoetida of Afghanistan is also a great staple. It is an article of consumption for various purposes all over the world, and in India it is in general use as a condiment. It is produced no where else except in Afghanistan, and in the neighbouring mountains of Khorasan, and at present it find its way to Bombay by the sea ports of Kurachee and Bushire. Besides these are saffron, madder, costus arabicus and a variety of natural products which will be brought forward by the opening of the inland naviga-



tion. The merchants will now enjoy the benefits of a return trade, and they will consequently be able to carry on business on lower profits than at present. The people of the Punjaub and Afghanistan will have an opportunity of disposing of their produce, which will give them the means of taking off a much larger quantity of our manufactures. They will resort in numbers to the mart at Roree, with the merchandize of these respective countries. The accumulation of produce will make it cheap, and a great impulse will thus be given to the exportation. And after disposing of it, these will return with investments of English goods. People are willing to content themselves with a very small profit, rather than carry the stock back idle to their homes. Our manufactures will be rendered cheaper and more accessible to the people at large, and their consumption will consequently be greatly increased.

As soon as a mart is opened upon the Indus, under British protection, the persons who carry on the trade of Bombay and Calcutta, with Shikarpoor and Umritsur will all form establishments there. The Photedars have already got Gomastahs at Shikarpoor, which is only a few miles from Bukker and the advantages of cheap and safe carriage, double profit and a quick and certain return, are too obvious to escape the attention of persons who are so alive to their own interests as the Marwarries are.

Advantages which will result to the kingdom of the Punjab, from opening the navigation of the Indus.

and custom revenue

The effect it will have in diminishing the expence of transport.

It would be superfluous to point out that this arrangement, without in the least interfering with the kingdom of the Punjab, will greatly increase its trade and, by affording a market for its raw produce, it will increase its agriculture and land revenue also.

We have seen that the expence of conveying goods of all kinds from Bombay to Shikarpoor, which is in the immediate neighbourhood of Roree, is at present not less than rupees 10-0-0 per maund, calculating the expence of navigating the Indus the same as that of navigating the Ganges, the expence of conveying goods from Bombay to Roree, when the Indus is open, will be 12 annas per maund, upon a navigation of little more than a month; and if the ship is freighted direct to the mouth of the Indus, the freight, up to Roree, will be only 8 annas per maund, upon a navigation of twenty-five days. Roree is less than half the distance from *the sea*

that Mirzapoor is from *Calcutta*, without taking into account the windings of the rivers which are beyond all comparison greater in the Ganges, than they are in the Indus. The one flows in a straight and deep stream, with only general deviations from a direct course, while the other is a continued succession of reaches, which add to the length of the navigation as much as they increase its difficulties by the innumerable shallows and sand banks to which they give rise. Multan is as near the sea as Mirzapoor is to *Calcutta*, and the expence of carriage will be one rupee on a navigation of one month and twenty days. Umritsur, Lahore and Attock itself, the port of Cashmere and Caubul, are a good deal nearer the sea than Ferruckabad is to *Calcutta*, and the rate of carriage will be rupees 1-8-0 per maund, on a navigation of three months. It would be superfluous to point out the effect which this extraordinary saving of expence and time will have in cheapening our manufactures to the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, and in rendering them available for the purpose of exportation to more distant marts.

None of the base metals are at present sent to Umritsur via Baonuggur and Palee on account of the long land carriage. They are sent from *Calcutta* up the Ganges and Jumna, as far as the water carriage extends, and from thence by land to Umritsur, and by far the greatest portion of the spices, which are exported to Umritsur, are conveyed by the same route. When the water carriage is completed by the opening of the Indus, a much larger quantity of these commodities will be exported. They are all articles in general request, and their consumption will be increased in proportion as they are made cheaper by increased facilities being given to their exportation.

The effect the opening of the Indus will have in enabling the trade to escape the present oppressive duties, and in giving it increased security.

At present there are demands made for duty at almost every stage of the road to Shikarpoor and Umritsur with the necessary concomitants of examinations, stoppages and private exactions.

When the Indus is opened all this will be avoided as effectually as if we were to interfere by a violent exercise of authority to put a stop to it, and there will be no demand made for duty at all, until the goods reach the entrepot at Roree. It also generally happens that some one or other of the intermediate countries is in a state of disturbance, or even if this is not the case, there is always great danger to be apprehended from thieves and robbers. There is no end to the applications for

redress which are made at the Delhi and Ajmere offices for the plunder of dispatches of goods, many of which are on transit to Shikarpoor and Umritsur. By opening the navigation of the Indus the trade will be rendered independent of the state of tranquillity or disturbance of the intermediate countries, and there will be very little apprehension of loss of any kind.

The advantage the new mart will have in point of locality.

But it is not merely the opening it will afford for the Affghauns and Punjabees to dispose of their raw produce nor the increased facility it will give to the exportation of our own manufactures, which renders the navigation of the Indus an object of such great importance. It is the establishment of a new mart in an advantageous situation which will have the direct and immediate effect of rendering our manufactures accessible to the inhabitants of the extensive countries, to the west of the river. They will no longer have to depend for their supplies of them upon the distant and precarious expeditions described in my memoir, nor upon the limited exportations of the Marwarries, but they will have the fountain of supply brought home to their own door. At present the mart is not sufficiently advanced by several hundred miles, and countries through which our manufactures ought to pass in transit are the Ultima Thule beyond which they are unable to penetrate. But advance the mart to the natural boundary of India, and our manufactures will be in common use in Affghanistan and the Punjab, and will pass through them in transit to the countries beyond. Delhi is an instance of how much may be effected by rendering our manufacture completely accessible to the people. Owing to its being situated upon or in the neighbourhood of the principal channel of trade, the people have got into the habit of wearing almost nothing else but English manufactures. Nine people out of ten of those who are above the lowest rank, wear long cloth, dignity, muslin, cambric, &c., in the hot weather, and chintz and broad cloth in the cold, and even servants and other people of the lowest rank have begun to wear chintz and long cloth. I shall hereafter submit a separate paper upon the extraordinary consumption of English manufactures at Delhi, and in the mean time the fact is important in as far as it shows how much their use may be extended by rendering them cheap and accessible to every body, who may be disposed to purchase. Cloth, it must be observed, used to be manufactured in great quanti-



ties in Hindostan for exportation to the Punjab and the countries beyond the Indus, and as we have obtained possession of the market of the former, it is not likely that the latter will escape us if the same facilities are afforded.

The Affghans and Punjabees are habitually addicted to commerce, and they do not hesitate at present to make long journies for the purpose to the distant marts of India. When therefore a mart is established upon their own frontier, with the additional advantage of the water navigation of the Indus for the exportation of their own produce, they will see a new source of profit opened to them. The natives of every country possess facilities for carrying on the inland trade, to which no foreigner can pretend. They will become the carriers to all the more distant marts, and their local connections and knowledge of the state of the subsidiary markets, will procure for our manufactures the most extended sale of which they will be capable.

When all this is considered, some idea may be formed of the extent to which English and foreign commodities and piece goods in particular will find a sale after the navigation of the Indus has been opened, and a mart has been established upon it.

## IMPORTS.

### METALS.

Iron, copper, lead and other metals are to be found in various parts of the Affghaan country, but I cannot ascertain that mines of any of the metals are worked. This is owing to the want of skill and enterprize, and to the unsettled state of the country. The working of mines generally speaking, is not a branch of industry, to which a country, young in the progress of nations, can successfully turn its attention. Even in India the importation of the metals from Europe has thrown most of the mines out of employ, and where they are still worked, it is only for the supply of the neighbouring district, the superior estimation in which the Europe metals are held, giving them the monopoly of the general trade. Even the lead mines at Ajmere, with all the advantage of European skill, and the additional expedient of manufacturing a part of the produce into shot, are unable to compete with what is imported from Europe. Iron, which abounds in the Ulwar and Gwalior hills, keeps its ground best. It is under-sold by the English iron, but is considered to be of a tougher kind. Almost all the copper used in India is imported from Europe.

The consumption of the Punjab in metals, is supplied from Calcutta by the water carriage of the Ganges and Jumna, and then overland to Umritsur. The consumption of Afghanistan is supplied partly by this route, partly by Bombay and Shikarpoor, and partly from Russia, Bokhara, and all the countries beyond Afghanistan are supplied entirely from Russia.

The opening of the navigation of the Indus will have a more immediate effect in giving a wide circulation to our metals than perhaps to any other commodity. Their weight is such, that they naturally take those channels of trade, however circuitous they may happen to be, which offer the facility of a water carriage. None are sent to Umritsur by Bombay and Palce, because the route on the Bengal side offers a longer water carriage, and now none will be sent by Bengal, because the Indus presents a water carriage to every part of the Punjab. Proceeding up the Indus, our metals will be conveyed from Attock to Caubul, and from thence they will be dispersed throughout Central Asia. Metals are an article of which the consumption is great, general, and certain. Cooking utensils, arms and a variety of other things, which must always be used by every family and individual, are composed partly or entirely of them.

Copper, *Tamba*, is the kind of metal, which is in the greatest demand in the Punjab and Cashmere, the same as in the rest of India. Every Hindoo must have his brass *lota*, or water-cup, and his *kutura*, or saucer, as well as platters for baking cakes, and cauldrons for boiling rice. Great quantities are also consumed in the copper currency. The principal part of what is exported beyond the Sutledge and Indus, is unwrought copper in slabs, pigs, &c., but about a hundred maunds of *Thalees*, or brass platters, are sent every year to Umritsur.

Copper-wire, *Targhutee*, (that is bundles of wire) is an article of great consumption in Hindoostan, for the manufacture of the tinsel ornaments, of which the natives are so fond. It is flat and very thin, and is brought wound round small wooden rollers. There are two kinds, the white and the red. The white sort sells at Umritsur at 17 rupees a score, and the red at 8 rupees. It is a curious fact that the whole of the consumption of the Punjab in this article is supplied from Russia by way of Orenburg and Bokhara, and it is sent on in considerable quantities to Delhi. I have seen specimens of

the wire, which comes by this route, bearing a stamp with a picture of the Virgin Mary, and an inscription shewing that it was made at Rorenberg. Latterly, however, it has begun to be imported largely from Calcutta. I cannot find that any other European article is regularly imported into India overland from Russia, but Russian broad cloth and many other articles are in common use on the very borders of India, and even at Behawulpoor, which is within them. When the Indus is opened, the Russian trade will be driven back to its natural limits, nearer their own confines. With the superior manufacturing facilities we possess, and the advantages water navigation must give us over a long land carriage, it cannot be otherwise.

Spelter, *Jute*, is the metal, which is used in composition with copper to produce brass, and its consumption is therefore very great in all parts of the country.

Iron, *Loha*, is in the greatest demand in the Mussulman countries beyond the Indus, the cooking vessels there being mostly of this metal. Nor is its consumption much diminished by the barren nature of the country. Every Turkoman family in the desert must have several iron cooking vessels, which are supplied to them ready made by the Russians. It will probably be worth our while also to import a certain quantity ready made, and as soon as we obtain a more intimate acquaintance with the country, musters may be supplied for their manufacture in England. Native workmen may also be encouraged to settle at Bukker, to make them up from the iron imported from England.—*Delhi Gazette*.

(*To be continued.*)

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## MAJOR GENERAL SIR JOHN WITTINGTON ADAMS, K. C. B.

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The character of every officer is public property. No Officer more merits a publication of his services than Sir John Adams. It is due to him as well as to the Army at large, and even to the state, to publish the acts of one who has so repeatedly received the thanks of Government—those of Parliament and been noticed even by his Sovereign. The modified orders regarding the honors of the Bath precluding any Officers under the rank of a Major General being made a Knight Commander, Sir John had nearly retired from public life, before he obtained that distinction; though his services in 1817, when a



Lieutenant-Colonel, entitled him to such an honorable reward. Surely services, and not rank, should guide the principle of the gift! To those acquainted with his high deserts—who shared with him in the fields of his military renown and glory, it will be delightful to recall to mind acts holding so high a place in the military history of India. To those who know him but by name, it will be pleasing to become better acquainted with him even though through an imperfect medium, and to gain a knowledge of deeds honorable to the service to which they belong.

2.—Major General Sir J. W. Adams entered the service in the year 1780. In 1794 he was present at the battle with the Rohilla's, fought by Sir Robert Abercrombie, and held the rank of Lieutenant. Brevet Captain 1796.

3.—In 1797 he went to Hyderabad with the old 10th Regiment as Captain.

4.—In 1799 he was present at the battle of Mallievellie, fought by General (late Lord) Harris with Tippoo Sultan.

5.—In the same year he was present at the night attack of the Tope, at Seringapatam, under Colonel Wellesley, (now Duke of Wellington.)

6.—On the 4th May 1799 he commanded a Grenadier Company at the storm and capture of Seringapatam.

7.—In the same year he accompanied a detachment of Bengal and Madras troops under Colonel Stevenson, of the Madras army, against Doondiahwah; and was present at the taking of several forts during the operations which ensued.

8.—In 1800 he returned from the coast to Cawnpore, where he commanded the 1st Battalion 10th Native Infantry, (promoted to Major 21st September, 1804.)

9.—In 1809 Lieutenant Colonel Adams commanded his Regiment in the Force under Major-Genl. St Leger, which marched to the banks of the Sutlej, to dispossess Runjeet Sing of his conquests on the left, and confine him within his present limits on the right bank. Those on the left bank were restored to the Chiefs to whom they belonged; and are now styled “the protected Sikh States.”

10.—In 1809 Lieut.-Colonel Adams commanded a detachment of 2 battalions, and 2 corps of cavalry, &c., for the invasion of the Bhutte country; and effectually succeeded in the object of the service.

11.—In 1813 the Lieutenant-Colonel was selected by General Sir G. Nugent, Commander in Chief, to succeed Colonel (the late Sir G. Martindell,) in the command of the Field-Force in Rewah. Opened the campaign by the siege and capture, by storm, of the strong fort of Entarrie, and received the thanks of the Governor General. The capture of this fort was followed by the fall of several others in that country.

12.—Associated with the late Mr. Wancape in arranging the treaty with the Rewah state.

13.—Selected in 1814 by the Marquess of Hastings to accompany his Lordship on his tour through the Upper Provinces; and received his Lordship's unqualified thanks.

14.—In 1815 the Lieutenant Colonel was made a Companion of the Bath.

15.—In the same year, selected by his Lordship to succeed Colonel (now Major-General Sir Jasper) Nichols, in the command of a large force in the Province of Kumaon, during the Nipaul war.

16.—In 1816 was selected by his Lordship to command the Nagpoor Subsidiary Force.

17.—In 1817 was appointed to the command of the 5th Division of the Army of the Dekhun, in the Mahrattah War of 1817-18, by the Marquess of Hastings, who desired Lieutenant-General Sir T. Hislop to keep the Lieutenant-Colonel in command; though there were senior officers not holding such commands.

18.—The object of the war was to extirpate the Pindarees said to have amounted to 40,000 men. The Mahrattah war rose out of the circumstance of the connection of Scindiah, Holkar, &c., with, and support given by them to, those freebooters. The Lieutenant-Colonel struck the first decisive blow. By well planned and executed movements, he fell in with 2 out of the 4th Durrahs, commanded by Wussul Mahomed, and Namdar Khan (in the absence of Kurreem Khan) killed 1,000, and dispersed the remainder. Namdar Khan surrendered himself, and Lord Hastings, well knowing the Colonel's knowledge of native customs, feelings, and prejudices, assigned to him the difficult and delicate task of reducing, and afterwards of reconciling a large body of freebooters to a state of social order, by settling their chiefs and followers as peaceful inhabitants in the very country in which they had

lived as a lawless banditti. Thus freeing the country from plunder and anarchy, and exhibiting the fact of the statesman, as well as that of the soldier. Lord Hastings highly approved of this service, and in allusion to the military operations which produced the above result remarked G. O. 21st February 1818, that "Lieut.-Colonel Adams, with his division, ably co-operated in this object; and, he subsequently, by the skilful direction of his detachments, gave the finishing blow to the remnant of the Pindarees, which had escaped by incalculable chance when nearly surrounded, &c." Moreover, though the plan of encompassing the Pindarees by concentrating divisions and detachments near the Nerbuddah—the scene of their predatory warfare. Still the penetrating eye of the Colonel found that plans formed at a distance were necessarily imperfect, he instantly framed a plan of minute detail—it received his Lordship's sanction; and led to brilliant successes.

19.—In 1818 the Lieut.-Colonel being on his march to Nagpore to rescue the ex-Raja, Appa Sahib, the ex-Peshwah being in full march on that place, pursued the latter with a part of his division; made a gallant charge at the head of a small part of it; which ended in the dispersion of his whole force commanded by Gokla. This defeat took place at Sonee, on the 17th April 1818, being left with only 5,000 men, the Peshwah was compelled to enter into terms with Brigadier-General (late Sir John) Malcolm.

This affair executed after a march of 34 miles, was by his Lordship in a G. O. 4th May 1818, "styled a very brilliant affair, which terminated in the retreat of Bajee Rao, with considerable loss in men, guns, treasure, and cattle"—indeed, nearly in the capture of the person of the Peshwah, but on the 8th June following, when time had developed the consequences of the above affair, his Lordship in a private letter observed, "your defeat of the ex-Peshwah has not had half the display it merited, the boldness and ability of the attack were indeed sufficiently apparent; it is however, only tardily, and by degrees, that we have become acquainted with the extent of ruin detailed on Bajee Rao's fortunes by his discomfiture on that day. Almost every one has now deserted him, and I hourly expect to hear of his surrendering himself to Sir John Malcolm. He is so surrounded, that his escape seems now, unless he goes off singly, and in disguise, impracticable; *but I have to thank you for it.*" To conclude, Sir John Malcolm induced Bajee



Rao to accept of eight lakhs of rupees yearly for life. This was disapproved of, at first, but the ex-Peshwah could not well have had less offered to him, than had been before given to his brother Amrut Rao, (who died at Benares), to compensate for the loss of the throne of Poonah, which he had held only a short time, since here, we were to stop the rage and anarchy of war, save expensive operations, to recompence a sovereign after a reign of fifteen years, and more—as well as those of his followers, in fine, to secure the person of the head of the Maharatta empire !

20.—In 1818 the Lieutenant-Colonel besieged the strong fortified city of Chandah and took it by storm on the 20th May 1818, after nine days' operations. Lord Hastings in the above private letter observed : "That your campaign has closed so brilliantly by the capture of Chandah is a matter of true gratification to me. You had merited every triumph by the activity and judgment of your exertions throughout the campaign, and this last event occurred fitly to claim the tribute of applause for you." The G. O. of Government, 18th June 1818, stated that, "the skill with which Lieut.-Colonel Adams made a scanty supply of heavy ordnance suffice for the capture of a strong fortress, powerfully garrisoned, fitly crowns the conduct that had distinguished him during antecedent operations." (London Gazette, 3rd August, 1819.)

21.—In 1819 he planned and successfully executed the invasion of the extensive range of the Mahadeo Hills in 3 columns. The Lieutenant Colonel commanded the right column, succeeded in driving the enemy from their strong-holds ; freeing the country from the terror of their inroads ; and in completely settling the grand territory.

22.—19th August 1819, promoted, by brevet, to the rank of Colonel in the army.

23.—20th February 1821, became a Regimental Colonel.

24.—In 1824 Colonel Adams received a Brigadier General's Commission, and was ordered down to Dacca, during the Burmese war ; subsequent events rendered his services unnecessary.

25.—In 1825 the Brigadier General was compelled, by sickness, to proceed to Almorah for the benefit of his health. At the end of 1825, it being determined to lay siege to the

Fort of Bhurtpoor, the Brigadier General was offered the command of a brigade in the Army destined to attack that place. Though on medical certificate, he immediately accepted the offer, joined the Army, and was appointed to the command of the 3d brigade.

26.—On the 18th January 1826, at the storm of Bhurtpoor, he was appointed to the honorable and important command of the reserve; with which he entered the fort and took possession of the citadel. Lord Combermere, in a G. O. 31st January, 1826, thus expresses himself: “The Commander-in-Chief embraces the present opportunity of acknowledging his high sense of the zeal and public spirit evinced by the Brigadier General in joining the army assembling for service against Bhurtpoor, although at the time on sick certificate, and for the valuable services rendered by him in the command of a brigade during the whole of the operations.” (Vide thanks by Parliament, 8th May, 1827, and the Court of Proprietors.)

27.—There is one circumstance in the character of Sir John Adams which I cannot withhold, I mean the veneration with which he is held by the Native soldiery. When about to lead the reserve into the fort, he was immediately recognized by the old soldiers, and greeted by all, with the flattering appellation of “Baba Adams,” with the respect and reverence due to a father. And here we may learn a lesson. The officer who is attentive to the wants of the native soldier will meet with the sure return of gratitude from him; the *Native soldier* is susceptible of that feeling, if no other class of native be. That the native soldier of the present day is not equal to the sepoy of former times. I grant; but that is the fault of a bad system of enlistment, we are less attentive to his wants, and he feels the neglect, were he to receive an additional rupee for 10 years service—1½ rupees for 15 years, &c. we should stimulate the good men to enlist. I hope the new Charter will sweep away the cobwebs of the old system. I despair not to see a regeneration of the Bengal Army.

28.—On the breaking up of the Army from before Bhurtpore, he was appointed, with the rank of Brigadier General to the command of the Agra and Muttra frontier; and was appointed to the command of the Sirhind Division, the most important post in the army, on the 3rd May, 1828.

29.—On the 22d July 1830, he was promoted by the general brevet to the rank of Major General, and subsequently made a Knight Commander of the Bath. The decoration he never wore : because he never received it ?

30 —The General completed his 70th year on the 17th February 1834.

31.—As Sir John Adams has ceased to command this division, no one will, in candour, accuse the writer of this imperfect sketch of the services of one of the most distinguished officers the Bengal Army ever produced, with any design to flatter from worldly motives ; he has drawn his facts from public records, and though he has taken the liberty to give 2 extracts from private letters of Lord Hastings, not only without Sir John's consent, but at the risk of his displeasure—still he desires not to pay the good old General a Chinese honor, but chooses while he is living, to lay before the world the truth, “ without partiality, favor, or affection.”

The benevolence of his private character is well known to a great many. I trust that, after a service of 53 years with a high military reputation, with good service rendered to the state, and retiring from public life with high credit, he may for many years in private life enjoy “ *otium cum dignitate*,” carrying with him, as he does, the esteem and regard of all who know him, and the respect of all who are not personally acquainted with him. And I hope in his latter days he may be as happy as he has been during so long a period of service ; during which he never had leave of absence, on his private affairs till the present time. This is the only tribute a private individual can pay him, but, it is hoped that the Editors of all the papers will publish this statement, that it may become generally known. Sir John is the last Major-General, ever likely perhaps, to be employed on the Staff of this Army : and since by the death of Sir D. Ochterlony we have lost a Grand Cross : who than Sir John more worthy to take the vacant ribbon !

W. H.

*Delhi Gazette, May 7.]*

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## TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN.

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THE MANNER IN WHICH THE ACTING RESIDENT OF  
TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN AND HIS PRIVATE ESTA-  
BLISHMENT SUBSIST AND TRAVEL.

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*"The people generally model their manners and their sentiments by those of the great."*—PLATO.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE MADRAS GAZETTE.

Sir,—Having succeeded in obtaining true copies of the correspondence which passed regarding the atrocious custom of seizing, without payment or upon a nominal payment, poultry, fish, cattle, and other articles of food from the half starved native inhabitants of this cantonment and the adjacent villages, in order to supply the table of our would-be superiors, and of which "CAROLINE" has already given an account with so much sarcastic wit, I now beg to send you those copies, in the hope that you will grant them a conspicuous place in your valuable columns.

As "CAROLINE" did not give the public a full account of the manner in which the table of the acting Resident of Travancore and Cochin has been and is daily supplied, or how he and his private establishment are supported, allow me to subjoin the following brief history. For the sake of brevity and plainness, as well that it might strike the reader more forcibly by its perspicuity, I shall divide it into sections.

1. The Circars of Travancore and Cochin, (alias, the humble and obedient servants and creatures of the acting Resident) issue writs to the inhabitants of the two provinces according to the population of each village, town, &c. for the daily or weekly or monthly supply of the table of the acting Resident, and the maintenance of his private establishment; just as a Turkish princess, or prostitute, is allowed to gather by every oppressive and cruel act the revenues of a town or village, for the purpose of purchasing luxuries for her teeth, nose, or some other part of her chaste and sublime body.

2. If a village cannot furnish, or if the acting Resident's butlers and the superintendents of the supplies, the leper Govinda Pilly and the pensioned serjeant Robert Mackay, head of the Quilon Police, are not satisfied with articles furnished, in either case, the villagers pay ready cash, according to an inland tariff, for the articles of food or provender they might have to supply.

3. When a village pays in money for the articles of food or provender required from it on account of the acting Resident, which is frequently the case, then the acting Resident's butlers, the leper Govinda Pilly, and the pensioned serjeant Robert Mackay, exercise their discretion and display their tender mercies, in seizing and carrying away indiscriminately articles of food and provender from the half starved and almost naked native inhabitants, at  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the bazar value, and often upon no other payment but a good cudgelling.

4. The articles of food and provender daily for the use of the acting Resident, consist of every thing which is necessary for the subsistence of the acting Resident and his private establishment, beginning from himself down to his dogs, and are as follows:—grain, butter, milk, vegetables, fruits, poultry, eggs, cattle, fish, oysters, oil, grass, straw, firewood charcoal, wicks, cooking and bathing earthen vessels, bran, penac, curry stuffs, &c.

5. The quantities of articles of food or provender daily required are left undetermined, and entirely depend upon the number of friends the acting Resident is pleased to entertain daily, the number of tables he orders to be kept, and the number of horses, dogs, tame birds, and quadrupeds he might wish to keep for his entertainment.

6. For instance the acting Resident being now with a few choice friends on the Yellow Hill of Vurkully, and his friend Mr. J. Caldicott, the privileged and salaried merchant, the Government Agent and Magistrate of Alleffer, late engineer of cotton screws, Bombay, having arrived at Quilon to prosecute a poor subaltern officer, Ensign W. Carden of the 31st Native Infantry, a table is kept at Vurkully Hill for the use of the acting Resident and his guests, and another at the residency at Quilon for the use of Mr. Caldicott and his friends. In the mean time should the acting Resident go to Trevandrum on business, a third table will be kept for him at Trevandrum.

7. Fresh water is often brought for the use of the acting Resident in new earthen vessels from places distant 6 to 8 miles, by 20 and 30 villagers daily without payment.

8. When the acting Resident travels, the villages and towns are likewise chargeable for the coolies, boats, materials for building sheds and huts, &c. which he may require, and which are procured and paid for in the same manner as related in section 3d.

9. The inhabitants of eighteen moories or hamlets in Quilon, and in other places more or less guard nightly without payment the acting Resident's bungalows or palaces at Balgattee, Quilon, *Tycootum* or *Trevandrum*, *Vurkall*, Cape Comorin, and Coartlum; and should these poor wretches refuse to work for or bribe the acting Resident's flag men, the flag men are well known to make use of the cruel stratagem of accusing these night guards of having stolen the acting Resident's property, when these miserable night guards are most inhumanly treated and punished without a trial, and their property sold to make good the pretended loss.

10. East Indian writers, Hindoo copyists, and every other—in any way attached to the acting Resident boldly demand and obtain by violence from the poor natives at 1-8th of the bazar price, articles of food, provender, materials for building, coolies, boats, &c.

11. It is too well known that the acting Resident draws the pay of a honorary Colonel, or Colonel of a regiment quartered near the moon, or in Palestine, as well as the salary of a Resident of two mighty provinces—pocketing besides (but this is the lies of his East Indian writers and the saucy inhabitants of Malabar) presents for restoring women to the caste, thrown out of caste by the Rajahs, &c.,\* and in all making, according to an accurate calculation, two lacs of rupees a year net profit: for no Resident had ever left Travancore and Cochin *after a five years' stay* with a less fortune than 100,000£.

12. It is to maintain this every handsomely paid acting Resident, and his private establishment, that a contribution is laid on every native inhabitant; that every hut is ransacked; every article of food and provender seized and carried away without payment in some cases, and others after throwing down the 1-8th of their value, from the almost naked and half-starved natives of two provinces; and every kind of cruelty, oppression, and tyranny practised, fearlessly and shamelessly practised and committed in open day, in the 19th century, and in the presence of surrounding Englishmen, whose tongues, whose vengeful arms had been palsified by vile interest, or their helpless, slavish, and miserable stations in life!!!

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\* How would you like reader to receive 20,000 Rs. for the trouble of restoring a woman to her caste, whom the Rajah had ejected out of her caste for a little gallantry? Gallant, happy, and charming Nijibia! how fortunate thou art to have lived up to 1832.



13. The results of these contributions, exactions, and plunders, exercised for the purpose of maintaining an over-paid functionary, and his private establishment, are poverty, wretchedness, and misery amongst the inhabitants of Travancore and Cochin, in a degree unknown to the annals of mankind. To this atrocious abominable custom must be traced one of the principal causes which have hastened the ruin of two of the richest and most fertile provinces of Malabar.

14. The only method of effectually abolishing so ruinous a custom, and entirely removing the evils which continue to result from it, is by establishing a well organised Police for Travancore and Cochin, and appointing at its head a well paid, able, and humane Magistrate; who instead of being a slave and favourite of the acting Resident, would be an effectual check to the conduct of the acting Resident towards the inhabitants. Would to God that the present enlightened and humane ruler of India will deign to act upon this my humble suggestion.

15. If the abolition of suttees has ensured him a high reward, a lasting fame, the eradicating not only from Southern India, but from British India in general, the custom already described, India's heaviest curse, the infamous altar on which British humanity and British honor have been sacrificed, that of depriving the inhabitants of their last morsels of bread in order to supply the table of their rulers and magistrates, and making us feel in a time of profound peace the effects of the most cruel and barbarous wars. Our great ruler will by the last mentioned act acquire a higher reward, a more lasting fame, such as have never fallen to the lot of any other friend of man;—for if it is generous and noble to save a life from a violent death, how greater, how glorious must be the act which stops the hand of the strong, the rich, and the governing from depriving the poor, the weak, and the governed their miserable pittance, and the provender of their cattle—which palsifies the arm that snatches from the widow the last morsel of food reserved for her famishing infant!

I am, Sir,

A VOICE FROM MALABAR.

Quilon, April 10, 1834.

TO COL. E. CADOGAN, Acting Resident, &c. &c. &c.

*Verhally Hill.*

Sir,—I am requested by my mother respectfully to inform you that some time in last month, on the very day of your de-

parture to Varkully, a good number of people came, and as they asserted by the orders of your butler, and for the supply of your table on the hills, seized and carried away without payment in some cases and in others on throwing down the ½th of the bazar value, a great number of poultry and eggs, some belonging to my mother, and some to the villagers who are living near her garden. The poultry of which my mother has been thus deprived, were purchased by her from 6 to 8 chuckrams\* the bird, are kept in the huts of the villagers aforementioned, and which have been seized and taken away at the rate of a chuckram the bird.

My mother had refrained mentioning the subject immediately to you from an unwillingness to disturb your departure to the hills, and because we entertained a hope that the affair in question might sooner or later be brought to your notice by some other able pen; but the subsequent cruel conduct of Mr. Mackay, now at the head of the Quilon Police, compels her to intrude on your time in order to make known to you a few particulars connected with the seizure of her poultry, though she is perfectly sensible how little I am able to represent the matter in that strong light which the subject requires.

The village woman in whose hut† a few of my mother's hens were kept, was some time back summoned by the Mooricarst, and obliged to pay a penalty of 24 chuckrams (which sum the poor village woman raised by mortgaging one of her sons) for reasons which it would be difficult to conceive; and Mr. Mackay has since kept the old village woman three days in arrest and compelled her to put a mark to a document, the contents of which she is totally incapable of comprehending. We are informed that Mr. Mackay's plea for treating the village woman in the manner just mentioned is, that she had, by her cries, given notice to my mother of the seizure of the fowls, which cries Mr. Mackay says brought my mother's servants and dogs to the assistance of the village woman, and enabled her to recover back some of the hens seized for the use of your table.

Being totally at a loss how to screen ourselves, dependants, and property from further violence, either on the part of Mr. Mackay, or the people employed for seizing fowls, my mother entreats that you will be kindly pleased to issue orders

\* Twenty-nine chuckrams make one Madras rupee.

† Likewise the shade of the complainant's garden.

‡ A sub-native Police peculiar to Travancore.

that we, our people, and property might not in future be molested on plea of procuring fowls for your table.

We are also informed that Mr. Mackay is in the habit of sending his peons to seize, in the manner already mentioned, poultry, sheep, fish, &c., for the use of gentlemen travellers. You will therefore confer a singular favor on the poor of this cantonment, by making it known at the sound of tom-tom that no one in future shall dare to seize another man's property on any plea whatever, and that the above-mentioned articles should be purchased and collected with the consent of the owners, and at the bazar prices.

The poor natives of India it is well known have no other means of procuring a piece of new cloth, or materials for covering a hut but by the produce of the sale of a hen or kid, which they rear for that very purpose, and share with it their rough food. To deprive therefore a poor Indian of his poultry or cattle amounts exactly to the burning his hut over his head, and driving him naked to perish in the streets. Allow me then once more to entreat you in the name of humanity, and for the honor of the high station you fill, to banish for ever from the provinces under your charge the barbarous and inhuman custom of seizing articles of food, without payment or without due payment, from the poor in order to supply the table of the rich.

At the request of my mother I have given this letter into the hands of the village woman whom Mr. Mackay had ill-treated in the manner afore-related, and who I hope will inform you of every other particular connected with the custom of seizing poultry, &c.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) P. VANSPALL.

#### MEMORANDUM.

Mr. Peter Vanspall is requested to inform his mother that her complaint should be made at the office of the Superintendent of Police at Quilon.

(Signed) E. CADOGAN, Acting Resident.

Varkilly, 12th April, 1834.

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\* Alias, peassioned as Robert Mackay!



*To the Right Honorable Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, K. C. B. and G. C. B. Governor General of India, &c. &c. &c. Bangalore.*

My Lord,—I am under the painful necessity of intruding on your Lordship's invaluable time to state, that my son had, in compliance to my request, forwarded the annexed complaint to Colonel E. Cadogan, acting Resident of Travancore and Cochin, against the pensioned serjeant Robert Mackay, (who, though old, infirm and illiterate, is still, to the great prejudice of the people, continued at the head of the Police in this cantonment, for reasons which I am not at present at liberty to mention,) and the butler of the said acting Resident, by whom and by whose orders a great number of my poultry, &c. were in the most illegal and violent manner seized and carried away, and an aged village woman of my establishment ill-treated most inhumanly; that having received no other redress from the said acting Resident on my afore-mentioned complaint, but a reference to one of the individuals against whose conduct I had complained, as your Lordship will perceive by the enclosed original memorandum of the said acting Resident; and as it would be superfluous to dwell on the unrelenting and blasting tyranny which refers the injured citizen for redress to the party which had committed and inflicted the injury, and appointing a favoured menial, a protégé, judge in his own cause, I therefore humbly entreat your Lordship in Council to be humanely pleased to issue orders that neither my people nor my property should in future be molested and seized, on plea of furnishing the acting Resident's table on the Varkally Hill with dainties.

From your Lordship's well known love of justice and humanity, and unceasing attention to the welfare of the poor Indians, I, a poor widow, as well as the people of India, anxiously expect the abolition of the atrocious custom of seizing and carrying away articles of food without payment or without due payment, in order to supply the table of the rich at the expense and ruin of the poor!—an act by which your Lordship's name will be rendered ever dear to India, and which would ensure your Lordship heaven's highest and best reward!

I have the honor to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

(Sd.) J. M. VANSALL, widow of his N. Majesty's late Resident on the Coasts of Madura and Malabar.

Quilon Cantonment, 12th April, 1834.

Ootacamund, April 21, 1834.

To Mrs. J. M. VANSFALL, Quilon.

Madam,—I have been desired to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th with its enclosure, and to inform you in reply that as the acting Resident at Travancore and Cochin is still subject to the control of the Government of Fort St. George, your Complaint has been transferred for the consideration and orders of the Right Honorable the Governor of that Presidency.

I have the honor to be, Madam, your obedient servant,

(Signed) THOS. PAKENHAM, Private Secretary.

*Madras Gazette, May 11 }*

## STEAM NAVIGATION BETWEEN INDIA AND ENGLAND.

LETTER FROM THE GOVERNOR GENERAL TO G. NORTON, ESQ.

Ootacamund, April 11, 1834.

Dear Sir,—I beg you will express from me to the subscribers to the Madras Steam Fund the gratification which I have received from the extract of their resolutions communicated in your obliging letter of the 31st March: concurring entirely in the opinion of that meeting “that this project opens vast and incalculable benefit to our own country and mankind,” I could not do otherwise than warmly participate in the general feeling of India, and I have not therefore hesitated in recommending, as far as a prudent regard for the finances would allow, a liberal aid being afforded by Government to the common effort.

I confess that my anticipation of the expected benefit goes far beyond the more obvious results, great as those undoubtedly would be,—of improved government, of the welfare of the people as affected by such improvement,—of the promotion of commerce,—and, of what may be considered of minor importance, of the comfort of our own numerous countrymen separated by such great distance of time and place from all connected with their dearest interests. The limit assigned by the resolution is expressed by the large term of mankind, and in my judgement appropriately and correctly;

because the great want of this Eastern world, India; China, &c. may be comprehended in the single word "knowledge." If the moral condition and happiness of the most enlightened countries suffer from this cause, it can be easily conceived that on this great space, where the human mind has been buried for ages in universal darkness, the task must be hopeless, unless the same means which have alone accomplished the object elsewhere are brought into action, and these means increased and enforced with all the encouragement that the governing authority can bestow. I look to Steam Navigation as the great engine of working this moral improvement. In proportion as the communication between the two countries shall be facilitated and shortened, so will civilized Europe be approximated, as it were, to these benighted regions, and in no other way can improvement in any large stream be expected to flow in. Past experience shews what we have to expect for the future. I shall take the liberty of enlarging upon this topic.

For much more than half a century the British dominion has been established at the three presidencies over a great extent of territory, with a large dependent population. Examining attentively the intellectual condition of these numerous communities, it cannot be denied that little progress comparatively has been made in the acquisition of useful knowledge. There prevail throughout, as in the darkest ages of European history, the same ignorance and superstition; the same belief in witchcraft; the same confidence in charms and incantation; the same faith in astrology and omens,—the practice of human immolation of all sexes and ages; and many other barbarous customs opposed to true happiness and repugnant to the best feelings that Providence has planted in the human breast. Again, also, in the arts and sciences, in every branch of useful attainment, the ancient usages and learning retain their unimpaired sway. In medicine and surgery, in chymistry, in hydraulics, in mechanics, in civil engineering, in painting, sculpture and music, we observe them all, with the exception of a few individuals of superior talents and ambition, remaining stationary in their primitive rudeness and ignorance. And yet, during this long interval, thousands of well-educated Europeans, deeply versed in all these branches of knowledge, have been succeeding each other and domiciliated for years in the country. Why, it will be asked, had all this science, this learning, and this ability to impart instruction passed away without leaving any trace or



impress on the mind of India, although in no other part of the world, does there exist greater quickness of intellect, a more eager thirst after knowledge, or superior aptitude to acquire it? The answer to this question is plain and obvious. The cause is to be found in the past principle of our rule, of rigidly precluding the free admission of Europeans to India; the direct consequence of which whatever in other respects may have been its advantages, has been to dam up in a great degree the main channel of improvement into India. It may be assumed that  $\frac{1}{2}$ th parts of the importation of Europeans have consisted of the Company's Servants. They have had, of course, other duties to perform occupying the whole of their time; and the fault lies not with them, if they have contributed little or nothing to this object. The government, indeed, may perhaps be accused of omission and of not having done as much as they might, but I doubt even with more exertion on their part, whether while the same system lasted, much progress could have been made.

All the improvements of the description to which I have been adverting are exclusively due to the skill and enterprize of individuals, aided by the capital of the Houses of Agency. Every indigo and coffee plantation—the Gloucester mills—the works of every description that are moved by steam—the iron foundries, the coal mines worked after the European fashion—and the other great establishments that we see around us in Calcutta, are so many great schools of instruction, the founders of which are the real improvers of the country. It is from the same sources that we must expect other schoolmasters of new and improved industry. The New charter will remove many obstacles, but steam communication far more.

But, with the opinion I entertain, that the extent of colonization (as it is misnamed) and the effects of it have been very much overrated, I am convinced, that the knowledge and instruction so much needed by India can never be sufficiently provided by European colonists and speculators only. The natives themselves must be encouraged to go to Europe; there to study in the best schools of all the sciences. This opinion I know to be entertained by some of the intelligent members of a committee now sitting in Calcutta, to consider the best means of educating the natives in the higher branches of medicine and surgery. The Pacha of Egypt has given a noble example in this respect to the rulers of rude and unlearned nations.

The circumstances that have hitherto operated as a complete barrier against the intercourse of the natives with Europe, except the classes of sailors and of menial servants, have been—1st. Certain customs as to food prescribed by the Hindoo religion; and 2dly, and mainly, the length, the expense, and the apprehension also of so long a voyage. In respect to the first of these obstacles, Ram Mohun Roy, who will be of illustrious memory among his posterity, has broken the ice; and I know that some, and I have no doubt that other rich and well-educated natives are preparing to tread in his footsteps, with the same laudable desire of seeing what India *may* become by what Europe, and especially England is; and of raising their country by the same means from the moral and political degradation in which she is plunged. With respect to the second obstacle which makes the attempt almost impossible to the great class of students, however willing—to those who are to be the practical operatives and the introducers of the new arts and sciences and will become the best teachers of their countrymen, Steam Navigation with the aid of government, and of those in India's welfare will go far to remove it, I was happy to learn from the same members of the medical committee that natives thoroughly acquainted with the English language would, if assisted, be ready to embark immediately in that pursuit, and necessarily in others of the same utility.

I will therefore conclude this too long detail by saying that if it is “knowledge” that is needed. Knowledge is the beginning of wisdom. Knowledge alone can raise this country to a higher standard among the nations of the world: and with the sentiments I have expressed of the best and most effectual mode of attaining these great purposes, the Steam Committee are amply borne out according to my firmest conviction in their resolution, ‘that this project opens vast and incalculable benefit to our own country and to *mankind*.’

I have the pleasure of transmitting the copy of a minute, recommending to the favorable consideration of the Honorable Court the plan of the Steam Committee in Bengal for establishing a direct communication between Suez and the ports on the eastern side of the peninsula. You will perceive in this paper a repetition of the assurance which I had the pleasure of expressing to you at Madras; that there existed no intention of sacrificing in any manner the interests of Bombay. The questions are, which is the most useful line to India in general—and will the benefit be commensurate to the expence?

—There can exist no more difficulty in establishing a Steam Communication with Calcutta than with Bombay. The *Forbes* and *Hugh Lindsay* may be unequal to the undertaking, but it will be easy to procure steamers of adequate power for the purpose; and, as for the South West Monsoon, I believe, upon very good authority, that even during the period which is very short in duration, when it is at its height, the weather is not worse than that which is constantly overcome by steamers in the English and Irish Channels.

I remain dear Sir, your faithful servant,  
*Madras Herald, April 19.* (Sd.) W. C. BENTINCK.

To C. B. GREENLAW, Esq. &c. &c. Calcutta.

Sir,—I have had the honor to receive on the 6th instant by the *Hugh Lindsay* your letter of 9th January last, with its several printed enclosures, and the letter of credit of Messrs. Willis and Earle on the house of Briggs and Co. for £500 to be applied to such expenses as may necessarily be incurred here for the transmission of letters, &c. to and from Alexandria and Suez.

I have now to inclose to you the copy of a letter addressed by me to Mr. Secretary Macnaghten and which you will, I trust, find to embrace nearly all the points which might be required in reply to your letter of 9th January.

As to the appointment of an agent at Suez, this is I think quite unnecessary, as the one already there is active and intelligent and fully equal to the additional duties which may be required of him in consequence of the new steam establishment, and he is moreover well acquainted with, and respected by the local authorities there, and of course better able to afford immediate and efficient assistance than any other person who might be appointed.

I hope that I need not assure you of the very warm interest which I take in the success of the establishment by steam, of a communication between India and England via Egypt, and that the Committee may confidently reckon on my zealous efforts in furtherance of this object and may freely command my best services.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your very obedient humble servant,

PAT. CAMPBELL,

H. M.'s Agent and Consul-General.

Cairo, March 10, 1834.



To W. H. MACNAGHTEN, Esq.

Secretary to the Government, &c. &c. Calcutta.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 5th December last, with its enclosures, which I received on the 6th instant by the *Hugh Lindsay* steam vessel from Bombay.

I lost no time in entering on the subject with his Highness Mahomet Ali, who has assured me that he will do every thing in his power to promote the objects in question, and to meet in every way the wishes of the Supreme Government of India; as well as those of the Committee of the New Bengal Steam Fund; and he assures me of his anxious wish to see the full success of this new enterprise, in which he regards Egypt as being deeply interested.

He has given orders for a Firman to be extended for his signature, in order that Sherkh Tanker Ally may be recognised at Judda as agent to the New Bengal Steam Fund, and the strictest orders will be sent to the authorities of that place, to afford to him all the facilities and aid which he may require in the discharge of his duties.

Orders of a like nature will also be sent to the authorities of Cosseir and Suez, to give similar facilities and aid to the agents of the Honorable Company at those places; and I may confidently state, that these persons will not find any obstacle, but quite the contrary, to the discharge of the duties which may be required of them.

The Committee need therefore only issue their own directions to their agents at Judda, Cosseir and Suez; and at the same time to direct them to apply to me in case any obstacle, which however I do not apprehend, should arise on the part of the authorities, and I may safely assert that the Pacha will remove all the difficulties.

In regard to the relative advantages of Cosseir and Suez, as ports of disembarkation of the mails and passengers, I have no hesitation in expressing my decided opinion in favour of Suez.

Despatches will require at least ten days, and passengers about fifteen, in crossing the desert, and descending the river from Cosseir to Cairo.

The *Hugh Lindsay* steamer in her present voyage arrived at Suez in 30 hours from Cosseir; and the despatches may arrive here from Suez in 18 hours. Moreover the steamer never can be expected even in the most adverse seasons, to be longer on her passage between those two places, Cosseir and

Suez, than three days, and I therefore think that there cannot be a doubt as to the preference to be given to Suez as the point of disembarkation for the mails.

The advantage is still greater in favor of passengers, as they will avoid the tiresome journey across the desert from Cosseir.

However it might be expedient to have a depôt of coals at Cosseir, under the charge of the Company's agent at that place.

There is not any place lower than Cosseir on the Eastern side which offers any facilities whatever for the object in view.

Two English civil engineers in the service of the Pacha, Messrs. Galloway and Wallace, are at present surveying the ground between this city and Suez, for the purpose of laying a double rail road for the conveyance of goods, &c. by means of carts, attached to locomotive engines; and it is not at all improbable that this road may be completed, and the carts in operation, in little more than a couple of years.

In this case I should suppose that a considerable sum might be saved to the enterprise by steam vessels in the article of coal, as this might then be sent direct from England to Alexandria; from which the transport of Cairo in boats, and thence across to Suez in the rail road will be both cheap and easy.

A courier of the Pacha brought to me yesterday a letter from Mr. Auber, of the India House, dated London 31st January, in which he informs me that Lieutenant Lake of the Madras engineers, the bearer of his letter, was charged with important dispatches from the Court of Directors to the Supreme Government, and that it was hoped he would reach in time to go to India by the *Hugh Lindsay*.

As Lieut. Lake will be here this evening, or to-morrow at latest, Capt. Wilson of the *Hugh Lindsay*, who is now here, had resolved on proceeding to Suez on the 13th instant, in order to convey Lieut. Lake with his dispatches to Bombay.

In regard to the transmission of the packets to Suez, I shall make such arrangements as will I hope secure their safe and speedy conveyance; but I have to point out that I should deem it very advisable that there should be one janissary at Cairo, and one at Alexandria, belonging to, and paid by, the steam establishment. The packets received by me here from the *Hugh Lindsay* for England were forwarded on the same day under charge of one of the consular janissaries; but the case might arise, when no janissary of the consulate would be

available for that purpose. A drogoman would also be found a necessary aid to the travellers to and from India, both at Cairo and Alexandria, as the drogomans of the Consulate are generally fully occupied in their other duties.

I have now only to request that you will do me the kindness to express to His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council, the happiness it will afford me to give my humble aid to the undertaking now in course of progress; and that I shall at all times have great pleasure in attending and conforming to such suggestions or directions as His Lordship may be pleased to honor me with.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

PAT. CAMPBELL,

H. M.'s Agent and Consul-General,

Cairo, March 10, 1834.

TO G. ASHBURNER, ESQ.

*Secretary to the Steam Committee, Bombay.*

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 31st October last, with the accompanying papers and pamphlets, which reached me here during a temporary absence from my post.

It has afforded me much pleasure to learn the progress which has been made in India in raising funds for the opening of a communication by steam between that country and England; and I shall feel most happy in promoting the undertaking by every means in my power.

It was to be apprehended that the loss of the *Nautilus*, and the consequent delay of her despatches, would prevent any arrangement being made in England for availing itself of the *Hugh Lindsay's* return to Bombay; but it appears that intelligence of her intended voyage had reached London, by the Cape of Good Hope, in sufficient time to enable the Court of Directors to transmit important despatches, which are just arrived, by Lieut. Lake, though he was obliged to come on from Malta to Alexandria in a merchant vessel. I trust, however, that the representations from your quarter will induce His Majesty's Government to grant every facilitation for keeping up an intercourse of so much importance, both in a political and commercial point of view.

In the event of objections being made to extend at once the Malta steam packets to Alexandria, there can be no doubt that, independently of the Government allowance, for convey-



ing the mail, ample field will be found for the employment of private steamers on that line, arising out of the growing importance of Egypt and Syria, and the number of travellers who are attracted thither by curiosity or commercial pursuits.

I do not anticipate that any reliance can be placed on support from the Mediterranean merchants in the way of pecuniary contribution; but there is every reason to expect that the Government and the merchants of Malta will give the utmost encouragement to an undertaking that promises to be productive of so many advantages to that island.

Should the plan of running steamers from Bombay be ultimately adopted, I am of opinion that the arrangement suggested by Capt. Wilson will be found the most eligible for forming the coal depôts at Maculla and Juddah only, as the uncertainty of the conveyances between Alexandria and Suez would render it extremely difficult to keep up a supply at the latter place from this side, till the railway between Cairo and Suez, for which a survey is now making by order of the Viceroy, can be completed.

In the mean time every protection and assistance will be afforded by the Egyptian Government towards keeping up the intercourse through this country.

I have, &c.

R. THURBURN.

Cairo, 12th March, 1834.

## REPORT

OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE TO THE GENERAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE NEW BENGAL STEAM FUND.

The Committee appointed to report upon the *Forbes* have not had time to draw up in detail a statement of the circumstances which led to the accident that caused her return. They have made a personal examination, accompanied by Mr. Holroyd, but they have also requested practical engineers, and professional boiler-makers further to examine and give their opinion upon the state of the boilers generally,—when such detailed statement will be prepared and submitted.

In the mean time, it may be satisfactory to the General Committee to know, that there does not appear to have been any defect whatever in the boilers when the *Forbes* left this port; nor does it seem that the accident was one against which all the usual and ordinary means of precaution were not taken, which might not equally have occurred to a new boiler.

but its occurrence suggests other measures of precaution which will effectually provide against future failure from the same cause.

The Committee find that, from the stoppage by the formation of salt in the blowing-off pipe attached to the lar-board alter-boiler, and in other pipes connected with that boiler, and communicating through the remaining boilers with three other blow-off pipes a deposit of salt, estimated at 2 or 3 tons, had accumulated in the boiler between the flues. This occupying the place of water between the flues would be a sufficient cause to account for the rending of the boiler, which appears to have taken place with great force in 5 distinct angles of the flues. If the water had been low in the boilers that also might have occasioned the injury, but the Committee have no reason at present to believe that such was the case. They will be able to speak more positively on this point when the boiler feed pipes are taken off which there has not yet been time to do.

There are 6 boilers of which 5 do not appear to have received any injury. The necessary repairs the Committee have every reason to believe will not exceed 5,000 rupees, and they can be completed in 2 months from their commencement. Messrs. Jessop and Co. are willing to undertake the work on these terms, as also such other additional work as the Committee may recommend to prevent the possibility of the recurrence of similar accidents. The cost of which last the Committee apprehend must fall upon the Fund.

J. KYD.

C. B. GREENLAW.

JAS. PRINSEP.

J. W. FORBES.

T. E. M. TURTON.

Calcutta, 9th May, 1834.

## MEETING OF THE CREDITORS OF THE LATE FIRM OF COLVIN AND COMPANY.

A meeting of the creditors of the late firm of Colvin and Company was held on the 2d May in Hastings' Street, pursuant to advertisement, for the purpose of considering and recommending to the Insolvent Court the measures that may appear to the meeting best calculated for the future management and winding up of the affairs of the estate.

On the motion of Mr. McFarlan, Mr. W. W. Bird took the Chair. The Chairman stated the purpose of the meeting,

gave an outline of accounts, and explained how the services of Mr. Macnaghten, who had given great satisfaction, may be secured.

It was proposed by Dr. Tytler, seconded by Mr. Saunders, and carried unanimously :—That from the 1st instant the remuneration to the Assignee shall be made in the way of commission at the rate of 5 per cent upon the dividends, instead of the former mode of remuneration by salary, which commission is to be in full of all charges, with the exception of law charges, printing and postage.

It was also proposed that Mr. Ainslie shall be allowed 600 Rs. per month, to be included in the 5 per cent. to the Assignee.

Signatures of the creditors were then affixed to the above resolutions and the meeting broke up.

### TONTINE OF INDIA.

A general meeting of subscribers to the Tontine of India was held at the office of the assignee of the late firm of Cruttenden Mackillop and Co., late Secretaries and Treasurers, on Saturday the 17th May.

JOHN PALMER, ESQ. *in the Chair.*

Mr. Leighton submitted the following statement of the remaining funds of the institution, premising that he had placed an extremely low valuation on the landed property :

Cash balance in the hands of Messrs. Cruttenden, Mackillop and Co. on the 10th January 1834.....	Sa. Rs.	2,84,919	13	4
Shadwell and Goss's three houses in Entally.....		20,000	0	0
Premises in Park Street.....		10,000	0	0
Sheriff's Mortgage.....		30,000	0	0
Cash received since the failure, .....		7,183	5	7
Deduct petty disbursements, .....		26	8	0
		<hr/>		
		7,156	13	7
Final dividend on two shares in the Seventh Laudable Society on the life of the late Jas. Stewart,.....		4,000	0	0
Final dividend on one share in the 13th Supplementary Society on the same life, ..		2,000	0	0
Shares in force 307½ths... Total Sa. Rs.		3,58,076	10	11



After a good deal of discussion the following resolutions were adopted by the meeting, viz. :—

Proposed by Mr. Macintyre and seconded by Mr. Abbott—  
“That the following gentlemen be elected Directors :

Mr. W. Bruce, Mr. D. Ross, and Captain J. Steel.”

Proposed by Mr. Bruce and seconded by Captain Steel—  
“That Mr. Leighton be elected Secretary on the allowance prescribed by the 13th article of the fundamental rules of the institution.”

Proposed by Mr. Macintyre and seconded by Mr. Ross—  
“That the proprietors of the Union Bank be requested to act as Treasurers of the institution.”

Proposed by Mr. Bruce and seconded by Mr. Ross—  
“That in order to bring the affairs of the institution to as speedy a close as possible, it be recommended to the subscribers at large to authorize the sale of the claim on the late firm of Cruttenden, Mackillop and Co., and that the Secretary proceed to a sale of the landed property with the least practicable delay.”

The meeting then separated after a vote of thanks to the Chairman.—*Englishman.*

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## CALCUTTA AUXILIARY BIBLE SOCIETY.

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On Friday the 2d May was held, at the Town Hall, the twenty-third anniversary of this Society—the Lord Bishop in the chair. His Lordship commenced the proceedings with a suitable address, of which we regret we can give no account, as we were not in time at the meeting.

The report of the committee was read by the Rev. Mr. Dealtry, one of the secretaries. It detailed the progress of translations of the scriptures undertaken under the patronage of the society, the printing and circulation of the scriptures in different languages, intelligence from branch societies, and the state of the funds. It was stated that a greater number of copies of the scripture had been put in circulation, and more pecuniary support had been received during the last year than at any former period of the society's existence, notwithstanding the recent commercial distresses which, it was expected, would paralyse, at least for a time, the efforts of liberality in this presidency. Encouraged by this patronage the committee had extended their plans, and entered into engagements to the amount of 16,000 Rs. which they hoped the public liberality would enable them to meet.

After the reading of the report, it was moved by the Rev. Mr. Fisher, and seconded by the Rev. Mr. Mack, of Serampore.—

“That the report now read be printed and circulated amongst the members and subscribers of the Society, and that they be required to redouble their exertions to extend its influence, and to offer their fervent prayers that the divine blessing may give efficiency to the endeavours to promote its objects.”

Mr. Fisher said he was sure the resolution he proposed would meet the wishes of all who were present. The spread of the scriptures was working extraordinary effects throughout the land, and the success met with should serve to encourage those who were labouring to do good to hold on in their course, notwithstanding any discouragements that might present themselves.

The Rev. Mr. Mack said that if the acceptance of the report depended on its merits, the report was worthy of being received, as it showed that double work had been done under pressure of difficulties. He mentioned several things that were occurring in different parts of India, which tended to confirm the view taken in the report, of the dissemination of Christian knowledge. Some thing, Mr. Mack continued, that when persons of different denominations meet for the promotion of the objects of such a society, it is at the expense of religion, not so much through piety as to show the excess of their liberality. This was a mistake—the great object of the Bible Society was to circulate the scriptures without note or comment, throughout the world, and surely there was enough in this to warm every heart. Had there not been a generous principle like this, it could not have maintained itself. It is true this object the society had in common with others, but there was a peculiarity in the means. By circulating the scriptures, we show our deference to the authority of God, and to his way of carrying on his purposes; and we show our sense of the intrinsic force and worth of the Bible, which sense is derived from one's own experience of the sufficiency to the Bible to change the heart. These things testify that the society is entirely founded on religion. It is further a law of the society that the work is to be carried on by the co-operation of all, by which we recognize the sufficiency of Christianity for all purposes, and overlook all human distinctions. Mr. M. concluded with observing that the public liberality had been greater than on previous years, but it was still necessary that we should make the cause of the society our own; that it was

not sufficient to distribute the Scriptures, unless followed by the prayers and example of Christians.

The Rev. Mr. Bateman proposed, and Dr. Corbyn supported the following resolution :—

“ That this meeting, thankful to see the improvement which is going on amongst all classes of the community, considers it a sacred duty to increase its exertions, in order to provide Christian Missionaries and other friends to the cause of Christianity with the word of God in the different languages and dialects under this presidency to enable them to meet the growing demands of enquirers, and to put into their hands that book which contains truth without mixture of error, and which alone maketh wise unto salvation.”

Mr. Bateman observed that the word of God was not only a blessing in itself but a companion to every other good works. What were missionary and tract societies without the Bible to refer to as a standard? The Bible is the governor and regulator of the machinery; it puts in more steam when it is wanted, and keeps back when giving out too much. In all things it was difficult to keep out error and prejudice, but here was truth without mixture of error. Mr. Bateman related what had fallen under his own observation to show the effects of simple study of the Scriptures. A Brahmin at Burdwan had been suspected of being a Christian, and brought to Mr. Bateman to find out what he was: and it was soon discovered that he was a sincere believer. He had been taught English by Ram-mohun Roy, but nothing else. He got a Bengalee and an English Bible, and studied himself. When asked what he thought of Jesus, he quoted the text “ I and my Father are one.”

Dr. Corbyn said all persons were occupied; some in charitable, some in education societies, and some in promoting steam navigation. This society unites those several objects in one. To circulate the Scriptures is higher charity than merely relieving temporal wants. Steam navigation is intended to facilitate communication between enlightened and heathen countries; so he who carries a Bible to an ignorant man brings heaven nearer to him.

Dr. Marshman moved the following resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Hoberlin :—

“ That this meeting regards with great satisfaction the spread of English education conducted on sound Christian principles amongst the natives of this country, as lending amongst other advantages to give them greater facilities for the intelligent perusal of the English version of the Bible.”



Dr. Marshman urged the necessity not only of giving pecuniary aid, but of making personal exertions to put the Bible in the hands of the heathens around us. He related an incident that had occurred about thirty years ago, to show the effects produced by the reading of the Scriptures. Mr. Ward took a copy of the Bengalee New Testament, to the village of Kamkistupore on the other side of Calcutta, and placed it in a *moodee's* shop, requesting the man to allow all, who were desirous, to read it. The next year seven persons came from that village, and one of them was a man, fifty years of age, by name Juggunnath, and a worshipper of Juggunnath. This man was a most zealous devotee of Juggunnath, but after hearing the New Testament read by others, (for he could not read himself) his mind was so changed that he renounced idolatry and took up his abode near Serampore. His former god Juggunnath was stuck up in a garden; and when on one occasion fuel was wanted, his wife proposed to cleave Juggunnath for the purpose, which was immediately done. Several other conversions took place through that one book placed in a corner.

The following motion was proposed by the Rev. Mr. Boswell and seconded by the Rev. Mr. Hill, late of Berhampore :—

“ That this meeting offers its best thanks for the important services rendered by the officers and Committee of this Society; and also by the associations and individuals that have been actively engaged to promote its objects, and requests them to continue their valuable labours.

The following gentlemen to form the officers and committee of the ensuing year with power to add to their number :—

*Patron.*—The Right Reverend Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

*President*—W. W. Bird, Esq.

*Vice President.*—Venerable Archdeacon Corrie.

*Committee.*

G. Dougal, Esq.

J. Dougal, Esq.

D. McFarlan, Esq.

R. D. Mungles, Esq.

G. Money, Esq.

C. E. Trevelyan, Esq.

Col. Galloway.

Major Hutchinson.

Col. McGregor.

Capt. Birch.

With all clergymen who are members of the Committee.

*Secretaries.*

Rev. Dr. Marshman.

Rev. T. Dealtry.

Mr. Boswell made some remarks on the objection that many copies of the Scriptures were lost, as was the case with a package of Martyn's Persian Testament, which was perhaps lying unopened to this day. It could not be expected, that

every copy sent out would answer its purposes. How much rain falls on roads and other inarable places; yet no one will deny that the rain does good to the earth.

Mr. Hill bore testimony to the statements of Mr. Fisher, and related various anecdotes in point.

It was then moved by R. D. Mangles, Esq. and seconded by the Rev. Mr. Lacroix:—

“That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the President for his attention to the interests of the Society through the past year.”

The Lord Bishop in rising to return thanks, made some remarks on giving the Bible with the note and comment of personal example, and on the necessity of the influences of the Holy Spirit to set the whole machinery in motion.—*Englishman.*

## MEDICAL AND PHYSICAL SOCIETY OF CALCUTTA.

*Proceedings of a Meeting held on the 3rd May, 1834.*

MEMBERS ELECTED.—E. W. Clarributt, J. Russell, and C. Griffiths, Esqrs.

ORDINARY MEMBERS PROPOSED.—T. H. Peart, Esq. Assistant Surgeon Bombay Medical Service, by Drs. Morehead and Ducat; Dr. Wilkie, Assistant Surgeon Bengal Service, by Messrs. French and Tytler; Dr. McGowan, by Messrs. Twining and Bramley; David Richardson, Esq. Assistant Surgeon Madras Medical Service, by Messrs. Harding and Egerton.

Letters were read from Dr. A. R. Jackson, and W. W. Raleigh, Esq. requesting their names to be withdrawn from the list of Members of the Society.

The proposal by Messrs. Bramley and Twining, at the last Meeting relative to the appropriation of the Society's claim on the estate of the late firm of Mackintosh and Co. to the purchase of tickets in the Lottery proposed by the assignees of the estate, was brought forward for decision, and carried.

An extract of a letter, addressed to the Secretary of the Society, from the Editors of the *India Journal of Medical Science*, containing suggestions with a view of establishing a union between that Journal and the Society, was read.

With reference to the above, it was proposed by Mr. Corbyn, seconded by Mr. Ledlie,—

“That the Secretary of the Medical Society be authorized to communicate with the Editors of the *India Journal of Medical Science*, for the purpose of ascertaining how far the suggestions contained in their letter, are feasible.”

The following amendment was proposed by Mr. Hutchinson, and seconded by Dr. Spens, and carried :

“That the publications of the Society be carried on as heretofore, as the Society may think proper, without reference to the *India Journal of Medical Science*, or any other publication.”

The following resolution was then proposed by Dr. Graham, seconded by Mr. Egerton, and carried :

“That in consequence of the resignation of Mr. R. Browne, after the failure of the firm of Messrs. Cruttenden, Mackillop and Co., the Society do tender him their sincere regret on his retirement, and request he will, under these circumstances, accept the offer of their publications ; and, at the same time, the assurance of their highest regards.

COMMUNICATIONS PRESENTED.—1. Case of extensive injury of the knee-joint, by C. Morehead, M. D.

2. Fatal case from an arrow wound, by A. Storm, Esq. presented by the Medical Board.

3. Specimen of a turbid dark-brown fluid discharged from the ear of a patient who had been long affected with head-aches, presented by W. Twining, Esq.

4. Fatal case of Snake-bite, by C. Morehead, M. D.

5. On the efficacy of the seeds of the Isobgool in some cases of diarrhoea and dysentery, by W. Twining, Esq.

6. Two water-colour paintings, the size of life, of the disease of Hoo-Loo, the Chinese who was operated on in London, sent by Dr. Colledge of Canton.

7. Ram Esher Alee's translation from the *Makhsun-ool-Odeuyeh*, on the properties of the *Uspe-gool*.

8. A further description of some rare Asiatic plants, with water-colour paintings, forming an addendum to the paper presented at the last Meeting, by N. Wallich, M. D.

9. Cases of supposed Hydrophobia, successfully treated by a Native, drawn up by G. Trail, Esq. C. S. and presented by W. Bell, Esq.

10. A printed pamphlet, containing further cases and observations relative to Rheumatism, by J. K. Mitchell, M. D. Physician to the Pennsylvania Hospital.



The following papers were then read and discussed by the Meeting:

On the Pathology of Dysentery, by J. Murray, M. D.

Numerous cases, of Hydrocele, cured by an injection of solution of iodine, with remarks, by J. R. Martin, Esq.

Conclusions derived from investigations into the nature and cause of Goitre in Kumaon, with a view to its prevention and cure, by John McClelland, Esq.

M. J. BRAMLEY, Sec. Med. and Phys. Society.  
Calcutta, May, 1834.

## DISPATCHES FROM THE ARMY EMPLOYED IN THE COORG CAMPAIGN.

FORT ST. GEORGE, APRIL 18, 1834.

The Governor in Council is pleased to publish the following dispatches from the Adjutant General of the Army:

No. 30.

*To the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George.*

Sir,—1. In continuation of my letters of the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 12th instant, the Commander in Chief has directed me to request you will submit to the Right Honorable the Governor in Council the accompanying copies of further dispatches, as per margin, from Brigadier Lindesay, C. B. commanding the Coorg Field Force. No report has yet been received of the operations of Lieutenant Colonel G. M. Steuart's column, but private accounts describe its exertions and successes as highly satisfactory and creditable to its commanders.

9th April	
9th April	
9th April	
10th April	
10th April	
10th April	
11th April	
11th April	
11th April	

2. Referring to my letter of the 7th instant, I have the honor, by his Excellency's order, to express his entire satisfaction and approbation of the gallantry, perseverance and zeal of the troops composing the columns under the personal command of Brigadier Lindesay, C. B. and of Colonel Foulis. The judgment displayed by those officers in conducting their respective services, and surmounting the formidable obstacles to which their exertions were opposed, reflects great credit on them and the officers and soldiers under their respective commands.

3. The Commander in Chief has not yet the means of forming his judgment of the causes which led to the disastrous disappointments of the Northern and Western auxiliary columns, but his Excellency trusts he will soon be enabled satisfactorily to explain the reasons of failure, and to place the services of their leaders in the same conspicuous degree of claim to the approbation of Government as the other distinguished leaders.

4. The Commander in Chief requests the orders of Government for the disposal of the ordnance, ammunition, and small arms captured from the enemy.

5. The Commander in Chief fully concurs in the sentiments Brigadier Lindesay, C. B., has expressed of the valuable services and meritorious exertions of his staff, departments, and officers commanding corps, and also with Colonel Foulis's commendations of the officers and troops of his column. The general gallantry, perseverance and spirited exertions of all the officers and troops employed upon this service is a pleasing subject of congratulation, and the Commander in Chief feels assured will be duly appreciated and noticed by the Governor General and the Right Honorable the Governor in Council.

6. In conclusion the Commander in Chief deems it to be his particular duty to bring to the notice of Government the judgment, decision and energy with which Brigadier Lindesay, C. B., has conducted this important service to so early and satisfactory a close! and, considering the period of the year, the difficulties of the country, and the advantages the enemy possessed in its defence, the experience and talents of the Brigadier have been judiciously and usefully directed to the advantage of the public service.

7. A general return of killed, wounded, and missing from the commencement of hostilities to the present time, except that from Lieutenant Colonel Stuart's column, is annexed

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

T. H. S. CONWAY, Adj. Genl. of the Army.  
Head-Quarters, Adj. Genl.'s Office,  
Camp Bangalore, 15th April, 1834.

General return of killed, wounded and missing of the several columns of the Coorg Field Force between the 2d and 7th of April, 1834.

*• Eastern Column.*

H. M. 39th Foot.—Wounded: 1 private.

4th Regiment Native Infantry.—Wounded: 1 drummer, fifer or bugler, 1 private.

Sappers and Miners.—Wounded: 1 private, native.

*Northern Column.*

Artillery.—Wounded: Europeans, 2 privates.

H. M. 55th Foot.—Killed: 1 lieutenant colonel, 3 serjeants, 1 corporal, 1 drummer, and 23 privates—Wounded: 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 4 serjeants, 3 corporals, 1 drummer and 60 privates.

Sappers and Miners.—Killed: European, 1 private: Natives, 1 havildar and 4 privates.—Wounded: natives, 11 privates.

Rifle Company.—Killed: 1 private—Wounded: 1 private.

9th Regt. N. I.—Killed: 1 ensign—Wounded: 1 store serjeant, 1 naigue, 1 drummer, fifer or bugler, and 4 privates—Missing: 1 private.

31st Light Infantry.—Killed: 1 ensign; 1 jemadar, 1 naigue, and 8 privates—Wounded: 1 captain, 1 lieutenant; 1 subadar, 1 havildar, 1 naigue and 20 privates.

Officers.—Killed: lieut. colonel Mill, H. M. 55th foot; ensign Robertson, 9th regt. N. I.; ensign Babington, 31st regt. L. I.—Wounded: captain Warren, H. M. 55th foot, slightly; lieutenants Robertson and Brooke, H. M. 55th foot, slightly; lieut. and adjt. Heriot, H. M. 55th foot, severely; captain Hutchinson, 31st regt. L. I. slightly; lieut. Martin, 31st regt. L. I. severely.

N. B.—One man of H. M. 55th foot reported killed, since rejoined, badly wounded.

*Western Column.*

Staff.—Wounded: 1 captain.

H. M. 48th Foot.—Killed: Europeans, 1 lieutenant and 4 privates: native, 1 dresser—Wounded: 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 1 corporal and 14 privates.

Artillery.—Wounded: Europeans, 1 serjeant, 1 corporal and 1 private.

20th Regt. N. I.—Killed: 2 privates—Wounded: 2 privates.

32d Regt. N. I.—Killed: 3 privates—Wounded: 8 privates.



Sappers and Miners.—Killed : 1 private, native—Wounded : 5 privates, natives.

Officers.—Killed : lieut. Frskine, H. M. 48th foot—Wounded : captain Butterworth, asst. \*qr. mr. genl. ; lieut. Gibbs, H. M. 48th foot.

*Western Auxiliary Column.*

Detachment H. M. 48th Foot—Killed : 1 serjeant and 8 privates—Wounded : 1 lieut. and 6 privates.

40th Regt. N. I.—Killed : 1 ensign ; 2 havildars, 1 drummer, fifer or bugler, and 17 privates—Wounded : 1 havildar and 28 privates.

Officers—Killed : ensign Johnstone, 51st regt. N. I. doing duty 40th regt. N. I.—Wounded : lieut. Smith, H. M. 48th foot.

*In Wynaad.*

51st Regt. N. I.—Killed : 3 privates—Wounded : 3 privates—Missing : 1 havildar and 7 privates.

Total—killed and wounded : Europeans, 1 lieutenant colonel, 3 captains, 6 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 1 adjutant, 1 store serjeant, 10 serjeants, 6 corporals, 2 drummers and 120 privates.—Natives, 1 subadar, 1 jamadar, 6 havildars, 3 naigues, 3 drummers, fifers or buglers, 131 privates and 1 dresser.

*Abstract.*

Killed : Europeans, 5 commissioned officers and 44 non-commissioned rank and file ; Natives, 1 commissioned officer, and 45 non-commissioned rank and file and dressers—Total Europeans and natives : 6 commissioned, and 89 non-commissioned rank and file and dressers.

Wounded : Europeans, 9 commissioned officers and 95 non-commissioned rank and file ; Natives, 1 commissioned officer and 90 non-commissioned rank and file and dressers—Total Europeans and Natives : 10 commissioned, and 185 non-commissioned rank and file and dressers.

Missing : Natives, 9 non-commissioned rank and file and dressers.—Total do. 9 do.

Grand Total.—Killed and Wounded : Europeans, 14 commissioned officers, 139 non-comd. rank and file Natives, 2 comd. officers, 145 non-commissioned rank and file and dressers.—Total Europeans and Natives, 16 commissioned officers, 283 non-commissioned rank and file and dressers.

N. B.—Native followers with H. M. 48th Regt., 4 killed and missing ; 2 wounded.

Since the above 12 bearers of dooly department attached to H. M. 48th regt. are reported missing.

T. H. S. CONWAY, Adjt. Genl. of the Army,  
Head Quarters, Adjt. Genl.'s Office,  
Camp Bangalore, 15th April, 1834.

*To the Adjutant General of the Army, Fort St. George.*

Sir,—I have the honour to enclose an extract from Field Division Orders published the day before the column under my immediate command entered the Coorg country, which I request you will lay before his Excellency the Commander in Chief.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) P LINDESAY, Col. Comd. Coorg Field Force.  
Head-Quarters, camp near Mudkeriy, 9th April, 1834.

*Extract from Field Division Order by Brigadier Lindsay,  
C. B. commanding Coorg Field Force.*

Camp Bettadpore, 1st April, 1834.

The Brigadier announces to the troops under his command that the force will probably encounter the enemy to-morrow. It is his desire to impress upon all ranks that this is not a war of extermination, but against that part only of the Coorg nation which may be actually in arms in support of the Rajah, whom for his cruelties it is the determination of the British Government to depose, and that the people are to be considered as enemies only so long as they offer opposition. Colonel Lindsay expresses his anxious hope that the war may be conspicuous for a spirit of humanity becoming the character of the British nation.

It is hereby proclaimed and is to be explained to natives of all ranks, including followers, that it is the Brigadier's firm determination to suppress at once by the severest punishment the slightest attempt to plunder or oppress the inhabitants. All supplies are to be immediately paid for upon the spot, or to be allowed to be taken away without any offer of violence on the part of the troops or followers of the force. Those of the inhabitants who may come in and manifest a disposition to submit to the British authority are to be kindly received and such immediate and effectual protection afforded them as may tend to encourage and extend that inclination on the part of the inhabitants of the country.

*A true extract.*

(Signed) SAM. HICKS, Asst. Adjt. Gen. Coorg Field Force.

*Bivouac 1½ Mile in advance of the Huggul Ghaut, 8 P. M.  
4th April, 1834.*

The Assistant Adjutant General, Coorg Field Force.

Sir,—I have the honor to inform you that I arrived within two miles of the Stoney river on the forenoon of the 2d instant. At 2 I ordered out a party to feel for the enemy, they were found two hundred yards within the Company's territories—were drawn across the river—their position known and their strength well approximated. On this occasion I regret the death of Lieutenant Erskine, H. M.'s 48th Regiment, a promising officer, and the only casualty on this affair.

2. In this morning at six I marched, gave the stockade three rounds of canister and grape, and then stormed and carried it with trifling loss.

3. From this time until ½ past 3 P. M., we had to fight our way every inch. Stormed two regular stockades and two breastworks, besides felled trees without numbers. The last stockade was so strong, that if we had not attacked on reverse as well as front, our loss would have been serious. Our light companies were out in the jungle on the right and kept down the fire of the Coorg skirmishers.

4. At 4 P. M. as the men were much exhausted I took up my position for the night at Stoney Nulla, 3½ miles from the bottom of the ghaut; pushed on a strong advanced post with a gun and mortar and established our flank companies on the hills to the right, which commanded our position and bivouacked for the night. Our advanced post was attacked by skirmishers, but an occasional alert and gun kept them in good order.

5. At six I marched in advance and within a quarter of a mile of our camp met a flag of truce with a letter to my address from the Rajah, the original of which I have the honor to enclose. The Deputy Assistant Adjutant General wrote by my orders an answer to this effect. That if the Rajah's troops did not fire we should not, but as my orders were to go up the ghaut, go I would—they brought a portion of their troops in front of us—allowed the flag of truce to remain and then we marched, until my advanced flank companies passed through the last Ookuda at Huggul at 2 P. M. on this ground, where I told them I should remain until to-morrow morning, they brought out grain for the troops which was acceptable, as the far greater part of our supplies were in the rear. As the impediments of stockades, breastworks, and felled trees are at



every hundred yards, our guns cannot be up until to-morrow, when I march to Verah Chenderpett.

6. Our casualties are about fifty, but half my sepoy's are in the rear, I have not been able as yet to get returns. No officer was killed on Thursday.

It will afford me the highest gratification to bring particularly to the notice of the officer commanding the Force and his Excellency the Commander in Chief, the noble manner in which I was supported by my staff, officers and soldiers employed in this column. At this moment the fatigue and suffering of every person in my force is such, that I hope the officer commanding will pardon the want of details.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Sd.) D. FOULIS, Col., Comg. Western Column,  
Coorg Field Force.

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To the Assistant Adjutant General, Coorg Field Force.

Sir,—With reference to the last paragraph of my despatch from my bivouac in advance of Huggul ghaut 4th April, I have now to perform the just and pleasing duty of bringing to the notice of the Brigadier General commanding the Force, the noble manner in which I was supported.

To my personal staff I am greatly indebted for the success we have met with, especially to Captain Butterworth, who led the attacks on the stockades and the first that entered them, receiving three slight ball wounds, also for the reconnaissance which he made on the 2d by which the situation and strength of the enemy on the lower stockade was ascertained and which led to our speedy success next day. Capt. Butterworth's choice of ground and his plans of encampment have met with my entire satisfaction and his knowledge of military dispositions I shall be happy to have brought to the notice of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

To Captain James Macdonald, Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, who was most forward on all occasions, and to whose energy and exertions I am equally indebted with Captain Butterworth—as well as on the evening of the 2d as on the attacks on the 3d. Captain Macdonald led the light company of the 48th and grenadiers 32d Regiment to take the last stockade in reverse, the ascent was steep and the enemy defended every tree. Captain Macdonald received the Rajah's vakeels, translated the letters and contrived, without allowing

the Rajah's title, to keep them in good humour and give us supplies.

To officers commanding corps he is greatly indebted for the steady manner in which they led their men, especially to Captain Cortlandt Taylor, commanding the Artillery, who in the most gallant manner brought his guns to bear within 70 yards of the first stockade and ensured the capture which followed. The unwearied exertions of this officer (though suffering from a sprained ankle) in always having his guns up a steep ghaut and prepared for action.

There are many I would wish to notice, but where *all have* done their duty, it would perhaps be invidious to particularize, yet I cannot forbear to notice that the brunt of the fighting fell on the flank companies, especially on those of His Majesty's 48th Regiment.

I should also be wanting in the feelings of a commander and a soldier did I fail to bring to the notice of the Brigadier General (in the hopes that he will bring the same to His Excellency the Commander in Chief) volunteer Thomas Bell, the son of Lieutenant Colonel Bell of his Majesty's 48th Regiment. This young man was conspicuous in every attack and skirmish of the enemy.

Subadar Mooneah and Wapukdar Paup Naik, the ex-Rajah's vakeels, allowed their loss on the Huggul ghaut to have been about 250 men including 4 chiefs. Our casualties, about 50, shall be reported in a separate letter this evening.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) D. FOULIS, Colonel, Comg. Western Column, Coorg Field Force.

Camp Mootoodanoor, 7th April, 1834.

List of casualties in the attack, &c. of the Huggul ghaut.

Staff—Wounded: 1 captain.

H. M. 48th Regt.—Killed: 1 lieut., 4 privates and 1 dresser.—Wounded: 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 1 corporal and 14 privates.

Artillery—Wounded: 1 serjeant, 1 corporal and 1 private.

20th Regt. N. I.—Killed: 2 privates—Wounded: 2 privates.

32d Regt. N. I.—Killed: 3 privates—Wounded: 8 privates.

Suppers and Miners—Killed: 1 private—Wounded: 5 privates.

Grand Total—Killed and wounded 48—1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 2 corporals, 40 privates, and 1 dresser.

N. B.—Names of officers killed and wounded—lieut. Erskine, H. M. 48th regt. killed—captain Butterworth, and Lieut. Gibbs, H. M. 48th regt. slightly wounded.

(Signed) JAS MACDONALD, D. A. A. Genl. W. C. C. F. F.  
Camp Mootramoody, 7th April, 1834.

To the Assistant Adjutant General, Coorg Field Force.

Sir,—I do myself the honor to acquaint you for the information of Brigadier Lindesay, C. B. commanding the Coorg Field Force, that the column under my command pursuing its march yesterday came upon a strongly fortified position (Buck) of the enemy situated on the brow of a steep ascent, the passage to which, a narrow defile (through a dense jungle) was obstructed by felled trees.

\* 80 Europeans  
160 Native Infantry.  
80 Sappers & Miners.

The defile being impassable to Artillery until the position should be carried, the \*advance was strengthened and divided into two parties, with instructions to make a sufficient detour on each flank to take the position in reverse; from the density of the jungle and not having view of the work, the two parties closed to the centre much sooner than was desirable and met at the same moment, immediately opposite to the front of the position from which a most destructive fire was opened upon them, that did not however deter them rushing to the assault, which proving wholly unsuccessful they took advantage of the best cover that circumstances would admit, and the commanding officer, Major Bird, sent for a reinforcement and further instructions; I directed an addition of 40 Europeans and 100 Native Infantry, with the remainder of the Sappers and Miners to be immediately forwarded for this purpose. Lieutenant Colonel Mill was directed to *detach* the Europeans, instead of which he headed them himself and was followed by the whole detachment, who passed unperceived into the wood and made the best of their way to the position. Major Bird was directed to use his utmost endeavour to carry the position, but should it be found impracticable to withdraw. His report is herewith enclosed.

The circumstance of the whole of the Europeans having thus irregularly been taken to the assault, which I have not failed to notice in such manner as to present the recurrence of any future deviation from orders, while it establishes beyond a



doubt the impregnability of the enemy's position, since no thing could exceed the determined gallantry of the endeavour deprived me of the means of pursuing any further measures at the time, had there been a prospect of success from my doing so.

During the attack the line, although placed under the best cover that circumstances would admit, at the opening to the defile was exposed to a galling fire from the jungle, which the skirmishers or artillery could not keep under, occasioning considerable loss.

When the advance retired from the assault after an endeavour that lasted four and a half hours, the enemy gave a shout of victory; an increasing fire was kept up from the woods; I made such disposition of the column as enabled it to retire to the ground it quitted in the morning, distant two and a half miles, without any loss of stores or baggage.

I regret to say the loss has been most severe, a return of which shall be transmitted as soon as it can be correctly ascertained—lieutenant-colonel Mill, his Majesty's 55th regt., ensign Robertson of the 9th regt. N. I., ensign Babiington, 31st regiment T. L. I. killed, and 6 officers wounded, the adjutant of the 55th regiment severely.

The severely wounded could not possibly be removed from the position; an attempt to bring off the body of lieutenant-colonel Mill entirely failed, two of the carriers being killed.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) G. WAUGH, Col., Comg. Northern Column,  
Coorg Field Force.

Camp at Cubbutah, 4th April, 1834.

To the Assistant Adjutant——of the Northern Column.

Sir,—I have the honor to report to you for the information of the officer commanding the force, that in obedience to orders I proceeded as field officer of the day, with the advance picquet, and having suddenly fallen on a strong stockade and breast work (the outer work was a very strong bamboo defence staked with large trees and flanked, commanding the approach in every direction, the inner was strong and substantial, built of stone and mud and surrounded with a deep ditch, and having innumerable loop holes and the access to it apparently impracticable for guns) every exertion was made to carry it by assault, and which though repeated, I regret to say, failed.—

After having been exposed to a most severe and raking fire for four hours and a half, which we endeavoured to check, and finding it altogether impracticable, I had a consultation with the senior officers of the picquet, and decided on retiring, which was effected with the greatest difficulty. Whatever means were required for reinforcing the picquet I feel fully satisfied were afforded. The nature of the country in which we were engaged, and the position of the work so strong, that doing more was impracticable, nothing could have exceeded the steadiness and bravery of both officers and men, and I regret to say the loss of both has been very heavy.—For want of food and the excessive fatigues of the march latterly, my men were so much jaded that they could scarcely pull their triggers, although evincing every inclination to do so, and worked to the last.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) C. M. BIRD, Major, 31st Regt. L. I.

Field Officer of the day coming off duty.

Camp, 4th April, 1834.

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Return of the killed, wounded and missing of the 2d or Northern column of the Coorg Field Force, Camp at Hamgoad, 5th April, 1834.

Artillery—Wounded : Europeans, 2 privates.

H. M. 55th Regt.—Killed : 1 lieut. colonel, 3 serjeants, 1 corporal, 1 drummer, and 23 privates.—Wounded : 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 4 serjeants, 3 corporals, 1 drummer and 60 privates.

Sappers and Miners—Killed : European, 1 private ; Natives, 1 havildar and 4 privates.—Wounded : natives, 11 privates.

Rifle Company—Killed : 1 private—Wounded : 1 private.

9th Regt. N. 1.—Killed : 1 ensign—Wounded : 1 store serjeant, 1 naigue, 1 drummer, fifer or bugler, and 4 privates—missing : 1 private.

31st Light Infantry—Killed : 1 ensign : 1 jemadar, 1 naigue and 8 privates—Wounded : 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 subadar, 1 havildar, 1 naigue and 20 privates.

Total killed : Europeans, 1 lieut. colonel, 2 captains, 3 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 1 adjutant, 1 store serjeant, 7 serjeants, 4 corporals, 2 drummers, and 86 privates—natives : 1

subadar 1, jemadun, 2, havildars, 3, musketeers, 3, drummers, 1, fife or bugler, and 50 privates.

Officers killed: lieutenant-colonel Mill, H. M. 55th regt, ensign Robertson, 9th regt. N. I., ensign Babington, 31st regt. T. L. I. — Wounded: captain Warren, lieuts. Robertson and Brooke, H. M. 55th regiment, slightly; lieutenant and adjutant Heriot, H. M. 55th regiment, severely; capt Hutchinson, 31st regt. T. L. I., slightly; lieutenant Martin, 31st regt. T. L. I., severely.

N. B. — One man of H. M. 55th regt. reported killed, since rejoined badly wounded.

(Signed) G. WAUGH, Col. Comd. 2d or North. Col.

(Signed) P. LINDESAY, Col. Comd. Coorg Field Force.

To the Adjutant General of the Coorg Field Force.

Sir, — I have to report to you for the information of Brigadier Lindesay, C. B. commanding the Coorg Field Force, that in consequence of information received yesterday evening, I detailed this morning two serjeants and 40 rank and file of H. M. 48th Regiment, together with a company and a half of sepoys, the whole under the command of Captain Noble, attended by the Brigade Major. They moved forward to Bullary Pett at day break this morning, for the purpose of reconnoitring the position of a stockade about 5 miles in advance of this; in the midst of a dense jungle, about 2 miles distant, on the march we fell in with an abandoned post of the Rajah's people, but on arriving within less than half a mile of the stockade several of the Rajah's people were seen lurking, but they retreated amongst the bushes and made no attempt to oppose us; shortly afterwards the stockade appeared in view from a sudden turn in the road, but apparently none of the Rajah's people were behind it — Captain Noble and the Brigade Major pushed forward with the advanced guard, and approached within 50 yards of the gateway; the road was apparently clear, but bounded on the left by hills covered with an impenetrable jungle separated from us by a deep jungle gully. The ground to the right commanded us and crowned by stockading from the gateway, and which was flanked the road for about 80 yards, when it followed the bend of the hill and retired from our left flank. We were in the act of retreating when it was considered necessary to examine a small pathway on the right flank, but a shot from that quarter appeared to be the signal for a general running action.



which extended even to the rear of our flanks and it was here the detachment suffered the heaviest loss from the Rajah's people occupying the thick and impenetrable jungle which surrounded us on every side. Immediately on the fire commencing the guides deserted us, and as the road is of the very worst kind and some parts merely a foot-path with several of a similar nature diverging from it, the detachment very soon became entangled amongst them; it was some time before they found the main road, on regaining which, although closely pressed by the enemy from the hill tops and jungle, our loss became less severe, notwithstanding the extreme fatigue undergone; when within about 1½ mile of camp we fell in with two strong parties sent out to support us, when, as the men were fatigued, they were immediately marched in under cover of the supports, by whom the enemy were effectually checked. I regret to say that our loss in killed and wounded has been severe, owing to the nature of the country and the excessively bad road; every valley as well as hill by which we passed on our advance and return commanded us on the flanks, which, from knowledge of the country, the leader of the Rajah's people was enabled to use to great advantage—there were some horsemen and two guns accompanying them.

I beg leave to submit to you the impracticability of forcing this stockade without the aid of artillery, as from the nature of the country there appears no method of turning it, and it is flanked on every side by an impenetrable jungle—in fact, the whole road from this place to the stockade is either on the sides of hills or in the valleys surrounded by jungle, every inch of which may be defended against an attacking force; the party opposed to us on our retiring amounted, I should consider, to about 800. I beg herewith to ~~submit~~ a return of the killed and wounded.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) G. JACKSON, Lieut.-Col. Comd. Western Auxiliary Column.

Camp Moodnur, 24 Miles beyond Coombla, Head Quarter,  
W. A. C. C. F. F., April 3, 1834.

Abstract of Killed and wounded.

Detachment H. M. 46th Regt.—Killed: 1 serjeant, 8 rank and file—Wounded: 1 subaltern, 6 rank and file, 3 severely and 2 slightly.

40th Regt. N. I.—Killed : 1 subaltern, 2 serjeants or havildars, 1 drummer, 17 rank and file—Wounded : 1 serjeant or havildar, 28 rank and file.

Total—Killed : 1 subaltern, 3 serjeants or havildars, 1 drummer, 25 rank and file—Wounded : 1 subaltern, 1 serjeant or havildar, 34 rank and file.

Native followers with H. M. 48th Regiment, 4 killed and missing—2 wounded.

Name of officer killed—Ensign Johnstone, 51st regiment doing duty with 40th N. I.

Wounded, Lieutenant Smith, H. M. 48th regiment.

Since the above, 12 bearers of the dooly department attached to H. M. 48th regiment are reported missing.

(Signed) R. W. CLVERTY, Brigade Major,  
West. Aux. Col. C. F. F.

To the Assistant Adjutant General Coorg Field Force.

Sir,—For the information of Brigadier Lindesay, C. B. commanding Coorg Field Force, I have the honor to report the safe arrival at the field hospital Kensame Hooscotta of the whole\* of the sick and  
\* *to the 6th instant inclusive* wounded of the column under my command, and that the several wounded cases are doing remarkably well.

By the laudable exertions of Captain Laurie, Commanding the depot, due provision has been made for their accommodation in temporary buildings within the Fort, the construction of which commenced prior to my leaving on the 1st instant, according to arrangements which I made with the fouzdar of the district.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) G. WAUGH, Col. Comg. 2d or Nor. Col. C. F. F.

(Signed) P. LINDESAY, Col. Comg. Coorg F. F.  
Camp Muddukairy, 10th April, 1834.

To the Adjutant General of the Army, Fort St. George.

Sir,—With reference to my letter of the 6th instant, I have the honor herewith to transmit a return of ordnance, &c. &c. found in the fort of Mudkerry.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) P. LINDESAY, Col. Comg. Coorg Field Force,  
Head-Quarters, camp near Mudkerry, 10th April, 1834.

Return of ordnance, &c. &c. captured at Mudkerry, the 6th April, 1834, by the Eastern column under the immediate command of Brigadier Lindesay, C. B., commanding Coorg Field Force.

Brass Ordnance—guns: one 1 pdr.; one 7 inch mortar—total 2

Iron Ordnance—guns: one 12 pdr., two 9 pdrs., two 8 pdrs., two 6 pdrs., three 3 pdrs., three 1½ pdrs., thirteen 1 pdrs., 22 wall pieces—total 48.

Grand total—guns: one 12 pdr., two 9 pdrs., two 8 pdrs., two 6 pdrs., three 3 pdrs., three 1½ pdrs., fourteen 1 pdrs., one 7-inch mortar, 22 wall pieces—total 50.

Muskets, matchlocks and pistols..... 42

Matchlock barrels..... 52

Iron round shot of different calibres.... 1062

Canister shot for do. do..... 287

Gunpower loose and in cartridges..... lbs. 1200

A great number of spears of different kinds.

Swords, Coorg knives, &c.

(Sd.) R. S. SETON, Capt. H Arty., Comg. Arty. C. F. F.

(Signed) P. LINDESAY, Colonel Comg. Coorg Field Force.

Camp Mudkerry, April 9, 1834.

To the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Coorg Field Force.

Sir,—I do myself the honor to report to you for the information of the officer commanding Coorg Field Force that on the night of the 9th of April my advanced guard and picquet were attacked by three bodies of the enemy's troops and I regret to say the picquet were cut up before the fresh guards came up to the enemy, when they retired immediately; I was unable to pursue them into Coorg itself, as a column of the enemy went off through the jungle to the S. E. of my position with the intention of surprising Manantoddy.

After in vain endeavouring to meet with the enemy, I pushed in here last night to defend this post.

I hope to receive intelligence to day and will prevent their getting into the interior of Wynaad, but I regret to say I got no assistance from the inhabitants who evidently sided with the enemy.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) F. MINCHIN, Comg. in Wynaad.

Manantoddy, April 5, 1834.



P. S.—I find several of the enemy were killed, but under cover of the night they carried off the dead bodies of their comrades, so I have not been able to learn the exact number.

Return of the killed, wounded and missing of the Light Company 51st Regiment N. I.

Killed, 3 privates.—Wounded, 3 privates.—Missing, 1 havildar and 7 privates—total, 1 havildar and 13 privates.

(Signed) F. MINCHIN, Comg. in Wynaad.

To the Adjutant General of the Army, Fort St. George.

Sir,—I have the honor to report for the information of his Excellency the Commander in Chief, that the Rajah of Coorg surrendered himself unconditionally to the force under my immediate command at 12 o'clock last night and is now a prisoner in the fort of Mudkerry under safe custody.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Sd.) P. LINDSAY, Colonel, Comg. Coorg Field Force.  
Head-Quarters, camp near Mudkerry, 11th April, 1834.

To the Adjutant General of the Army, Fort St. George.

Sir,—I had the honour of reporting yesterday that the Rajah Verarajander Woodyer had surrendered himself a prisoner and was secured in the fort of Mudkerry.

As this desirable event may be looked upon as the termination of hostilities, I deem it a proper occasion to acquaint the Commander in Chief with the sense I entertain of the services of the staff and other officers His Excellency was pleased to appoint to the force.

To the unwearied exertions of Major Steele, the deputy quarter master general, I am entirely indebted for the information and arrangement which, by enabling me to concentrate the force on the capital, so speedily and satisfactorily effected the object for which it was so employed. Lieutenant Mackenzie, deputy assistant quarter master general, has performed the minor duties with great credit. The willing activity of Captain Byam of the Artillery, a volunteer attached to the department, has been conspicuously useful.

Lieutenant Hicks, the assistant adjutant general, has conducted the numerous duties of his department with zeal and attention; while Captain Forbes, deputy assistant adjutant

general of his Majesty's 39th regiment, an excellent and intelligent officer, attached to myself, has afforded me very valuable assistance.

Colonels Foulis and Waugh, lieutenant colonels Stuart and Jackson commanding the different columns have I am assured, used their utmost exertions to carry into effect the operations entrusted to them.

The respective reports which I have already had the honor to transmit, will have put his Excellency in possession of their opinions of the services and merits of the troops under their orders.

It remains therefore for me only to bring to the notice of his Excellency the excellent conduct of that part of the Eastern column which has been acting under my orders. To Major Pool of his Majesty's 39th regiment, whom I placed in immediate command of the infantry brigade, to Captain Seton commanding the artillery, and Captain Underwood the chief engineer, I have been indebted for the most zealous and able assistance, and I do but justice in reporting that the officers and soldiers of every rank and degree have, under all circumstances and in all respects, merited my most perfect approbation.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) P. LINDESAY, Colonel,

Comd. Coorg Field Force and Brigadier.

Camp at Mudkerry, 11th April, 1824.

P. S.—I feel it due to the Commissariat Department to add that notwithstanding the extreme difficulties of the roads the troops have never been without supplies, which I attribute to the attention of Lieutenant Robertson, sub-assistant commissary general, and to the excellent instructions under which he has acted.

(Signed) P. LINDESAY, Colonel,

To H. S. CONWAY, Adjutant General of the Army.

[Received in a former despatch.]

To the Adjutant General of the Army,

Sir,—I do myself the honor to report to you for the information of His Excellency the Commander in Chief, that the head quarter division of the Eastern column of the Coorg Field Force under my command this morning entered the Coorg territory, crossing the Cauvery at Hebbauly.

The passage of the river was slightly defended by a party of about 200 men, who disappeared as soon as the head of the column had reached the middle of the ford.

No casualties occurred on our side, and as far as I can learn, none on the part of the enemy.

I have not as yet received the reports of the operation of the other columns.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

(Signed) P. LINDSAY, Col. Comg. Coorg Field Force.  
Head-Quarters, Camp Hebhauly, 2d April, 1834.

To the Adjutant General of the Army.

Sir,—I have the honor to report to you for the information of His Excellency the Commander in Chief, that the head quarter division of the Eastern column of the Coorg Field Force under my command this morning attacked and took the pagoda at Ramasamy Curnaweye and effected a passage across the ghaut. The enemy made rather more resistance than I had reason to expect.

They again made a stand at a difficult barrier situated in a thick jungle, the approach to which was much obstructed, but the troops speedily dislodged and drove them off.

I am happy to be able to state that the casualties on our side have been very few, I herewith transmit a return,—the enemy are said to have lost 8 or 10 people. We took one gun and twelve prisoners.

I have as yet received no report from the other columns.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) P. LINDSAY, Col. Comg. Coorg Field Force.  
Head-Quarters, camp Arungey, 3d April, 1834.

Return of killed and wounded of the Head-Quarter Division Coorg Field Force in skirmishes with the enemy on the 3d April, 1834.

Killed: 1 horse, shot under Lieutenant Hicks, assistant adjutant general. Wounded: H. M. 39th Regt. 1 private, severely.—4th Regt. N. I., 1 private and 1 drummer; Sappers, 1 private.

(Signed) P. LINDSAY, Colonel.



**INSOLVENTS' COURT,—SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1834.**

*Before Sir John Peter Grant.*

IN THE MATTER OF COLVIN AND CO.

Mr. Turton said that a petition had been filed in this case, the object of which he could not conceive, and the reasoning of which he could not understand. It had been filed by a party as the agent for another, one Captain William Gregory, and it was supported by an affidavit from the agent stating that he believed it to be true. No party appeared to support it, and he should as a preliminary ask for costs. He apprehended the proceeding was wholly irregular, for if any opposition were intended against the discharge of these gentlemen, it should have been made at a proper time. This was no opposition to the discharge of the parties, but a petition filed against them, which would place them in a most disadvantageous situation for it would be put on the record of the Court, and might affect their characters, without their having an opportunity to meet it.

*Sir John Grant.* How does it come before me.

*Mr. Turton.* It is filed.

*Sir John Grant.* I don't know any thing about it. I don't think you need trouble yourself about it if nobody comes forward to support it. Is there any one here to support it?

*Mr. Presgrave.* I am. I am his constituted attorney.

*Sir John Grant.* Are you an attorney of this Court?

*Mr. Presgrave.* No.

Sir John Grant observed that if Mr. Presgrave had taken the trouble to look into the Act, which every body ought to do before undertaking to transact business in that Court, he would have found that creditors could only be heard personally, or by Counsel, and referred him to the 34th section. He was obliged therefore to decline hearing him, as he did not come within the words of the Act. Besides this the officer had very properly called his attention to another clause, which directed that no person shall be permitted to oppose unless he gives three days' notice upon affidavit. Under these circumstances he could not lawfully be heard, and the petition could not therefore be noticed.

Mr. Turton applied for his costs, but Sir John Grant said that his objections to decree costs were that by so doing he should be giving a sanction to the notion that this was a petition be-

for the Court, to which he would not agree; but if they were asked to order that it be taken off the rolls of the Court, he had no objection to comply.

Mr. Turton made the request,\* and the order was given.

The further consideration of the application for the release of the insolvents from all future liability, under the 68d section of the Act, postponed from the 3d instant, was then resumed. Mr. Turton argued strongly and at very great length, in favor of the application; but it is sufficient to give the learned Judge's decision, together with his reasons for coming to that decision, which, as it is one of very great importance, and likely to be brought before another tribunal, we shall endeavour to do in full.

Sir John Grant asked Mr. Turton if he had seen the minutes of the decree which he had intended to make after the former argument, and the engrossing of which he had directed to be suspended in consequence of an application by the parties to have the case re-argued. Mr. Turton said he had, Sir John Grant said if there were any thing in the wording of the minutes upon which Counsel could offer any suggestion that might make it more fully answer to the object he had in view he should be happy to receive it. "The question," he proceeded, "arose upon the application of the insolvents for their final discharge from all liability whatsoever for or in respect of the debts established in this Court," the clause in the Insolvent Act under which the application was made is in the following words:

Sir John Grant here read the section on which the application was founded, and then proceeded as follows:

My intention in drawing up the minute was that it should appear that all the requisites of the Act had been complied with except as far as the exercise of the power given the Court was limited at this precise time by the construction put upon the subsequent words of the clause, and to express the nature of that limitation in order that so far as concerned matters of fact, they might appear to have been determined by this Court to have been satisfactorily established, so as to give all the jurisdiction and power which the legal construction of the Act warranted, leaving the question of law upon which my decision was founded to stand clear by itself for further examination in the Court of Appeal, if desired. A great part of the argument of the learned Counsel with reference to the inconvenience,

arising from the construction not only of this but of other parts of the Act also might be addressed with more advantage to the Legislature in order to point out to them how far they may have fallen short of what was required for this country,—the peculiar circumstances of which they seem not to have been aware of: this is apparent by their having introduced, not the provisions of the Bankrupt Law, but the principles of the Insolvent Act of England, with some attempts by the insertion of a few additional provisions to extend the benefits conferred by the Insolvent Act so that they might embrace some cases of Mercantile Bankruptcy. That the Legislature contemplated the enormous failures that have occurred here,—to which not only London, but London and Amsterdam united afford nothing in their history at all similar—the amount of the transactions of the houses of agency—the prodigious extent of credit afforded,—the frequent making of large loans to persons who had no means of repaying them but by small annual instalments taken from certain fixed allowances, dependent upon their lives,—I cannot conceive; and that these circumstances peculiar to the country rendered it necessary to give the private merchants and bankers of India the full benefit of the English code of laws in Bankruptcy, I am certain they were entirely unaware; and it is not unnatural that they should have been so. Now it is for me to consider not what might have been the best suited to the circumstances of this country, but what the intention of the Legislature was in the forming of this Act, if I can find it out, because without all doubt, in all Acts of Parliament, what is to be done is to discover the intention of the Legislature; for an Act of Parliament is to be interpreted like a will, according to the intention of the persons who framed it; and that is to be gathered, first from the words used in the passage in question, and then from taking into view the preamble, and the whole purport and object of the Act, so as, if possible to render it efficient for the purposes for which it was passed. There are differences in the mode of construing an Act of Parliament which it is necessary to consider, in reference to those purposes: some are to be construed very strictly as being penal laws, others with a larger interpretation of the words, as being remedial laws; but you can never by interpretation frame a new Act; you can only interpret the words used so as to carry into effect the object of the Legislature so far as the words used may reasonably bear such meaning as may be sufficient for that purpose. Now here it is agreed



that every thing depends on the construction of these words, "Further proceedings in the matter of the petition before the Court." If this means the matter of the petition of the insolvent for the benefit of the Act, or the matter of the petition of his creditors for and adjudication of insolvency, then it means the matters which are brought under consideration of the Court by that petition, which is the foundation of the jurisdiction of the Insolvent Court in the affairs of that insolvent; and then all proceedings in this Court in the matters of that insolvency are at an end. Then if this be the meaning, the passing of the order applied for will have the effect, and the Legislature must have intended it to have the effect, of stopping all further proceedings in this Court in the matter of this insolvency, and the order of the Court is not merely an order that the insolvents shall be for ever discharged from all liability, but also an order that no further proceedings relative to the insolvency shall be had in this Court. Upon this construction, therefore,—if this be the meaning of the words "Proceedings in the matter of the petition before the Court"—it must either be held that the Court has, I will not say a discretion confided to it, but a duty imposed upon it of determining as well whether the matters of the insolvency are in such a state as that all proceedings in these matters may be terminated—as whether the conditions of discharge be fulfilled, or it must be held that it was the intention of the Legislature that the whole of the proceedings should cease upon these conditions being fulfilled, without reference to the state of matters in dependence and progress before the Court, or it must be held that these words may be left out by construction, and taken *pro non scriptis*. It then comes to this, if the words necessarily bear the interpretation I have suggested, that "the matters of the petition before the Court" means "the matters in the insolvency"—"all the matters that are brought under the cognizance of the Court," then one of two things must follow, if effect is given to these words, either that the Court must exercise its judgment, in determining whether the matters of the insolvent estate are in such a condition as to admit of the passing of an order that will stop all further proceedings,—or that the Legislature being aware of the consequences of such an order, nevertheless imposed upon the Court the necessity of issuing the order attended with such consequences. Now the consequences would be very large. The assignees are vested with all the property, and may not have accounted for any part of it. In the present

case they have not. They are trustees, and no proceedings can be had against them except in a Court of Equity, where every creditor must be a party.

*Mr. Turton.* It would not be necessary, Sir, for every creditor to be made a party to a bill in Equity.

*Sir John Grant.* I am not prepared to say that in a case of this nature, where creditors have separate interest, and where the decision upon their rights is transferred to a Court of Equity from a Court where they have all appeared separately, each for his own interest, it may not be necessary for every creditor to be, or to become a party to the suit. It will be time enough to decide to what extent this must go when the case shall arise. Neither can the assignees obtain directions, nor compel their discharge, but by means of a suit in Equity, nor can the different claims of creditors nor any other matters be settled otherwise. This therefore would be a contrivance for doing away with the whole benefit of the Insolvent Act—for throwing the insolvent loose and his creditors into a Chancery suit. This is so serious a result that it cannot be supposed to have been the intention of Parliament, and it is not too much for me to say that I feel bound to take special care not to take a step that may involve these consequences without being well assured of the grounds on which I proceed—that before I decree that I am bound to order the discharge of these insolvents and all others from liability in terms of the Act on the bare fulfilment of one or other of the conditions therein mentioned without further enquiry whether the proceedings in the matter of such insolvency can be put an end to with safety to the interests of the creditors and of the estate. I should be thoroughly satisfied that the words “matter of the petition before the Court” have some, and what other than their natural and obvious meaning—that they relate to some other matter than the matter of the main petition before the Court—the only matter which cannot be before the Court otherwise than by petition; or, on the other hand, I ought to be well satisfied that I have authority by construction to reject these words. If I am satisfied upon what I have heard that these words may be safely rejected by construction, or that they apply to some other matter, and not to the main petition, I am at liberty to consider whether I am not bound upon compliance with the conditions stated in the Act to pronounce this order setting the insolvents free from all liability. The first question therefore as I have said entirely depends on the construction of these

words "the matter of the petition before the Court." To ascertain this, it is first to be inquired what is their natural and more obvious meaning. Now it is quite clear according to this they must be taken to refer to the petition which is the foundation of the proceedings, and which is the only petition which must necessarily and at all times be "the petition before the Court." But a doubt is suggested, and it is said that they refer to the petition praying for the discharge. It is to be seen therefore what is the next immediate antecedent—supposing the words were such petition, or the said petition; and here it immediately strikes the observation that the word in this part of the clause is *petition* not *application*—which is the word in the first part "Whenever it shall appear to the satisfaction of any Court for relief of insolvent debtors upon the *application* of any insolvent" &c. Now this *application* need not necessarily be by *petition*. It may be by petition or without petition by motion. If this were the matter to which reference was made in the subsequent part of the clause the words would have been "in the matter of such application." It seems to be impossible to limit the large words "no further proceedings shall be had in the matter of the petition before the Court" by holding them to refer merely to an incidental proceeding which is denominated, not a petition but an application,—which it is not said shall be made by petition. But it is of more importance to examine what is the sense in which this word *petition*—when standing alone, or the words *petition before the Court*, are used where they occur in other preceding parts of this Act. Now I find that the words "matter of the petition before the Court" occur in several different places, in section 29-34-52-60, and in all these they can only mean such matters as arise out of the initiatory petition. The words "matter of the petition of such insolvent" occur in sections 33 to 38 with the same meaning. The words *petition*—"matter of petition"—"proceedings in the petition," refer all through the Act to the petition which is the foundation of the proceedings, and never to any thing else. A more particular description of this petition, stating the purport of it, occurs only three times, section 11, 32, and 45—and with these exceptions the word the petition, or the petitions of the insolvent or the petition before the Court, are used without more, and can refer to nothing but the original petition on which the proceedings are founded. Lastly, in the latter part of the very clause in question, sec. 68, the very



words "*the said petition*," that is the petition mentioned in that part of the section now under consideration as "*the petition before the Court*," occur—where they can mean nothing but the petition which has originated the proceedings. The words refer to creditors not resident in India, and they are "*creditors who shall not have taken part in any of the proceedings under the said petition*," that is in any of the proceedings in that insolvency. Therefore the whole question depends upon whether I have authority to reject these words in the construction of this clause, or whether I am by a forced construction to give them an interpretation which is not affixed to them in any other part of the Act. In considering their meaning I have said that what I am to do, if I can, is to endeavour to discover the intention of the Legislature. To do that I am not entitled to add words, but I am entitled to give them such an interpretation as they will bear, and to reject words where necessary to give effect to such intention clearly appearing. Holding therefore that the meaning of these words in the place in question is such as I have described, it only remains for me to inquire whether there are any grounds upon which I can hold myself entitled to reject them by construction, in order to give effect to the intention of the Legislature? Now I am to gather the intentions of the Legislature from the other parts of the statute; to expound it according to the reason of the Act, to repress the wrong and advance the remedy. The preamble may be taken as a key to the intention. The rule and principle of common law is a guide to that intention, and where it concerns liberty the Act should receive a liberal interpretation. Light is also thrown upon the intention by other statutes *in pari materia*. And lastly, in rejecting certain words I must see that the effect of the rejection does not produce a greater inconvenience than it would remove where there is no power to add any other provision for its prevention. Then what is it that the Legislature intended here. There is a marked distinction between sections 25 and 63. Section 25, which discharges the debtor from imprisonment, is not encumbered with any such proviso as is introduced here; and the cause is obvious. The discharge from imprisonment was intended to take place immediately, the insolvent being still kept liable to process till the final close of the matter of the petition. By section 61, the adjudication of discharge from imprisonment is made final, except in one case by special and particular provision. But by 62 it is spe-

cially provided that an insolvent after his discharge from imprisonment may notwithstanding be brought up when wanted for further examination under pain of further imprisonment. There is no such provision in the section which relates to the final discharge from liability, although it is the very next to the other which does so provide. It does appear to me that this is indicative of an intention in the Legislature that the 1st and final discharge is not to take place till the affairs of the estate are finally wound up. That is one circumstance which weighs with me. If the discharge from liability were intended to take place before the close of the proceedings these provisions would be equally necessary as in the case of discharge from imprisonment. If it were not intended to take place till after the close of the proceedings as a final act, then no such provision were necessary and they were properly omitted. Again, in this case, where the discharge is intended to be immediate, pending the proceedings, but not reviewable except on appeal, viz. the discharge from imprisonment, the Legislature has taken a distinct course by precise enactments. There is no declaration that no further proceedings shall be had in matter of the petition; but that such adjudication and the order thereon shall be final, unless it is obtained by false evidence or other fraud. Where the Legislature intended that the discharge should be pending the proceedings they have used plain and distinct terms. The proceedings in that case are carefully directed, and very special directions are given to avoid a misconstruction of the words "final and conclusive." It proceeds specially to provide that, notwithstanding such discharge, where the assistance of the insolvents is necessary to the discovery or management of their estates, they shall be compellable to attend. With respect to the discharge from liability the enactments are quite different, for it is declared, not that such adjudication shall be final except on appeal, but "that no further proceedings shall be had in the matter of the petition before the Court." There is no exception of further proceedings which may be had but one, namely, on appeal; and no provision that further assistance of the insolvents may be required or compelled. Now it is a known rule of construction that where the Legislature in one part of an Act having a certain object in view has used certain precise words to express it, and enacted certain express provisions to effect it, and it is questioned whether in another part of the same Act it had the same object in view, its having

used different words, whose more obvious meaning is different, and having enacted no such provisions, is evidence that it had no such object in view, provided the more obvious object is not inconsistency with reason, for otherwise it must be presumed it would have taken the same means to express and accomplish it, which it considered necessary in the first case. Again if we consider the probable intention of the Legislature upon the reason of the thing as between the insolvent and his creditors, it appears very reasonable that an insolvent, having surrendered all that he has, having acted fairly, and having done his best to repair the injury his misconduct or misfortune has occasioned, should be free from arrest or imprisonment on account of debts he has done all in his power to discharge; but it is not reasonable that he should not afterwards be obliged to discharge his debts if he acquires what will enable him to do so, further—if we judge of the intention of the Legislature from the rules and principles of the common law, it is no part of the common law that a man should be arrested and deprived of liberty for debt; but it is that his property should be seized for it. By releasing him from imprisonment, leaving his future property liable for his present debts so far as they are unsatisfied by his present property, the law restores him to the benefits of the common law upon one condition,—that he shall surrender all his present property for equal division among his present creditors. No rule for the construction of statutes would lead to the extending such a law by construction against creditors beyond the plain meaning of the words: the statute by express words does go further, and so far as it goes by express words, the Court is bound to go with it; but where it is not so expressed there is nothing that can entitle a Court to construe it beyond its express words against the creditors and in favor of the debtors. It is well known that the Insolvent Act were introduced in England upon the principle of the *Cissio bonorum*, not on considerations applicable to mercantile bankruptcy. The *Cissio bonorum* involves no discharge from the obligation of the debtor to pay the balance unpaid of his debts at the time of the *Cissio* if he become able by future acquisitions so to do. The foundation of the Insolvent Act is this, that a debtor shall be released from the hardship of imprisonment, but remain liable, if he should ever acquire property, for the payment of the balance of his debts, as is most just between man and man.

The Learned Judge here read a passage from Mr. Bell's



Commentaries on Mercantile Jurisprudence—and a law of the Emperor Alexander Severus explanatory of the law of *Cissio bonorum* in the law of Scotland and the Roman law; and then proceeded as follows:—It does not rest here. The English Insolvent Act, which was passed 7 Geo IV, two years before this statute, involves the same principle,—it gives no discharge from future liability, there is provision for the debtor's release from custody; but by the 57th section he is required to execute a warrant of attorney to confess judgment in the name of the assignee for the whole of his debts which shall remain due and unsatisfied, and if at any time it shall appear to the Insolvent Court that he is of ability to pay such debts, or any part thereof, or dies leaving assets, execution may be taken out in the discretion of the Court and the sum distributed. This Act as relates to ordinary insolvents is in *par materia* with the 9 G. 4. c. 73, the Insolvent Act for India—though as to traders it more resembles the Bankrupt Acts in its objects, not so much however as might have been wished or expected in its provisions; and I may further say that the Legislature could not have been aware that the state of private commerce in India was such that the Act would not answer the purpose, as applied to mercantile insolvencies; otherwise they might have seen the propriety of introducing the Bankruptcy Laws into India. The clause of this Act now under consideration, it must be remarked applies to all insolvents whether common or mercantile: now as applied to common insolvents it is quite opposite to the insolvent law of England. The discharge from future liability to pay his debts, if at any time the insolvent is able to do so, is a boon conferred upon the insolvent, and a sacrifice exacted from his creditors by the Indian Insolvent Act, not founded on any principle of justice between the parties, not on the principle of the *Cissio bonorum*, on which Insolvent Acts are founded, not agreeable to the provisions of the English Insolvent Acts, and extended beyond cases within the policy of the Bankrupt Laws. There is no ground therefore to impute to the Legislature an intention of placing this discharge from liability on a footing in point of time, or other circumstances, with the discharge from imprisonment. The consequence of such construction requires much consideration. Unless this declaration, “that no further proceedings be had” is discretionary to the Court in regard to the time when the final discharge from liability shall be decreed,

there is no direction in regard to the time other than "when-  
ever it shall be made to appear that the estate has produced  
sufficient to pay three-fourths of the debts, or that creditors  
to the amount of more than one-half in number and value  
shall signify their consent, and if it shall appear that the in-  
solvent has acted fairly the Court shall be authorized *thereupon*  
to order," &c. This may be before the time required by  
section 33 for creditors in India to examine into the truth of  
the petition and schedule, before the hearing, enquiry, exami-  
nation of insolvent, &c. required by section 34. Again,  
whenever a man could pay three-fourths of his debts, and, so  
far as could be then discovered, had acted honestly, he might  
obtain a discharge for ever of the remainder, before there was  
time thoroughly to investigate his affairs, and ascertain whe-  
ther he could not pay more or the whole, provided he could  
contrive to secrete any of his property. It might very com-  
monly be before creditors not in India had time to take part  
in the proceedings, giving them a manifest and unfair ad-  
vantage, to be unaffected by the discharge and yet entitled to  
come in under the insolvency, the words being "who shall  
not have taken part before order of discharge," which would  
be contrary to the meaning of sec. 54, enacted for the pur-  
pose of giving them time to come in, and of forcing them to  
do so on equality with Indian creditors. As I before said  
this would leave the Court without any hold over an insolvent  
to obtain his assistance when necessary to wind up his affairs.  
There is no provision made in this or any subsequent clause  
for this event, which there must have been if the Legislature  
had intended to produce it. There is no power in the Court,  
by the Act so construed, if the conditions are fulfilled by the  
insolvent, to suspend his final discharge, unless he can be  
charged with unfair conduct. According to this construction  
he must be instantly discharged from liability; but if this had  
been the intention of the Legislature, they would have quali-  
fied it as in other cases, so as to keep him within the jurisdic-  
tion of the Court so long as the affairs of his estate required.  
In regard to the rule of construction applicable to this clause  
upon general principles of law, it is certain that this is not an  
enactment in favor of the liberty of the subject. It is not to  
free him from prison, but to free him from the obligation to  
pay his debts when he shall be able,—an enactment founded  
in the policy of the State, not in the liberty of the subject.  
It deprives the creditors of their undoubted right to insist up-

“on payment of their debts when the debtor shall be able to make it. It gives power to the Court to deprive them of this right as to one-fourth of their debts if three-fourth be paid. It gives power to a majority to deprive the minority of this right, though never so small a part of their debts have been paid. It is therefore to be interpreted evenly between the parties, according to its certain meaning. This is a strict interpretation, not indeed in the sense of a strict interpretation as applied to a penal statute, but as opposed to the liberal interpretation given to an act in favour of the liberty of the subject: to give effect to the words, but not to extend them against the rights of the creditors beyond their obvious and ordinary meaning—or to construe them contrary to it—or to suppress and leave out by construction any that are necessary to controul the meaning of other words in regard to the preamble, it recites the establishment of laws for the relief of insolvent debtors in Great Britain and Ireland, and the expediency of giving relief *also* to insolvent debtors in India. It is therefore quite clear that in framing this act the Legislature had in view the Insolvent Act as it is in England. It appears to me on full consideration that it was not the intention of the Legislature to release and discharge a debtor from all liability until the final winding up of the affairs of the estate. There is a great hardship, which may be produced by this enactment in the case of mercantile insolvents, if I am right in my construction, and one which is fit to be brought to the notice of the Legislature. Without doubt it is a great hardship to the parties, and a great detriment to the public interest, the tying up such men from that degree of usefulness which they might be of to the public and to themselves if finally and completely discharged. That is a question which concerns the public policy of the country; but if it requires a remedy, which I think it does, the only course is to appeal to the Legislature, whether to a larger or a smaller body having the powers of legislation it is not for me to say, but I am clear that the remedy does not lie in the power of this Court; and bound as I am to consider the whole clause together, and the consequences being such as I have described them, it is too much for me to rest upon the single word “thereupon” as discharging the Court from the duty of considering the whole effects of its Act, and upon the instant to pronounce an order which has the necessary effect of terminating its jurisdiction and its power when they are the most wanted to carry into effect the purposes for



which it was created. I have not bestowed upon this case more care than its importance deserves, but I have endeavoured to give it my best attention, and to express myself in such a manner that if I have gone wrong Counsel may know the points on which I rest my opinion, with a view to bring the question before another Court. I have no hesitation in saying that the conduct of the insolvents has been fair and honest to their creditors, and that they are well entitled to a final release from all liability as soon as it shall appear to the Court that no further proceedings are necessary to be had in the matter of their insolvency. Having fully considered the question before, and not having been able to alter my opinions in consequence of any thing that has been urged by Counsel in the able argument to which I have listened with great attention, I have thought it better to pronounce my decision at once than to delay the matter longer, in order that the utmost time may be given to prepare the case to go before another tribunal, should it be thought necessary, to adopt that course.—*Bengal Hurkaru.*

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# **THE CALCUTTA MONTHLY JOURNAL.**

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**AUGUST 1884.**

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**NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS ON SUBJECTS  
CONNECTED WITH INDIA.**

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**No. XXX.**

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**ON THE LANGUAGE AND CHARACTER BEST SUITED TO  
THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.**

By way of preface to this subject, I would beg to refer to my papers Nos. 5 and 19. The discussion which has lately been published between the members of the Committee of Public Instruction has induced me to offer a few remarks, and in the first place I cannot avoid expressing my regret to see that the real point which ought to be considered, is in danger of being lost sight of by discussion in the abstract, personal invective, and imputation of unworthy motives.

The object in view is the promotion of the instruction and intellectual advancement of the natives of India; but there appears to be great diversity of opinion as to the best means of effecting it. Some advocate the study of Persian, Arabic, and Sanscrit, others prefer the introduction into the schools and colleges of English, and amongst these even if the language to be chosen were decided, the character in which it should be written remains a disputed point; while a few are anxious for the translation of works into the vernacular language of the country as the most expedient course. My object in this paper will be to avoid all digressions and to endeavour to discover the best practical mode of obtaining the result which is desired.

*Cal. Month. Journ. N. S. VOL. 5, No. 478.*



\* A few general observations are however necessary at starting, and the first point which demands our attention, is an enquiry into the origin of all the different attempts which have hitherto been made to introduce a foreign language into any country. It has been simply this, that when one nation, which to say the least, was only advancing in the march of civilization had conquered another, the conquerors conceived that it would be less trouble to compel the conquered to adopt the language of the former than for themselves to acquire that of their new subjects. The plan has never yet succeeded except where the original race has been entirely or nearly exterminated. It is needless enumerating the various countries in which the experiment has been made and failed. They have been so often alluded to of late that even those who were previously ignorant on the subject, must be familiar with the instances: one however which perhaps furnishes the strongest example of any, seems hitherto to have escaped observation. I allude to that of Wales. This small portion\* of territory has been closely connected with Saxon England for nearly eight centuries:—it has formed an integral part of the kingdom for six and a half. Travellers innumerable from each have visited the other, and the closest communication has existed between them. Yet to this day Welsh is the vernacular language of the majority of the people, so much so that in the churches service is performed once a day in Welsh; and even in some of the inns on the high roads, which are chiefly frequented by English, servants will be found whose language is Welsh, and who understand no more of English than the mere names of the articles which a traveller is likely to call for. Yet it might with some reason have been expected that in such a case as this, the language of the smaller, weaker, and conquered province would gradually disappear by the constant intercourse and the repeated attempts that have been made to introduce that of its more powerful neighbour and conqueror. This may perhaps ultimately be the result; but more than six centuries have not been sufficient to accomplish it, and how much longer it may be before the object will be attained it remains for time to show. With such examples before us, particularly that just quoted, does it not appear extraordinary that in India, where the total amount of every

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\* Its extent is a hundred and twenty by eighty miles, not larger than one of our large districts, and hardly so populous.

class of Englishmen is computed at about thirty thousand, and whose numbers are not likely to encrease with any great rapidity, our rulers should think it possible to change the language of a hundred millions of native subjects? The general introduction of the English language in India, may indeed be set down as a chimera.

But it may be observed, that though this may be impracticable as a universal result; yet that to a considerable extent a foreign language may be made use of to instruct those classes of the people who have leisure for study, and this may be in some degree true. But to how small a portion will this apply. The majority of the people must and can only be enlightened by means of their own vernacular tongue; and how blind a policy is it to neglect the benefit of the millions in order to promote a little extra learning among the few.

The first object ought to be to translate books in the vernacular languages of the country.

The second is the choice of which foreign language is best calculated to afford most instruction to those who have leisure to study it.

The first is so self-evident a proposition that it is needless to dilate upon it, especially as any thing which may tend to elucidate it, will appear in the course of the remarks which will be offered upon the second. With this view, English, Persian, Arabic, and Sanscrit, have each their respective advocates. Of all these, there is not a single department of knowledge in which the first will not afford more sources of information than all the others united. Is history required? That of the whole world is to be found in the English language. Should any student wish to devote his time exclusively to that of any particular country, he might indeed possibly discover some details in the works of the original authors which have not yet been translated into English; but in the latter language, he will find quite enough for the general reader. In Chemistry, Astronomy, Geometry, Natural History, Geology, Botany, Medicine, and indeed in every department of science which can be mentioned, the works extant in English have left any that the Orientals possess centuries in arrears. I do not deny that the wise men originally came from the East, and that the Arabians and Indians had made some progress in many of these sciences, while our ancestors were painted barbarians, in the grossest state of ignorance. They deserve due credit for what they did; so do Davis and the old

navigators receive their due share of applause for their exertions and discoveries in search of the north west passage; but a voyager of the present day, who in pursuit of the same object should take their works as his guide, instead of the more recent discoveries of Parry, Franklin, and Ross, would not be entitled to much credit for wisdom. The poetry of the East has called forth the most extravagant praises from its admirers, but will it bear any comparison with English poetry? No doubt beautiful ideas, splendid imagery, and the richest and most elegant versification are sometimes to be found, but the mass of what is denominated poetry among the orientals, consists of redundant epithets, far fetched allusions, overstrained expressions, and even absurd quibbles; much in the style of what Swift has ridiculed in his "Martinus Scriblerus on the Peribathos." The passages there quoted bear such a resemblance to the style of oriental writing, that one might almost fancy they were translations. As to Logic, if by that term be understood the art of writing and speaking correctly, it is to be acquired by application in almost any language, since the best guides are common sense, a grammar, and a dictionary. Which then of these four foreign languages afford the most instruction for the benefit of those whom it is proposed to educate?

Among the arguments adduced by the advocates for teaching the natives of India the foreign oriental languages, viz. Persian, Arabic, and Sanscrit, the plainest tell much stronger against than in favor of what they propose. One of the most strenuous for the plan observes, that it was the circumstance of Latin being the language of knowledge which kept Europe so long in a state of ignorance. It seems to have escaped him that that argument is equally strong against making any foreign language in any country the principal vehicle of knowledge. He also says that by teaching the natives of India English, we almost put a stop to indigenous writings; and that their compositions in English chiefly consist of imitations from the books they have read. He forgets to enquire whether their compositions in Sanscrit, Persian, or Arabic, merit a better character; and there are few among the English who are competent judges of the matter. Most of us can detect the poverty and want of originality of a work in our own language, but how many of us are qualified to give an opinion on the merits of a work in the oriental tongues? Another argument in their favor is, that for many ideas, and almost



all the terms of art and science, the vernacular language of the natives has no words; and that these must be introduced from a foreign tongue, therefore they must learn a foreign tongue in order to study these sciences; and further that this foreign tongue must be Arabic or Sanscrit. This is any thing but a logical deduction. Are not almost all our scientific terms in English derived from the Greek and Latin? Yet it is very possible for a man to be well acquainted with Chemistry, Medicine and the other sciences who is ignorant of these languages. The terms required have been adopted into our own tongue, and the explanations of their meanings are given in English, so that they have virtually become English words. It is precisely the same when we acquire a new idea or discover a new article for domestic or any other use. If the idea or the article be of foreign importation, we commonly adopt the designation we find attached to it; if of native manufacture, we invent a term, which in either case being published with the signification affixed, is universally understood and becomes part and parcel of the language of that country into which it is introduced. In accordance with the progress of ideas and discoveries, new terms of art, verbs, nouns, substantives are daily introduced into our own language. Take for instance our official and common correspondence and conversation on Indian affairs. It is so crammed with oriental words as to be totally unintelligible to an uninitiated Englishman. Yet any one with the help solely of a glossary might acquire a very accurate knowledge of the proceedings of our British Indian Courts of Justice, without learning any oriental language.\* Again it is asserted that Persian, Arabic, and Sanscrit are not, *strictly speaking*, foreign languages in India: also that a work in any of the vernacular languages of the country will only be of partial utility, whereas if written in either of the above three languages, it will form a boon to the scholar all over the east. On the first of these points, the words “strictly speaking” form a very saving clause: it is strange that infatuation and self-deception can be carried so far. The Persian, Arabic and Sanscrit languages are to the whole of the continent of Hindostan as much foreign as the French, Latin and Greek are to the English, or indeed to the

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\* More familiarly, how many years is it since steamer, to steam across the ocean, or macadamize a road, has been heard of. When we have gained an idea we shall not be long in finding a word to express it. Words without ideas are useless.

European world. The cases are precisely parallel, inasmuch as Persian and Arabic are the living languages of the country in a portion of the east as French and Greek are in parts of Europe. Indeed, it is probable that the proportion of Europeans who understand the three latter languages is infinitely greater than that of the natives of India who are conversant with the three former: yet who in his senses would propose to publish works intended for the general instruction of the people of England in either French, Latin, or Greek? On the second point; it may be a very philanthropic design to enlighten the Arabs and Persians, and when we have performed the duties which lie nearer home, it will be time enough to turn our attention that way; but our first object ought to be to promote the education of the people over whom we are placed; and the only possible means of effecting this to any extent, will be by means of their own vernacular languages. The endeavor to prove that Persian, Sanscrit, and Arabic are not, *strictly speaking*, foreign languages in India, is supported by quoting passages in the vernacular tongues in which are found words introduced from the former. Did the writer never consider the variety of languages which have been combined to form what is now called English? Saxon is certainly the ground-work; but it is impossible to write sentence of any length in our own tongue, without the introduction of words which were originally Latin, Greek, or French. Yet will it be asserted that a foreigner cannot learn English without first studying any or all of these languages? "The science of geology is well worthy the attention of the people of England."\* In this short sentence how many foreign words are introduced; but no one declares that the mere English scholar, provided he were well acquainted with his own language, would not understand it.

The fact is, that instead of taking for our guide common-sense, we have hitherto been led away by an oriental mania

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\* An argument, in the spirit of some that have been made use of, might easily be brought forward to prove the English language to be a jargon; we have only to write the sentence thus. "The *scientia* of *γηολογος* is well worthy the attention of the *populus* of England." The circumstance that several languages unite to form the English, has by competent judges been considered as one main source of the richness of ours. Yet the Hindoostanee, in which the same cause has been at work, may choose to pronounce a jargon. When the latter shall be brought into use, so that there will be an inducement to study, and converse in it, it will very soon vindicate itself against the accusation of being a jargon!

which took its rise from the circumstance of a few learned and distinguished men in the last century having devoted themselves to the study of eastern literature. The splendour of such a genius as that of Sir William Jones, and the applause which his labours received from all the literati of Europe who were engaged in the pursuit, conspired to throw over it a false lustre, which the ardour of his imagination contributed to heighten. Few were capable of appreciating or estimating the real value of the study, and they would in general take it for granted, that men of such acknowledged ability must be the best judges of each others merits, on which they mutually bestowed such high and flattering encomiums. They forgot that "all have their hobbies"—and the students themselves, after so many years of application and industry, even though they might have discovered the comparative inutility of their labour, could not but cherish the pleasing associations of their early enthusiasm, and would be reluctant to own that their time might have been devoted to more useful purposes and thus the spell has never yet been broken.\* But if cool and dispassionate opinion of those best qualified to judge at the present moment is of any weight, there can be no doubt of the fact that if general knowledge of any description be the object of their pursuit, there is little or nothing to repay the toil of oriental study.† There can be no objection to an independant man of literary

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\* Numerous instances might be adduced to show how prone we are to over-estimate the importance of any study on which we have spent our time. A most striking one is to be found in Col. Todd's history of Rajasthan, a work full of talent and research. It seems the Rajpoots claim to be descendants from the sun. In a history of the people it would be proper to mention this as an additional proof of the absurd vanity of rude nations, but the mere fact would have been quite sufficient without giving the whole fabulous genealogy. What should we think of a man who in writing the history of Africa, should not be content with informing us that the kings of Timbucktoo traced their descent from king Bugaboo, the offspring of an amour between the sun and the moon a hundred and fifty millions of years ago; but who should proceed to record the genealogy and acts of the respective kings how king Bugaboo reigned 25,000 years, and was succeeded by his son king Cockafoo, who after a bloody war between his two sons Banghoo and Danghoo was succeeded by the latter, who reigned 50,000 years, conquering mighty kingdoms, warring with the god &c. till he came to the present occupant of the throne, King Tomboy, who in a sailor's check shirt and trowsers, and an officer's cocked hat, gains a livelihood by driving down gangs of miserable wretches and selling them on the coast to the European slave captains. Such matter as this would be just as well worth publishing as that with which Col. Todd has filled (if I recollect right) some sixty pages of his work. Quarto books are easily made in his way.

† See some excellent remarks of Haber's on his subject in a letter to Wilmot Horton, March, 1825.



inclination devoting his time to its acquirement. He may perhaps ultimately discover a grain of wheat among bushels of chaff;\* but to all who are engaged in the common affairs of life, beyond what is requisite to transact business with the people of the east, oriental studies are just so much time misapplied. The acquisition of Persian, Arabic or Sanscrit is assuredly not the best means of communicating with a people, the mass of whom are totally ignorant of those tongues.†

The next division of the subject is the character that is to be employed in expressing the language; and here while discussion runs high as to which of the foreign letters, English or Persian, are to be adopted, we are in danger of altogether forgetting the simple fact, that the majority of the people of India have already a written character, well known over almost the whole continent; and that its main features are the same, although some slight modification in the shape of some of the letters exists in different provinces. This is another of the numerous instances which might be quoted to prove that we are far too apt to look upon natives as a set of uncivilized barbarians. It is observed that letters are by far the easiest part of a language—this may be doubtful where the facilities are equal. Does a child find the more difficulty in learning to

\* If there should be any thing worth knowing, relating to the laws or customs of the people, for there is little chance of making any other discovery, let it be well translated once for all for the benefit of the community. This would be much better than expecting the whole to learn Arabic or Sanscrit.

† It is said that the knowledge of Persian, Arabic and Sanscrit, will assist a person in acquiring the vernacular tongues. Certainly if he happened to possess the former knowledge, it would be so much gained: but this is not the point. The question is, would a man be sooner qualified to transact business with the people of Hindostan by applying himself at once to that language, or by first learning Persian. Would he sooner be able to communicate with the Bengalees by learning their language or by first studying Sanscrit. We had practical proof of the latter some years ago in the College of Fort William: it was a sort of mania among some of the Bengalee students to give the preference to Sanscrit; in consequence many of them, although they studied harder, were some months longer in College, than those who proceeded in the rational way of qualifying themselves to communicate with the Bengalees by learning their language. After they had learnt say five hundred words of Sanscrit, they found that this knowledge enabled them at once to understand say a hundred words of Bengalee; they had still four hundred words of the latter to learn to bring them on a par with those students who had followed the rational plan of qualifying themselves for the public service. A knowledge of Latin and French will greatly facilitate the acquisition of Italian to an Englishman; but if a man's sole object was to transact business in Italy, it would be a wiser plan at once to study the Italian. A knowledge of Latin and French would also facilitate the acquisition of English to a native of India; but if one of these were on the point of going to England for business, would any one in his senses recommend him first to study Latin and French, or at once to begin with the English language.

speak its native tongue or in acquiring the art of reading and writing? How many of the English in India have attained a colloquial knowledge of the languages of the country, who never could so far conquer disinclination to study as to learn to read them. But be this at it may, we shall find it nearly as hard a task to compel a whole nation to change their written character as to make them adopt a new language. The Persian conquerors attempted the former expedient precisely in the same spirit that they endeavoured to effect the latter; but that the English who are considered a civilized nation should think of imitating their example, certainly is not the best mode of proving their claim to the title. To what possible benefit is such a change contemplated? To enable a few Englishmen who are too indolent to learn the native written character, to write a sort of mongrel Hindostanee,\* and to facilitate the studies of a few score of youths at Delhi, who have been instructed in a mode at variance with that in any other part of the country, or indeed of the world. For this, an attempt is to be made to induce a hundred millions to change the written character which they have used for centuries!

The reasons given are curious. The Roman character (which is itself a modification from the Greek) has spread from the small territory of Latium over the whole of Europe, the American continents and even to the South Sea Islanders. This is true,—and why? At the time when the Romans made themselves masters of Europe, it is doubtful whether the barbarous nations whom they subdued possessed any knowledge of letters. The majority certainly had none; what aid exist was known to a very small number. These with numerous arts and sciences were introduced by the conquerors, who of course attempted to introduce their own letters and language: the former succeeded because it had nothing to supplant. The latter failed because the conquered people had already a language of their own. The same reason has effected the introduction of the Roman alphabet into the South Sea Islands. The inhabitants of these islands were ignorant of the art of writing; and were taught it by men who use the roman character. In such a case the

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\* A cavil is made at the word Hindostanee. It may not be a native term for that dialect which is strictly called Oordoo. According to the genius of the English language, there can be no impropriety in our applying the term Hindostanee to the language of the people of Hindostan. At any rate it is now become a naturalized English word.



teachers must either have adopted their own letters in the instruction of the people or have invented new ones, and the former was the simpler and easier plan. But how weak must even the originators of the proposed plan perceive the reasons in its favor to be, when they instance the use of the Roman letters in the American continent. Would they expect that the European emigrants to the new world should leave behind them their language and letters, and either invent new ones, or adopt those of the savages (if indeed the latter had any letters) whom they had supplanted? Yet, that they did not do this is to be made an argument for the attempt to force a foreign language and character on a nation who have been acquainted with the use of letters for centuries! It is acknowledged that the Roman alphabet does not contain symbols to express the pronunciation of oriental words. This difficulty is to be obviated by the invention of signs and new letters. The more simple plan of taking the letters which already existed, adapted to the pronunciation of the Eastern languages, is overlooked.\* So far from endeavoring to introduce the Roman alphabet to express oriental words, it would of two extraordinary schemes be the better to publish English books in the oriental character, adapting the latter as far as practicable to our language. This would at least enable some to acquire a colloquial knowledge of English, who might not have time to bestow more attention on the subject. Notwithstanding the absurdity into which Gilchrist's enthusiasm led him to carry his propositions, there can be no doubt that his works have induced many to acquire some colloquial knowledge of Hindoostanee, who otherwise would have remained in entire ignorance of it. But there is no royal road to the acquisition of foreign tongues any more than to geometry; and those whose business or inclination leads them to such studies, must be content to go through the toil of learning by regular steps.

As to the prospective vision of the amalgamation of the English and oriental tongues till they form one universal language; doubtless the composite construction will remain as a monument, when the original materials of which it is to be formed shall have been forgotten.—BUT NOT TILL THEN.

What then is the course which those among the English

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\* The difficulty of making a correct alphabet of the Roman character for expressing oriental words, or at least of teaching people to adopt one, seems to be overlooked. Forty or fifty years have not been sufficient to introduce among educated Englishmen an uniform way of spelling oriental words.



should adopt, who have really the instruction and benefit of the people of India at heart, and what is the most practical and rational means of effecting it? Simply, these, First, to establish schools for instruction in the different branches of knowledge in the vernacular languages and the written character of the country. Second, to translate books of information on various subjects into those languages and letters. And Thirdly, to give to all who have leisure and inclination to extend their studies, the means of acquiring that foreign language from which the most general information is to be obtained—that is **THE ENGLISH**. This is at least quite sufficient for a beginning—what other languages may be encouraged must depend upon time and the inclinations and abilities of the people.

With regard to the written character of the people that should be adopted, common sense would suggest that all visionary schemes of universal letters must be abandoned. That alphabet must be preferred which is already in use in the different provinces. The Bengalee for Bengal proper. The Nagree for Hindoostan, and so on. A great misapprehension still exists as to the varieties in the form of the letters to which the latter is subject. This is not in reality greater than the variety in the forms of the written Roman letters which exist in the English, French or German writing, as a very little examination will convince my readers\*. Indeed the different construction of letters to be found among the English alone is fully as great as in the Nagree. We have our capital and small Roman and Italic letters, our old black letters or German character, and in our manuscript writing as great a variety as fashion or individual characters can produce. There are in common use two modes of forming, respectively an A. F. G. K. L. M. P. R. S. T. and W. nevertheless the foundation of the alphabet is the same, and any one who is well grounded in that, easily decyphers the varieties. The case is similar in the Deba Nagree. If any one will make himself thoroughly master of the alphabet published in Shakespear's Grammar, he will find that a very little trouble will enable him to read Nagree writings from almost every province on the continent of

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\* Let the Englishman, who is the best French, German, or Italian scholar, but who has only learnt those languages from printed books, take up a letter from a native of either of those countries on any common subject; he will find great difficulty in reading it, so different is their mode of writing from ours.

India. Even the hieroglyphics of the merchants (called mahajunee) are traceable to the same source. Were many printed books published in this character, the varieties of the letters would soon be greatly diminished.

With reference to the remark that although in some cases the people have the option of using the Nagree or Persian character in their writings, by far the greater number prefer the latter, I must observe that it is true; and the reason is plain. Those who in India learn to read and write are divided into four classes:

1st. First, the remnant of the old Moosulman families of rank. These naturally prefer Persian and Arabic in the same spirit that a mixture of prejudice, old feelings and recollections would after our subjection by the Africans probably induce us to educate our sons in French, Latin or Greek in preference to the language of Tumbuctoo, even although the latter possessed more sources of knowledge than the others. The number of this class is very few.

2d. The Pundits or learned Hindoos. These naturally affect the Sanscrit. Their numbers also are very small.

3d. The shopkeepers, village accomptants, and merchants who write the Nagree, Bengalee, or other local languages and character. These learn just enough to enable them to keep their accounts, and draw bills upon each other: more would be useless as long as there are scarcely any books in the language and character worth reading, and the knowledge of this character does not open the way to any employment. Their numbers are very great.

4th. The expectants for official employments and for offices about the colleges. These are numerous, but not nearly so as the last mentioned class. They make considerable proficiency, because they have an inducement to do so; and they learn Persian because that is ordered by Government to be the language of the courts and offices in which they aspire to be employed. The first class being hitherto excluded by the system of the British Government, the whole general business of the country falls into the hands of the fourth class; it is therefore

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\* The long list of Nagree, double, treble, and even quadruple letters there published, might frighten a beginner; for at first sight they appear as formidable as Chinese hieroglyphics. On analyzing them however they are simple enough to one who is well acquainted with the primary letters. Besides the truth is that in common practice not a twentieth or thirtieth part of them are ever used. Shakespeare has published them more as a matter of curiosity, to show what extraordinary compounds could be made.

no wonder that Persian should be the common as well as official medium of communication. If Government were to order that Hindostanee and Nagree should be the official character, the whole of the fourth class would immediately learn it, stimulated by the hope of official employment; the second class would improve their knowledge of it, whereas they have not sufficient leisure from their daily business to enable them to acquire an entirely different and extremely difficult language, such as the English; and the two first would render the more liberal system which has lately been introduced soon follow the general current, and Persian would very speedily be as much disused as Arabic and Sanscrit are at present. It is very doubtful, if in the whole of the Bengal presidency containing sixty millions of inhabitants, there be five hundred who are sufficiently acquainted with either of those languages to be able to read the easiest book for their own pleasure without the aid of a Dictionary.

## A FRIEND TO INDIA.

March, 1834.

## No. XXXI.

## ON THE BEST MODE OF ASCERTAINING THE CHARACTER OF PUBLIC OFFICERS.

Some time has now elapsed since the publication of the order of the Governor General in Council, professedly for this object. Of itself it supplies matter for much consideration both to those immediately concerned and to the public at large; but coupled as it is with the minute of the Governor General of January 15, 1834, on which the order is founded, it will enable us to enquire what is demanded, and the best means for attaining the object. Let us first examine the observations in the minute. The three first paragraphs assume that there is in the present day a much greater call for talent and application in the officers of Government than there was forty years ago. The reasons given are that the natives are growing more intelligent, and that the free settlement of Europeans is now to be allowed. In one point of view there is much truth in the assumption; in another it is utterly incorrect. Is it meant to be asserted that there was then much less business in the courts and offices of Government than now exists? We have seen from official reports that the number of district judges is fifty-nine; that on an average each has a tract of country subject to



his jurisdiction of seventy miles long by rather more than sixty broad ; containing 4,775 towns and villages, and a population of more than a million. It is probable that the population has considerably increased since that time ; but on the other hand the number of the judges in former days was less than it is now ; so that although the number of inhabitants in each district was perhaps something less than at present, the size of the provinces must have been greater, which would bring the difficulty of probably administering the affairs of the country and of attending to the wants of the people to much the same standard. But in those days the judges were also magistrates, and the natives of India are almost universally accused of litigiousness. The collectorships too were much on the same scale. Does the Governor General suppose that under such a system, justice was properly administered to the satisfaction of the people in those days, or that the abuses which are now so loudly complained of have only existed of late years ? To undeceive himself he has only to read the reports of the different judges of circuit between 1793 and 1809, many of which are published in the appendix to the 5th report. He will there find a most lamentable picture of misery caused by the utter inefficiency of the existing establishments, and by a virtual denial of justice. Then complaints were loud, because some credit was given by the people to our professions of a wish to remedy their grievances, and improve their condition : after that time the hopelessness of despair diminished the cries for redress. Now again the fever of desperation causes them to raise with redoubled energy. It is not that there is more to be done now, but that so much cannot with impunity be left undone ; and here his Lordship is right enough in alluding to the increased intelligence of the natives and the projected settlement of Europeans. The former have a truer perception of their own rights, or, more strictly speaking, a stronger determination to have them attended to ; the latter will now be unrestrained by the fear of transmission without trial. To both the press is open, and the day is passed when it could be fettered as it was before ; and we may rely upon it that neither will in future submit to misrule with the patience they have hitherto displayed. The real lesson which our rulers should learn if they would take timely warning, is to increase the courts so as to establish a possibility of justice being duly administered ; an utterly hopeless case under existing circumstances.

The fourth, fifth and sixth paragraphs allude to the evils

of an exclusive service ; and a proposal is made to remedy this by applying a stimulus to exertion. This is to be done by fixing a standard of efficiency for every grade of the public service, to be followed by a declaration that no person, whatever be his standing, shall be appointed to succeed to a vacant situation, unless he be considered properly qualified to do justice to the trust about to be confided to him. The observations in these are good, and the principle to be introduced equally so. Provided it be properly acted upon ; used, but not abused, it will almost effectually annihilate one great cause of complaint, which (but for the admission contained in the term "NEW PRINCIPLE") I might hardly have ventured to advert to ; viz. the little difference, in point of promotion, which has hitherto been made between the able and inefficient, the idle and diligent. Some instances to the contrary can doubtless be produced ; but the remark is by no means uncommon that in the Indian, or to speak within bounds, the Bengal Civil Service, a man has little inducement to exert himself beyond what the law obliges him, except in the approbation of his own conscience. This and the attachment and esteem of the natives, is certainly in every man's power to attain, but I fear it will not do much when unaccompanied by the more solid rewards which it is the province of Government to bestow. Objections have been, (for it is not the first time the subject has been discussed,) and are made to the introduction of the new principle. It is urged that a man enters the service under a tacit condition that he is to receive a provision in return for the renunciation of his home and friends, and devoting himself to the service of Government ; undoubtedly he does to a certain extent ; but I am not aware that there is any covenant expressed or implied which guarantees that every young writer shall rise progressively to the highest situations, without reference to his qualifications or assiduity, whether he be able or inefficient, idle or diligent. Such a principle would be the height of injustice to the people of India ; and has, to the extent to which it has been carried, already produced infinite mischief. Every man who enters the service is, unless he be absolutely deficient, or be guilty of corruption, or other crime sufficient to warrant his dismissal, entitled to a certain provision ; but beyond this, it is not very apparent what claim he has, as a matter of right, unconnected with proper qualifications. Surely the interests of so many millions of native subjects demand some attention. Many a man is fit for subordinate situations, where the duties

are easy and the responsibility small, who would be totally unqualified for higher employment. In the Army, by way of illustration, is it any novelty to find a man who performed the duties of adjutant so as to give entire satisfaction ; yet who was a very inefficient commanding officer when he afterwards rose to that rank ? Are there no instances of men who, as colonels of regiments, distinguished themselves highly, yet as generals proved quite incapable of commanding a division ? The same observation will hold good in all services. Let those of slender abilities be confined, on moderate salaries, to situations the duties of which they are capable of conducting : and let the higher offices be conferred on men who have proved themselves qualified to hold them efficiently, and to give satisfaction to the thousands whose interests are committed to their charge. Were this arrangement duly carried into effect, and sufficient provisions enacted to prevent its abuse, and the undue exertions of patronage in favor of friends to the detriment of the welfare of the people, the evils of an exclusive service, as far as the latter are concerned, would cease to exist ; for in reality it would no longer be an exclusive service. The numbers of young men sent out to afford a sufficient selection would be so much greater than at present, that the effect would be the same as if the service were declared open to all. The expense of course would be increased ; and this with the Court of Directors will form a strong if not insuperable objection to the proposed plan ; because as the British Indian Government has hitherto been constituted, and by the new charter is destined to remain for twenty years to come, all diminution of disbursements will only benefit the proprietors of India stock, not the people of India : and in addition to this consideration, should some of the sons or nephews of the Directors be among those unfortunates who should be destined to be passed over, the court will probably very speedily manifest an inclination to return to the old system.

The principle however is good like many other that have been promulgated by the British Indian Government, but like those the execution is a very different affair. On this head, the first point to be considered is the mode of ascertaining the qualifications of the different candidates which is treated of in paragraphs seven to eleven of the minute. The measure which it seems is chiefly, if not entirely, to be relied on, is a system of reports to be sent in by each functionary of the one immediately subordinate to him. The subject of the reports is to be temper,



discretion, patience, habits of application to public business, knowledge of the native languages, and pre-eminently, disposition and behaviour towards the people, high and low, with whom the functionary is brought into official contact. We must now enquire whether the points to be touched on are all that is required. The collector and magistrate is to report upon his deputy and assistants; he certainly has opportunities of ascertaining their qualifications; but as to the comments of the commissioner, whence is he to collect information to enable him to give any? He has no time to examine whole files of proceedings in cases decided by the deputy or assistants; and he can only assent to what the magistrate says, or give an opinion founded on the intercourse of private society. This too will only hold good with respect to the officers of that district in which the commissioners' head quarters are situated, since many of these latter devote so little time to visiting the other parts of divisions, that they know nothing of what goes on except from form and reports. There is much the same difficulty in the reports which the commissioner will indite relative to the collectors. As long as they are only drawn from official documents, very little reliance is to be placed upon them; and the difficulty will be still greater which the Courts and Boards will find in giving a character of the commissioners and sessions judges.

It may almost be taken for granted that an opinion of a subordinate functionary in India, drawn solely from official reports and forms, can but in a very slight degree be relied on. Yet this is the only foundation for the estimation in which every man is henceforward to be held by Government. Many a very efficient officer is held in low estimation by the superior authorities from some little accidental circumstance, or by inattention to a form, while others who are quite the reverse have, by a little tact, contrived to obtain a very tolerable character for efficiency. On this point a little detail is necessary, which will be best illustrated by examples. I was acquainted with the state of two districts, which by neglect had become in the greatest disorder. The civil business was almost at a stand; and the police had become so lax and insufficient that the most atrocious robberies were of nightly and even daily occurrence. Two men who stood high, and deservedly so, in the estimation of Government were selected to establish some order, and correct the existing evils. Both effected wonders, chiefly in the police departments, to which

their attention was almost wholly directed; but the result to each was very different. The one, Mr. A., was highly praised by the superior courts, and repeatedly received intimations of the favorable notice of Government. The other, Mr. B., was continually receiving reprimands, was called upon for constant explanations; and finally a person was appointed to inspect and report upon his proceedings, until at length he was almost tempted to throw up the appointment in disgust. Both were unavoidably obliged to have recourse to some strong and even harsh measures; but I believe that on the whole the real merit of each was about equal. What then was the reason of the different treatment each received? It was this: Mr. A. pursued his measures quietly, "without making any *fuss*" as it is called, so that the good was effected without causing any display, which when the correspondence was sent home might excite the attention of the Court of Directors to the previous infamous state of the district. Mr. B. on the other hand was a little too fond of referring to the former state of things, which of course reflected on the individual who had previously held the situation; and he happened to have "a friend at court." Besides which, Mr. B. occasionally in his reports cast reflections on the superior courts. In another instance two neighbouring districts were in an equal state of anarchy, and had been so for three or four years: yet the real state of one was well known, while the other was supposed to be in most excellent order. The reason was this. In both the robbers and thieves were connected with the officers at the head of the court and police, and in both only a small number of the crimes actually committed used to be inserted in the periodical reports: but in the one, English gentlemen had been often robbed; in the other such an occurrence rarely took place. The bad state of the former consequently was blazed all over the country: in the latter, the managers of the robberies and other crimes had discovered that so long as the English were unmolested they might perpetrate all sorts of extortions, oppressions, and robberies against the natives for a long time with impunity. If we are to take the reports of English travellers generally, we shall not arrive at a very correct conclusion. Their idea of the state of a district is usually formed from the difficulty or facility which they experience in procuring, without any trouble to themselves, supplies for their camp when marching; and the readiness with which the police lend their aid to en-

force any demand or requisition. The result is in plain English, under the existing state of affairs, that those districts bear the best character in which the servants and followers are allowed to practice to the greatest extent the oppressions and extortions alluded to in No. 25 of these papers, which treats on the system of purveyance and forced labour.

There are various modes besides efficiency by which a public officer may contrive to acquire a considerable estimation in the eyes of the superior authorities. One of the most simple is to be very particular in transmitting the periodical forms and reports on the precise day on which they are ordered to be prepared, and to answer without delay any letter that may be received or explanations required. Provided a commissioner do this, and that the revenue in his division be regularly and fully collected, the chief Court and Board do not look much further; indeed they have very little means of judging, if they should attempt to form an opinion of the real state of the division; for unless the increase of crimes be something very remarkable, it is not difficult to devise reasons and frame excuses which pass current. Besides, although it may not so often be done now, it was by no means uncommon formerly to insert in the reports only a portion of the crimes which were actually committed. The same observation holds good with regard to the Sudder Dewannee, and the civil and sessions judges. It is not very difficult for the latter, by adopting the same sort of means, to keep up appearances, and yet give very little satisfaction to the suitors. I know a young man who brought himself into notice in the following manner. The Governor General was on his tour: he called on one of the secretaries for a report on a particular subject. The latter asked the opinion of the young man above-mentioned, and he having first discovered the sentiments of the secretary, framed his reply accordingly. The consequence was, that he was pronounced by the secretary to be an extremely able and intelligent officer, and he shortly after received his reward by being promoted to a superior employment.

In paragraph 11, an allusion is made to integrity. It is pleasing to find that the idea of the general dishonesty of the servants of Government which common report had attributed to his Lordship is disclaimed by him, and that he allows the uprightness of principle by which his official subordinates have hitherto been distinguished. On paragraph 12, it is sufficient to observe that it is to be hoped there are but very few who



would not wish to benefit the people over whom they are placed. The object should be to teach them how to perform this duty.\*

There is also another point worthy of remark. Lord William Bentinck has during his administration hitherto kept almost the whole patronage of appointments in his own hands, avowedly for the benefit of the public service; and has manifested a considerable jealousy of every recommendation from the suspicion of interested motives. The impossibility of the head of the Government who rejected all ordinary means of information being really acquainted with the true characters of the different members of the service, particularly the juniors, was long ago apparent to every one else but himself. He has at last been convinced of it, and has recorded his own acknowledgement of the truth. The inefficacy of secret reports now stands confessed, and the experiment having failed, it is hoped that this will be the last attempt to introduce a system which is calculated not only to throw discredit upon its employers, but to disgust all those whose sense of honor and integrity is not entirely destroyed.

The plan in short which is to be henceforth adopted with a view to increase the efficiency of the public service and to enable Government to distinguish between the deserving and undeserving in the future distribution of its patronage, is to require a series of public reports from each rank. How it will answer its object remains to be seen. The great drawback is, that under the existing state of things such reports will furnish little or no criterion of character; while the system opens a wide door to the operation of private feelings, both to the advantage and the prejudice of those concerned. It is very rare when a man is (in common language) on good or bad terms with another, in private intercourse, that the opinion formed by the former on the official conduct of the latter will not, though perhaps unconsciously, be tinged with the feelings which must exist between them. Besides this, the reports of the controuling authorities will be more or less influenced by their own characters, by the greater or less importance which they attach to different points of duty, and by their own habits of business. The nearer the

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\* The assertion may perhaps startle my readers, but it is nevertheless true, that a corrupt civil officer, provided he be an able man, would cause far less evil than a negligent functionary, or one deficient in ability. This may be enlarged upon at a future time.

conduct of the juniors approaches to this standard, the more favorable will be the reports which concern them. One man will deem that conduct worthy of commendation which another would only consider as the bare performance of duty. One is an advocate for the employment of spies in furtherance of police business: another holds the system in abhorrence. One conceives that private intercourse with the people will furnish much useful information relative to their characters and the concerns of the district: another, that this sort of proceeding is apt to prejudice the mind, and maintains the expediency of doing every thing in court. One is of opinion that the eye of the magistrate should be every where; and that local enquiries tend much to elucidate a difficult case, because when people are taken unawares the truth is more likely to be discovered than when they have been tutored, as is too often the case, after their summons to a court of justice:—another who in his own time would never take any extra trouble, sneers at and decries such proceedings.\* One considers the collection of the full revenue to be a matter to which all others should give place: another, whose sense of justice to the people is stronger, will think that their protection from robbery and oppression is at least worthy of a considerable share of attention; and so on with numerous other examples that might be quoted. It is obvious that unless some detail be entered into, and reasons and explanations given for the opinions communicated, Government will be full as likely to be misled by the statement they will receive, as to gain a true insight into the conduct and characters of their servants. It is gratifying however to perceive that the Governor General disclaims the wish to establish a system of espionage: and it is only to be lamented that he did not adopt these sentiments some years since, and prevent the orders issued to the commissioners to transmit private reports on the conduct of those subordinate to him.

As a common measure of justice, every one has a right to expect that he will be supplied with a copy of the opinion of him entertained by his superiors, that he may at least have an opportunity of defending himself against unjust aspersions,

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\* This is no exaggeration; and I have heard many soberly remark on the inutility of doing more than a man was legally obliged to do. Others have declared that they saw no benefit in *personal activity* on the part of a judge or magistrate, the plain English of which is, that a man who takes trouble will do no more good than one who does not.

and obtain the satisfaction of knowing that his conduct has been approved of; as well as the advantage of discovering wherein he may be considered deficient, which will enable him to correct what has been wrong.

It is impossible, however, not to assent to the justice of the Governor General's opinion that something was absolutely necessary to be done. On the whole the Civil Service has hitherto possessed full as much talent, application, and integrity as could be found in any equally numerous body of men. Many, totally unconnected with it have placed it even on a still higher scale. The misfortune has been that there has been little or no inducement to extra exertion, excepting a man's own sense of duty and the esteem and attachment of the people; and that notorious incompetence and neglect was often allowed to pass almost unnoticed, while some petty matter of form, or what was construed into disrespect to Government, was sometimes visited much more severely than the offence deserved. I recollect a judge and magistrate who seldom attended his office above once a week, but when the cases were *prepared*, used to sign papers and pass orders at the direction of his head native officer. Of Persian this judge did not understand a syllable, so that it was impossible for him to tell to what he had fixed his signature. He was also greatly in debt to several natives of wealth and property in the district who had the complete disposal of every situation connected with the court, and of course employed their patronage either for the benefit of their friends or by the sale of the employments. As may be supposed the oppressions and extortions committed on the unfortunate inhabitants were endless: volumes might be filled with the details.

In the next district, the functionary was in the constant habit of intoxication to such a degree, as to be carried to bed by his servants almost every night. He generally rose about one o'clock in the day, and after breakfast performed his official duties in the same way I have just described.

Not far off was a collector, whose whole time was spent in the amusement of sporting; his business being confined to half an hour's daily work in signing papers. A little distance from him was another collector who was extremely assiduous in the occupation of making turning machines and repairing musical instruments; but who did just as much business and in the same way that the last named individual performed it.



During the course of my experience I could point out about a score of instances as disgraceful as the foregoing, and a far greater proportion of those of minor neglect and inattention to the wants of the people.\* How were such abuses allowed to exist? Those whose duty it ought to have been to have checked them must answer this question. Our courts of circuit, boards of commissioners, superintendants of police, were all in full operation, and periodical tours were made by the members. All that I have above stated was perfectly well known to these superior authorities, and the members of Government also. Yet the whole of these people were allowed to continue in their offices and to rise progressively from one appointment to the other. There seems to have been generally a feeling that it was better to pass over such things for fear of throwing discredit upon the Government by bringing them to light† and where there was so little encouragement to do well, and so little fear of punishment for the evil doers, the wonder is that so much conscientious attention to duty was to be found. In the first mentioned instance, the conduct of the functionary was at length brought to light and not only every thing that I have asserted, but much more was fully proved on investigation before a commissioner. The punishment inflicted was suspension from office for a few months; at the end of which the individual was re-appointed to a higher situation;‡ yet while such apathy was manifested to the in-

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\* There is no occasion to run into extremes: because in the course of nearly thirty years, one may have observed a score of such instances, and two or three score more of minor neglect; and although there may have been others out of the sphere of observation of any one man, we need not suppose that the majority are guilty of such shameful neglect of duty. During the same period, the number of men in the Civil Service will probably have exceeded a thousand.

† This feeling is a great deal too common in human nature: it is much to be deplored, for it has done more to bring discredit on institutions and public bodies, than all that their worst enemies would have been able to effect. When we see attempts to screen men who have behaved ill, and to stifle enquiry, the world will always naturally suppose that the evils are much greater than they really are. On the contrary when the heads of a department are observed to be the first to bring to light and to punish any misconduct, they will receive credit when they assert that there is no cause for complaint.

‡ The manner in which this was effected is worth noting. An important member of the Government was on a tour in the interior, and at the end of a tiresome journey alighted at the house of a person who was a friend of the officer alluded to. After the great man had dressed and eaten a good breakfast, his host took advantage of that time when, as Captain Hall says, "men are generally in the best humour," and more disposed to do kind things, after their minds "and bodies have had rest, and before the cares of the day have ruffled their thoughts," and begged that some favor might be shown to his friend. In

terests of the people, a very slight inattention to some point of official etiquette often subjected the offender to severe reprimands, and sometimes he was suspended from his situation until an ample apology should be made.

But these it will be said are tales of bye-gone days and that things are very different now. This is much to be doubted. There is undoubtedly a greater show upon paper; but I imagine the probability to be that less rather than more is done at present than before. No new inducements to exertion have been introduced; nor is there greater fear of punishment. The present order and minute sufficiently prove the inadequacy of all the measures adopted by the Governor General to ascertain the real character of the public officers; for had these been successful, the former would in all probability have never been issued. Insulated cases of extraordinary neglect, corruption, and inefficiency, are equally to be found in the present day. I could instance one officer, a civil and sessions judge, who goes to office about six days in every month, just sufficient to enable him to hold the sessions: the rest of his work is done at home. The prescribed number of cases are got through within the month; and the miscellaneous and petition file cleared off after a fashion, so as to keep up appearances with the superior court.

Another is greatly in debt to many of his native officers, and of course does not dare discharge any of them, whatever may be the extent of their peculations or extortions. A third pursues the same course of intoxication and neglect of duty which I have mentioned above. These, and I could give one or two more examples, have so acted for several years. It is

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the warmth of the moment this was promised, and the promise performed. Yet if punishment were to be measured by the evils which had been caused, hardly any that could have been devised would have been an adequate return for the miseries which that officer's conduct had inflicted on the inhabitants of the district over which he had been placed. What must the natives think of our professed zeal for morality when they witness such proceedings as these; and at the same time see a native officer dismissed his situation and publicly declared incapable of serving Government again in any capacity for what, compared with the above would be but a slight misconduct. It may be observed too as to the effect of non-intercourse, and intercourse with the people, that notwithstanding periodical visits by courts of circuit and other superior authorities, the functionary alluded to had pursued his infamous course for several years, not only without discovery, but retaining a fair character in the estimation of Government; until an officer visited his district, who was in the habit of allowing the natives free access to him. Yet it was not till four years afterwards, after the matter had been again brought forward by another officer, that the person was dismissed from his situation!

notorious to all around, and I have reason to believe the superior courts are not altogether ignorant of it. During his late tour, Lord William Bentinck passed through the districts in which these officers reside, yet was unable to discover such notoriously improper conduct. I say unable to discover, because after the repeated professions of his Lordship of zeal for the public good to the disregard of private feelings, had he been aware of the conduct of these individuals, they would doubtless long ago have been dismissed from their situations.

But after such a picture of things, my readers may well exclaim "what is to be done?" It is utterly hopeless for our rulers to endeavour to discover the character of their subordinate officers; and are we to sit down in despair, and trust to chance for the administration of the affairs of the country? By no means. The object is to be accomplished like most others, if people will go the right way to work. Neither the system of espionage, nor of public reports will be found to succeed. There is one way, and but one way, of ascertaining the character of the public functionaries—apply to those, of whatever class, English or native, who hold no Government office, and have no voice in the enactment of the laws, but who *feel their effects*, and who are thereby qualified to give an opinion on the operation of the Government systems. This test as I have already had occasion to observe, (see No. 27), if properly applied, will prove infallible; but it will require much attention and discretion and no small portion of time in its application. It will not do for a commissioner to run through his district, and after his tour to enquire of his head man what is the opinion of the people; or even to content himself with asking two or three of those he meets as to the state of affairs. This has unfortunately been too often the mode in which the "opinions of the people" have been collected; but if the enquiry is to be made, it must be done properly: the opinions of all classes must be collected; the probable reasons for their sentiments analyzed; and the whole compared and weighed together. There are several points which will strike the enquirer. If the police and the servants of English gentlemen complain that the magistrate is harsh, it is strong presumptive testimony to his efficiency: harshness in their mouths signifies the prevention of their extortions and oppressions. Should English merchants praise, while the natives complain, it is fair evidence that the former are somewhat favored at the expense of the latter. If the police or the court



officers are uncivil to the English merchants and indigo planters, it is a symptom of prejudiced feelings existing towards the latter on the part of the functionary. If the shopkeepers in the towns are satisfied while complaints are loud from the gang of self-constituted weigh men, watchmen, choudries, &c. &c., all this is so much to the magistrate's credit; with an innumerable variety of other examples, which practice will soon teach. The more that can be learnt incidentally without making direct enquiries, the better. It is long indeed before a native acquires sufficient confidence in an English Government functionary to speak his mind before him; for which there are many reasons which will easily suggest themselves. I was once encamped close to a small village, and asked two or three people who were near my tent some questions about the state of the district; from whom I received loud complaints of the inefficiency of the judge and of the want of justice in his proceedings. They supported this by several instances of cases in which the informant's suits had been dismissed, and themselves fined by the collusion of the opposite parties with the officers of the court. "A shocking picture," I mentally exclaimed. Not long after I heard a dispute between two people relative to the demand of a debt; in which it appeared that promises of payment had often been made and as often broken. At last the creditor declared that he would wait no longer, but would positively file a suit forthwith in the court: on this the other promised most sincerely that the money or the greater part of it should be forthcoming on the following day, if he would only wait till then. There was new matter for reflection. If the judge be really so inefficient and the court so corrupt, how comes it that a threat to have recourse to it by the *honest* party immediately causes the *dishonest* man to come to terms? On further enquiry I found that the judge was one of the most able and indefatigable in the country, and gave entire satisfaction to the well-disposed. The three first men to whom I had spoken were part of a gang who had long gained a livelihood by getting up false and unfounded suits to the terror of their neighbours, but who had at length been discovered and punished by a heavy fine.

But unfortunately the majority of the Government functionaries have not leisure to devote a sufficient portion of time and attention to communicate with the people; besides which if they had, with the exception of the commissioner and civil judge who reside at the same station with the superior board

and court, all the others are out of the reach of any enquiry by the latter, who never quit their own station. Some other plan must therefore be devised; and I will venture to suggest one which will at any rate be better than that which it has been proposed to introduce.

This is to establish a test of proficiency for each grade of the public service. A regular examination *viva voce* is, in the scattered nature of the service, wholly out of the question. Much however may be done by papers. For the first appointment of a young man there is the test of languages, which may remain as it is. The next would be that containing the qualifications for promotion to head assistant. For this purpose let a formula of some hundred or two hundred questions be prepared, as to what are the provisions of the regulations on various subjects. The same on the mode of doing business on the Moosulman law, Hindoo law, customs of the people, &c. Whenever a young man thinks he can pass the test a selection of these questions, ten, fifteen, or fifty of each subject should be written out, and together with some exercises in the oriental languages sent up to the commissioner, who with one or two as a committee, should send for the young man, place them before him, and in presence of the committee, without any assistance, require him to write answers, and perform the exercises. The result of his labours, together with copies of eight or ten proceedings, and decisions held and passed by him, should be transmitted to the secretary to Government, by whom they should be referred to a competent person or to a committee; the latter, without knowing whom the papers concerned, should pronounce their opinion upon them. The same plan might be adopted with head assistants who aspired to the office of deputy; deputies who thought themselves competent to take charge of a district; and collectors who were candidates for a commissionership; except that in each of the latter cases, the questions should be of a more difficult nature. The commissioners\* and civil and sessions judges might also be subject to a test on a similar principle. Doubtless this plan is open to many improvements and objections; but it contains two important advantages. First, there will be some-

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\* This would be more necessary than might be supposed; some three or four years ago half a dozen individuals holding the situations of commissioner or judge of the court of appeal might have been mentioned, who would probably have found it difficult to pass a test sufficient to entitle a man to the situation of deputy collector. One or two might still be now pointed out.

thing definite on which to form an opinion, instead of a mere vague report; secondly, it will utterly exclude all room for partiality. The only point not specially touched upon is, behaviour to the people: but a knowledge of their local and every day customs cannot be gained without considerable intercourse with the better sort; and this of all things is the best mode of inducing kindly feelings towards them.

There are some other points of a minor nature, by attending to which considerable emulation might be promoted: at present the district officers are often totally ignorant of the estimation in which they are held by the superior courts and boards. A collector and magistrate is not always told what the opinion of the court or the higher authorities is in regard to the estate of the district: and a civil and session judge very rarely receives any information on the subject. A man who has been working extra hours, and has done three times as much as his neighbour, receives no reply to his annual statements in which the result is communicated: for any thing he knows they may never have been looked at:\* while the negligent man who receives a severe reprimand is very careless about it so long as it be not published to the world: with this proviso, a man who with his eyes open will act so as to deserve a reprimand, is generally callous enough not to feel the shame of it.

The best plan at present within reach therefore to promote the efficiency of the public service, will be to establish tests of such a nature, that without fear or favor it may be in the power of any man to prove his eligibility to a situation: as a supplementary incitement, some notice should be taken to point out to the world those who had neglected their duty; those who had come just enough to avoid censure; and those who had really exerted themselves in the discharge of their duty without reference to the sacrifice of their own time and ease. This at least will be productive of some benefit until a plan can be devised to ascertain the character of public servants from those only who are competent judges—the people

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\* The real mode in which these reports are inspected is too often as follows: The members of the superior courts cannot from pressure of business attend to those matters themselves: the reports are inspected by one of the clerks. If the prescribed number of suits, or quantum of business has been performed, they are consigned to the record office for another clerk to connect the summary to be despatched to Government; if not, a letter according to form is drawn out for the register or secretary to sign, calling on the negligent functionary for an explanation.



whose lives, fortunes, and happiness depend upon the due administration of the laws by which they are governed. In the meantime the press should exert itself to mark every instance of good conduct or neglect of duty; and by a plain unvarnished statement of *facts* prove, that their object is not to detract from individuals, but to promote the benefit of the public at large.

In conclusion, let me observe that the subject is not yet exhausted; and there are doubtless many points connected with it which may have escaped the attention of the writer of these notes. The great importance of it should induce others to offer their remarks and suggestions: but whatever be the plan ultimately adopted to improve the officers of Government, at the risk of repetition, it should again and again be urged upon our rulers, that until the number of officers be increased, and the size of the districts diminished, it is physically impossible for human power to administer the affairs of the country so as to allow the interests of the people to be sufficiently promoted.

### A FRIEND TO INDIA.

March, 1834.

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### No. XXXII.

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#### SKETCH OF THE BRITISH INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

It will not be amiss at the present stage of these papers, to take a summary view of the establishment and constitution of the British Indian Government. This will resolve itself into two heads. The establishment of our power in a political point of view, and the system we have introduced for the internal government of the country.

On the first head, a very short summary will be sufficient, for those of my readers who take any interest in the subject will be well acquainted with its history; and others who have it yet to learn, will not find it difficult to procure the necessary information from the various writers on the subject, particularly Mill, from whom the following account is chiefly abstracted.

The first step towards the acquisition of our real power in Bengal, was the retaking of Calcutta by Lord Clive and Admiral Watson in January 1757; previous to which the East India Company's servants were merely the factors and clerks.

of a Company of merchants. In March of the same year, Clive attacked the French factory at Chandernagore, against the will of the Nawab Suraj ood Dowlah. This had so irritated the latter, that Clive perceiving there could be little amity between them, and having a tolerably strong body of troops, formed the plan of dethroning him. He began by corrupting his officers, and intriguing with Meer Jaffer Khan, to whom he offered the throne. This was followed by the battle of Plassey on the 23d June, 1757; the murder of Suraj ood Dowlah by the son of Jaffer, and the establishment of Meer Jaffer as Nawab; who promised large sums to the Company, the Army, and Navy, and as presents to the superior servants of the Company. As however Meer Jaffer found considerable difficulty in fulfilling these promises, the English Government began to think of the expediency of dethroning him also; and having made arrangements with his son-in-law, Meer Casim, set the latter on the throne on the 27th September, 1760. The success of Meer Casim in paying the stipulated sums was so great, that by March 1762, he had discharged the whole of his pecuniary obligations to the English; and had made considerable progress in introducing order into his territories; but because he objected to allow the English to plunder the whole country, under pretence of trade; and when they insisted that while their own trade remained duty free, heavy duties should be imposed on that of all others,—because he had the justice to abolish all transit duties, and lay the interior trade of his country perfectly open; they accused him of a breach of the peace towards the English nation. They accordingly deposed him in 1763 and again restored Meer Jaffer. This Prince died in 1765, and was succeeded by his next surviving son Nuzem ood Dowlah; and by the treaty with him in February of that year, the English resolved to take the whole military defence of the country, i. e. Bengal, Behar, and Orissa entirely into their own hands. The necessities of the Mogul Emperor were next taken advantage of, and a firman was extorted from him, appointing the Company perpetual dewan of those provinces. This firman was dated 12th August, 1765, and marks one of the most conspicuous eras in the history of the Company, constituting them masters of so great an empire in name and responsibility, as well as in power. Accompanying this firman, the imperial confirmation of the Emperor was obtained of all the territories which the Company possessed throughout the nominal extent of the Mogul empire. From this time the English

are to be considered the virtual sovereigns of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The army was afterwards engaged in various transactions, all of which tended to encrease their power; and in 1772 they "stood forth as dewan," and took the collection of the revenue and the administration of civil justice into their own hands. Since that period the British authority has been gradually extended over the country, until it has reached its present height.

The government of the country will now form the subject of enquiry; and first for the General Government.

The Presidency of Calcutta was established only in 1707, till which period the affairs of that factory were administered from Madras. A presidency was then composed of a President or Governor and a Council. The latter varied in number according to the pleasure of the Directors, being sometimes nine, sometimes twelve. They were chosen from the civil class, and generally appointed by seniority. Every thing was determined by a majority of votes. But when any man became a member of council, he was not debarred from holding subordinate functions, and thus of course the best appointments were distributed among this body. Many, if not most of the members of council were Chiefs of the more important factories, which occasioned their continual absence from the Council Board; and as their appointment to those lucrative situations was in considerable degree subject to the will of the President, his influence was commonly sufficient to carry every point according to his own inclination.

On the 20th of June, 1758, a commission arrived from England to re-model the Government, on a scheme as extraordinary, considering the circumstances in which the English were placed in India, as was ever devised. A council was nominated, consisting of ten members; and instead of one Governor as in the preceding arrangements, *four* were appointed, not to preside collectively, but each during three months in rotation. The inconvenience of this scheme of Government was easily perceived; but convinced that Clive alone had sufficient authority to overawe the Nawab into the performance of his obligations, the Council, including the four gentlemen who were appointed Governors, (Clive's name not being among them,) came to a resolution highly expressive of their own disinterestedness and public spirit, but full of disregard and contempt for the judgment and authority of their superiors. This



high legislative act of the Company they took upon themselves to set aside, and with one accord, invited Clive to accept of the undivided office of President: with which invitation he hesitated not one moment to comply.

In 1765 a new form of Government was devised for the Presidency of Bengal, consisting of a Governor and four Councillors, called a Select Committee. This new organ was only intended to exist while the disturbances lasted which it was created to remove; but although on the arrival of the Governor and Committee the disturbances had ceased to exist, they assumed the whole power of Government, civil and military, and administered to themselves and their secretaries the oath of secrecy. This Council also imposed new terms on the Nawab, requiring him to assign the whole of his revenues to the Company, receiving in return a pension.

In 1769 the disappointment of the annual treasures which they had been so confidently promised, induced the Court of Directors to devise a new plan for the Government of Bengal. This was to send out a Board of Commissioners or Supervisors, who were to be superior to the President and Council, and to be authorized to exercise almost all the powers which the Company themselves, if present in India, would possess. The Ministers of the Crown wished to secure to themselves a share in the patronage, and proposed to send out a King's Commissioner with powers independent of the Company; but this plan met with such vehement opposition from the latter, that it was abandoned. The ship in which the first supervisors embarked was never heard of afterwards; so that this new system was never carried into effect.

In 1773 a new plan was instituted—this was to appoint a Governor General and Council. The new Councillors arrived in India on the 19th of October 1774, and took possession of their authority on the following day. This establishment consisted of a Governor General and four members of Council. Subsequently the latter were reduced to three; and in 1784, the Governor General and Council of Bengal was vested with a controlling power over the other Presidencies; and the Governor General was authorized to act on his own responsibility in opposition to the opinions of his Council. This state of things has remained to the present day; but has now been superceded by the arrangements lately enacted, which are familiar to all my readers as contained in the new Charter.

In regard to the controul of Europeans in India, from an early period the servants of the Company were intrusted with the powers of martial-law for the government of the troops which they maintained in defence of their forts and factories; and with reference to such of their countrymen as were not in the service, the Company were armed with powers to seize them; put them in confinement; and send them to England. In 1661 by a Charter of Charles I., the Presidents and Councils in their factories were empowered to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction according to the laws of England, under which they had exercised them accordingly. In 1726 a Charter was granted, by which the Company were permitted to establish a court at each presidency, consisting of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, empowered to decide all civil cases of whatever description. From this jurisdiction the President and Council were erected into a Court of Appeal. This Court also held quarter sessions for the exercise of penal judicature in all cases, except high treason; and Court of Requests, or Court of Conscience, was instituted for the decision, by summary procedure, of all pecuniary questions of small amount. Besides the above-mentioned tribunals established by the Company for the administration of the British laws to the British people in India, they erected in the capacity of zemindar of the district around Calcutta, the usual Zemindarree Courts for the administration of the Indian laws to the Indian people. These were the Phoujdaree Court for the trial of crimes; and the Cutcherry for civil causes, besides the Collector's Court for matters of revenue. The judges in these tribunals were servants of the Company, appointed by the Governor and Council, and holding their offices during pleasure. The rule of judgment was the supposed usage of the country, and the discretion of the court: and the mode of procedure was summary. Punishment extended to fine, imprisonment, labour on the roads in chains for a limited time, or for life; and flagellation, either to a limited degree, or death. The ideas of honor prevalent among the natives induced the Mogul Government to forbid the European mode of capital punishment by hanging, in the case of a Mussulman. In compensation however it had no objection to his being whipped to death; and the flagellants in India are said to be so dexterous as to kill a man with a few strokes of the korah, (a heavy whip).

In 1753 a new Charter of Justice was granted, which established matters on much the same footing as that of 1726,

for the trial of suits between Europeans and the cognizance of crimes by the latter: but as this extent of jurisdiction was framed according to the sphere of the Company's possessions at the time when it was assigned, it deprived them of all powers of judicial coercion, with regard to Europeans over the wide extent of territory of which they afterwards acted as sovereigns.

In 1773 the Supreme Court of Judicature was established, a court whose arbitrary proceedings and inordinate grasping at power and patronage threatened at one time to subvert the whole civil government of the country.\* Its operations have

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\* In Nos. 24 and 28 are to be found some remarks on the introduction of English law and customs into India. Since the publication of those papers I have heard much discussion on the subject, which has been confined to declamation without at all touching the merits of the case. A Court of English law constituted like the present Supreme Court, is no protection whatever in those cases in which the people really require it. Ever since 1782 the Governor General and Council, and all matters connected with revenue, were expressly exempted from the operation of the Court. A numerous list of evils suffered by the people of India has already been pointed out which this Court has no power to remedy; and I again repeat the challenge to any one to show one single benefit that has been derived from the existence of the Supreme Court, which would not equally have been obtained from a local court. On the other hand the evils caused by the practice of the Supreme Court have been immense. Take the following in illustration. An English merchant resident in the provinces borrows large sums of money from a native on a mortgage of his factory: he subsequently becomes bankrupt, and the native brings the case into the local court in order to obtain possession of the factory in satisfaction of his claim. The business is progressing, but at this stage the agent in Calcutta to whom the merchant also was largely indebted calls on the latter to secure his claim. The merchant accordingly executes a judgment bond according to the form of English law to the agent at a date perhaps several years later than the deed of mortgage which he had given to the native. The agent immediately commences a proceeding in Calcutta, and a Sheriff's officer is sent up to seize all the property of the merchant, including the factory previously mortgaged to the native. This mortgage and the whole of the proceedings of the local Court are entirely disregarded; and the factory is either transferred to the Calcutta agent, or sold for his sole benefit by the Sheriff. Is this justice? Cases might even be quoted where such a proceeding was enforced, when possession of the property had been previously transferred to the native creditor. The dread of such injustice has caused the natives in the provinces of late years, very much to decline having any transactions with an English merchant. See some statements on this subject lately published in England by Mr. Newham, formerly Commissioner of Furrakhabad. The habeas corpus issued to Mr. Forbes, the Magistrate of Burdwan not long ago will be quoted by some, as an instance of protection derived from the Supreme Court. It seems an individual, Mr. Sherman, was accused of knowingly harbouring persons accused of murder, and refusing to give them up; for which he was detained in custody by the Magistrate. An application was made to the Supreme Court for a habeas corpus, and Mr. Sherman was ultimately liberated on bail; the case not being sufficient to warrant his being detained in custody. Such a result might have been procured by an application to the Commissioner of the division, at an expence of a petition upon stamp paper value two rupees without the trouble of making affidavits. Will any one behind the scenes favour the public with a statement of the costs of this application to the Supreme



however now become recorded as matter of history. It is sufficient to observe here, that happily for the people of India, its freaks of power will by the new charter be put under sufficient controul, so as to prevent the mischief which has hitherto resulted from its proceedings, while ample latitude is still allowed for effecting any good which could be effected from a court of such a nature.

Let us now take a cursory view of the arrangements for the Internal Government of the country. The primary object with the East India Company was from the first the acquisition of a large revenue. Until 1765 they had no other means but that of trade; but in that year they received the grant of the Dewanee, i. e. the power to collect the revenues of the country and to a certain extent to administer civil justice. They did not however interfere with the established arrangements for this purpose, until August 1769, when civil servants were stationed in various districts throughout the country, under the title of supervisors, to superintend the native officers. In the next year two councils with authority over the superiors were appointed; one at Moorshedabad, the other at Patna. The administration of justice being a heavy and unproductive toil, and of which under the Mogul governors the criminal part belonged to the nazim or military governor, the civil, to the dewan or fiscal governor, was left in the hands of the Nawab; consequently, as reported by the supervisors, its regular course was every where impeded, but every man exercised it who had the power of compelling others to submit to his decisions.

In May 1772, when it was resolved to let the lands in farm, a committee of the Board, consisting of the president and four members, was appointed to proceed on circuit and receive proposals; while the title of supervisor was changed to that of collector. The principal officer for the superintendence of the revenue which had been conducted by an officer called naib (deputy) dewan was removed from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, and placed under the immediate superintendence of the

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Court? In this case the distance of the two Courts from the scene of action, Bardwan, was about the same. Had it been a thousand miles from Calcutta the expense and distance to be travelled, in an application to the Commissioner's office, would have still been the same as at present; what would this, and the consequent delay have been, in an application to the Supreme Court?

N. B. The question whether the endowments of the temple at Singrampoor are to be sold in satisfaction of a private debt of the priests is still undecided. It is nearly two years since the seizure took place.

**Government.** The whole council were constituted a Board of Revenue to sit two days in the week, or if necessary, more; the members of council were appointed to act as auditors of accounts, each a week in rotation.

Formerly the administration of justice was as follows: The zemindar was the great fiscal officer of the district and exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction within the territory over which he was appointed to preside. In his criminal court he inflicted all sorts of penalties, chiefly fines for his own benefit; even capital punishment under no further restraint than reporting the case to Moorshedabad (the capital) before execution. In his Civil Court he decided all questions relating to property, being entitled to a chout or twenty-five per cent. upon the subject of litigation. Besides the tribunals of the districts, the capital was provided with two Criminal Courts; in one of which called roy adaulut, the nazim, as supreme magistrate, tried capital offences; in another, a magistrate called the phoujdar, tried offences of a less penal description, and reported his proceedings to the nazim. At the capital was also found the principal dewanee or fiscal court, in which the dewan tried causes relating to the revenue, including all questions of title to land. All other civil causes were tried at the capital in the Court of the Daroga Adaulut ool Alea, except those of inheritance and succession, which were decided by the cauzee and mufti: an officer with the title of moh-tesib superintended the weighs and measures and other matters of police.

As the establishment of the police magistrates called foudars and thannadars introduced in 1774 followed the example of so many of the contrivances adopted in the Government of India, that is, did not answer the end for which it was designed; the judges of Dewannee Adalut were vested with power of apprehending depredators and delinquents within the bounds of their jurisdiction, but not of trying or punishing them; a power which was still reserved to the Nizamut Adawluts, acting in the name of the Nawab. The Governor General and Council also reserved a power of authorizing, in cases in which they might deem it expedient the zemindars to exercise such part of the police jurisdiction as they had formerly exercised under the Mogul administration, and in order to afford the government some oversight and controul over the penal jurisdiction of the country, a new office was established at the presidency, under the immediate superintendence of the

Governor General. To this office, reports of proceedings with lists of commitments and convictions were to be transmitted every month; and an officer under the Governor General with the title of "Remembrancer of the Criminal Courts" was appointed for the transaction of its affairs. In November 1782, in consequence of commands from the Court of Directors, the jurisdiction of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut was resumed by the Governor General and Council.

Still the inefficiency of the system established for the collection of the revenue,—that being the mild term used to signify the inadequacy of the sums produced to meet the expectations of the Court of Directors and the British Ministry,—and for the administration of justice was so apparent that in 1786 fresh instructions were issued on both heads. These were partially carried into effect in the following year, and the collectors were vested with the triple power of revenue agents, of judges, and of police magistrates.

But after all these changes, the anarchy, confusion, and total want of justice was so obvious, that a complete reformation was found absolutely necessary: and this brings us to the financial and judicial reforms of Lord Cornwallis in 1793. On the principles now laid down, the collectors were restricted to the collection of the revenue, (there was no assessment required, the settlement having been declared permanent as to its amount) and other avocations connected with it. In each district was appointed a judge to decide civil cases, with a register and one or more assistants from among the junior servants of the Company. Each court was provided with a native, to expound the Hindoo or Mahomedan law, in cases which turned upon any of these several codes, and all descriptions of persons within the local administration of the tribunal, except British subjects amenable to the Supreme Court, were rendered subject to its jurisdiction.

To obviate the danger of arrears in decision from the arrival of too many causes to decide, the judge was authorized to refer to his register, under an appeal to himself, all suits in which the litigated property was not of considerable amount. The jurisdiction of the register was extended at first to 200 rupees and afterwards to sums of a higher amount. For determining suits regarding personal property, from the value 50 rupees downwards, native commissioners were appointed; and of these tribunals several at convenient distances were established in every district.



For the revision of the decisions of the district judges four tribunals of appeal were established, called Provincial Courts: one in the vicinity of Calcutta; one at Patna; one at Dacca; and one at Moorshedabad. They were constituted in the following manner. Three judges chosen from the civil department and distinguished by the appellations of first, second and third; a register, with one or more assistants from the junior branch of the European service; and three expounders of the native law, a kazeer, a mufti, and a pundit, formed the establishment of each court. The privilege of appeal was still confined to sums of a given though reduced amount, and by subsequent regulations, a more humane and rational policy was adopted; an appeal being allowed from every primary decision of the zillah courts. Even the appellate jurisdiction of the zillah courts might be reviewed by this superior Court of Appeal, commonly known by the name of the Provincial Court, in those cases in which it was occasion to interpose. It was also, in the exercise of its appellate jurisdiction, empowered to take fresh evidence, or to send back the cause to original court for that purpose.

Another, a higher, a third stage of jurisdiction was erected. A tribunal entitled the Sudder Dewanee Adalat (Supreme Civil Court) was set up at Calcutta to receive appeals from the Provincial Courts. This was at first composed of the Governor General and the members of the superior council, assisted by the kazeer ool kazat or head kazeer; two muftis; two pundits; a register and assistants; but subsequently, after some modifications in 1805, a chief judge and other puisne judges were appointed specially for this court; it being found that the time of the Governor General and Council was too much occupied with other avocations to allow them to devote sufficient time to the court. This regulation has again been subsequently modified.

To superintend the collectors there was appointed a Board of Revenue at Calcutta; and afterwards in 1807 another was established for the western provinces, and in 1817 one was created for the Central Provinces.

Such was the system established by Lord Cornwallis for the administration of the internal affairs of the Bengal Presidency; it was based on sound principles, and was worthy of an enlightened statesman. It may be called the first general plan which was ever introduced for the Government of the country: for the previous patch-work expedients, by which the old na-

tive and the new English functionaries shared a divided, ill defined, and anomalous authority do not deserve the name. Its main features were to separate the collection of the revenue from the administration of justice, and to place those employed in the former 'duty' subordinate to the judges and magistrates, a point extremely desirable when we consider how great a temptation there is to the collectors to abuse their authority, inasmuch as their own promotion and fortunes depended very much on the amount they contributed to the Government treasury. It was part of the plan to secure the integrity of servants of Government, and to offer every inducement to men of ability to enter the service, by fixing the salaries on a most liberal scale of emolument.

The plan however has totally failed in attaining the objects which were expected. This has been pronounced by the highest authority, and it is worth while to investigate the reasons of it. In the first place it contained some radical defects. One was, that with the exception of the office of moonsiffs, (which as it was at first regulated may be denominated a sort of parish commissioner for the trial of causes of debt of small amount,) no office of any avowed respectability was open to the natives. To the situations about the courts, they were declared eligible, from the mere impossibility of finding Englishmen who could perform the duties; for there was not one who possessed a sufficient knowledge of Persian, which was ordained to be the language of the courts. But even here we had a sample of the illiberal policy which has occasioned such evil effects in the British Indian Government. Native Christians were rigidly excluded; it being declared that every situation open to the natives was to be filled by either a Hindoo or a Mussulman. Another evil was fixing the rate of pay for the natives on a scale barely sufficient to support existence. It is strange that the expediency of applying the same policy on this head towards the natives, which was adopted with regard to the English, did not suggest itself; or was it that at that period the former were supposed to possess a greater share of integrity than the latter? But the main deficiency was the small number of officers appointed to administer justice and to conduct the affairs of the Government. Even in the revenue branch, and in that part of country in which the settlement was declared permanent, it was impossible that the collectors could attend to the whole of their duties efficiently; and as to civil and criminal justice, it is only surprising that any one could have imagin-

ed it possible, that single individual, could have united in his own person the functions of civil judge and magistrate, and fulfilled the duties of those arduous situations in a tract of country seventy miles long by rather more than sixty broad and containing a population of above a million; particularly, and this should be borne in mind as the customs of the people are such, that, without having recourse to the supposition of the existence of a greater spirit of litigation in a given population, a much greater quantity of business in the courts of law would arise than in England.

The inefficiency of the establishment for the administration of the revenue became still more apparent, when the system was extended to places where periodical assessments of the land revenue were necessary.

After all these experiments and plans for legislation, the best of which, has been, as above remarked, acknowledged a complete failure, it is curious to observe how we have at length reverted to the native district system described already in this paper. It is also worthy of remark how long it was before the defects of Lord Cornwallis's plan were discovered. These did not lie in its outline, which was drawn on correct principles, it was the detail that was in fault. All that was necessary was to have made the magistrate altogether a separate officer from the judge, to have diminished the size of the districts, and to have admitted the natives to a share in the government of their own country.

To this however there were several objections. First, the diminution of the patronage of the Court of Directors. Secondly, the necessity to own that we had committed an error. And thirdly, a dislike to see natives in any situation that could be conceived to place them on an equality with Englishmen.\* The expedients which have been devised to obviate the evils of the plan and the gradual departure from the principles on which it was founded, are well worthy to be examined, and to these I must now invite attention.

One of the most obvious features of justice which it contained was the separation of the duties of the collector from those of the judge, and preventing the revenue officers from having any thing to do with the administration of justice.

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\* The pride and prejudice of a bureaucracy, as the Duke of Wellington calls it, has happily diminished of late years; but it is still excessively strong. It will, however, yield as the English become more enlightened and know themselves as well as the natives, better than they do now.



The propriety of this, in a country like India, was plain. Here, the chief revenue is raised by a direct tax on the land. The collectors are made to feel that their characters as efficient government servants, and their future promotion will mainly depend on the amount of the sums they can extort from the people; and one of the professed objects of the courts of justice was to protect the latter from any undue exertion of power on the part of those who were employed in the collection of the revenue. It was clear therefore that the two lines should be kept perfectly distinct, or in plain English, that an appeal from the acts of a collector should not be made to the collector himself. But it was soon perceived that the courts of justice were totally incompetent to perform their duties; the arrears were so great as to amount to a denial of justice; and the people were content to submit to fraud and injustice, rather than waste time and money in a vain attempt to procure redress. The natural remedy would have been to have increased the number of the courts and judges; but this would not have suited the British India system. The plan adopted was of two descriptions: first, to establish checks, devise new forms, and call for reports; and secondly, to take matters out of the cognizance of the judge and encrease the powers of the collectors; but it is well worthy of observation that this latter was only done in those points which tended to the immediate advancement of the chief object of Government, viz. the realization of a large revenue.

One of the most striking instances is the provision for the mode of proceeding relative to claims by individuals to the rent of lands hitherto exempt from assessment, and claims on the part of Government to tax lands hitherto held rent free. The enactments regarding these are found partly in Regulation II. of 1819, VII. of 1822, and IX. of 1825, in which the collector was declared to be the officer who was to hear and determine their claims. Let us examine the law.

First.—These suits are to be instituted before the collector, or if preferred in a court of justice, to be referred by the latter to the collector.

Second.—In the former case the collector is empowered to decide the suits, in the latter he is, after completing his proceedings to return them to the court. The court may call for further evidence, but is not to admit any documents not already filed before the collector, unless very satisfactory reasons can be shewn for the omission.

Third.—An appeal is allowed to the court from the decision of the collector.

Fourth.—But if Government be defendant, or the land form part of an estate liable to a variable assessment, the collector is to submit his proceedings to the Board of Revenue: if the suit shall have been referred by the court, the return to such court to be delayed until the orders of the Board of Revenue upon such proceedings be received; if originally entertained by the collector, on an appeal being preferred to the civil court, the court shall not interfere until the decision of the Board be passed: in all such cases, the period for the appeal to date from the decision of the Board.

Fifth.—The decision of the revenue authorities to be carried into effect, notwithstanding the admission of an appeal; unless the party appealing give security for the payment of mesne profits from the lands under dispute.

The second head is claims on the part of Government to take revenue from lands hitherto held rent free. These are to be heard and decided exclusively by the collector. He is to submit a report to the Board of Revenue, (since 1829 to the commissioner), and on the receipt of the orders confirming the decision of the collector which pronounces the lands liable to pay rent to Government, the lands are to be at the disposal of the latter until they are determined to be private property by a decree of a civil court.

Here we have a specimen of the blessings conferred on distinction made in the administration of justice when the parties are private individuals, or the Government. Under Lord Cornwallis's plans such suits as these were left for the courts to decide. See Reg. XIX. and XXXVII. of 1793, which arrangement was continued by subsequent enactments up to the Reg. XXXVI. of 1803, and VIII. of 1805. But as the pressure of business in the courts was such as to cause intolerable delay, Government resolved to have a new tribunal, in cases wherein its own interests were concerned. Reg. VIII. of 1811, first gives the collectors cognizance of claims on the part of the Government to the revenue of lands hitherto held rent free. The principle of such a law was this, — that, as Government find great delay in taxing rent free lands through the medium of the courts, the business shall be put into the hands of the collectors, whose interest it is to increase the revenue of Government by every means in their power, and that by constituting these officers both prosecutor and judge,

much quicker progress will be made in making out preferences for taxing the rent free lands. Still further to ensure this object, in section 6 of the Regulation just quoted, it is declared that even if the collector, after investigation, shall be of opinion that the land is not liable to public assessment, he shall nevertheless transmit the whole of his proceedings with his opinion to the Board of Revenue, who may admit or disallow the claim to hold the lands rent free.

Regulation V. of 1813 again treats on this subject; and Regulations XI. and XXIII. of 1817 have a retrospective effect in certain districts, by which collectors are authorized to withdraw suits of the nature in question which they as prosecutors have filed in the courts, and to decide them themselves.\*

In all these suits decided by the collectors, if in favor of Government, the lands are immediately to be taxed, and the poor people who have been often most unjustly stripped of their possessions are referred to the civil courts for redress, for which, at least till the late arrangements, they might sigh in vain for years; and even here we have a further limitation in favor of Government, viz. the suit to contest the decision of the collector and Board of Revenue shall not be heard unless preferred within six weeks from the date of the decision. Many cases might be adduced of oppression and injustice committed under these regulations. One shall be given in illustration.

An order of Mr. A., a collector in the miscellaneous department regarding the management of certain rent-free lands, was appealed by one of the parties concerned and reversed: this so annoyed Mr. A. that to vent his spite on the person by whose appeal the reversion of his order had been caused, although there was not the slightest shadow of grounds for any claim on the part of Government, he instituted a suit before himself for the resumption of the lands. He had nearly finished the proceedings when he was promoted to the commissionerhip of the division. The new collector perceiving from the nature of the case what the orders of the commissioner would be, thought it best not to offend him, so decided in favor of the resumption, and transmitted his proceedings to Mr. A. by whom they were of course confirmed; and a whole family were turned out almost to beggary! This, it will be

\* Some of the regulations alluded to have been altered or rescinded by subsequent enactments; but the provisions of which the injustice is complained of are all retained.



supposed, must be exaggeration. So far from it, every part of the above statement was proved, even from the collector's own proceedings, before the court in which a suit was brought by the injured family, who after a lapse of several years succeeded in gaining a decree in their favor. Some further observations are required on the first head. It appears at first sight as if the law were intended to benefit the claimants of the revenue of the lands, till then held rent free, by enabling them to obtain a more speedy decision of their suits.

A little examination will show that the real prospect was the increase of Government revenue. It was supposed that many parcels of land were held rent free, well known to the zemindars within or near whose estates they were situated, but which had escaped the vigilance of the revenue officers; and the object was to induce these zemindars to come forward and point out any such rent free lands, and go through the trouble and expense of a prosecution. Which ever way the suit terminated Government derived the chief benefit. For instance supposing a landholder held an estate paying a certain sum to Government, in the limits of which some two hundred acres were held rent free by another person. If the zemindar comes forward and proves that the occupier's tenure was invalid, and that the two hundred acres formed part of his estate, and that he was entitled to the revenue, as soon as ever he was put in possession, the collector would raise the Government rent on his estate.

In other instances, where the prosecutor failed to prove his claim it was a fine opportunity for the collector to bring forward one on the part of Government, and, as prosecutor, to file a suit before himself as judge to that effect. As to the unfortunate occupant of the land, his chance of retaining possession was small indeed.\*

We have yet another step to take in prosecution of this subject. It might be supposed that the array for the attack of the proprietors of rent free lands was already sufficiently strong. Regulation III. of 1826 brings a fresh accession of force. By this law collectors are still prosecutors and judges; moreover, whenever they decide in favor of the right of Government to tax the lands, they are at once to impose the tax, leaving the aggrieved party to appeal; but if they should de-

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\* Another difference, worth notice, is that individuals are obliged to file their petitions and proceedings on stamped paper; from which the officers of Government are exempt.

cide against Government, they are immediately to send their proceedings to the Board of Revenue in order to give it another chance. It seems also that the judges of the courts were found to have some conscience and independence of feeling, and would not sacrifice all justice to gain credit with Government; so that, although after great delay, some were fortunate enough to get back their estate. This did not at all suit the views of Government; accordingly by the above regulation they prohibited the courts from having any jurisdiction in these matters, and appointed a special commission to try appeals from the decision of the collectors: the award of the commissioners being final, except in cases from their amount appealable to the King in Council; those being by Act of Parliament beyond the power of Government. It was anticipated that a special commission, which was more under the eye of Government, would better attend to its interests than the judges of the courts.

But the climax of this unjust confiscation of rent free lands is not yet reached. This is to be found in the last mentioned Regulation, section 11, clause 2. I quote the words of the enactment, for otherwise I should hardly escape the charge of misstatement:—“Persons succeeding to the possession of any lands held free of assessment, or held on a\* *mocurruree jumma*, on the decease of a former occupant, or by gift, purchase, or other assignment, or transfer of proprietary right, are hereby required immediately to notify the same to the collector or other officer exercising the powers of collector within the district in which the land may be situated; and any omission to notify such succession or transfer for a period of six months or more shall subject such land to immediate attachment by the revenue officers. Nor shall land so attached be restored to the party who may claim to hold it, though the validity of the tenure be subsequently established to the satisfaction of the revenue authorities, until such party shall have paid to Government a fine, equal to one year's rent; and if the revenue derivable from the land be not awarded to be the right of the individual, the party shall be further required to refund the amount of the collections made by him, with interest thereon at the rate of 12 per cent per annum; provided also that the said rent and collections shall be estimated according to the assessment

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\* *Mocurruree*, Land held at a fixed rent either in perpetuity; or for a long period; or upon a life.

demandable from the ryots at the time of attachment. These are the proceedings of a Government whose pleasure it has been to boast of the blessings they have conferred on the people of India, and of their own enlightened superiority over the native barbarians whom they have supplanted.\* Do not these enactments bear out the severest censures that have ever yet been made on the extortion of the British Indian Government? The last quoted is one of the most extraordinary expedients that was ever devised for confiscating rent free lands, particularly when we reflect how little means the people have of becoming acquainted with our regulations.† Land to be confiscated because when a man has succeeded to his father's estate or bought that of a neighbour, he omitted to register the circumstance in the records of the Government revenue office! What has Government to do with the succession or private sale of lands which has already been pronounced to be hereditary rent free possessions of individuals? What difference could the change of proprietorship make to Government? If the record of the change were necessary to assist the arrangements of the police, a slight fine for the omission would surely have been a sufficient punishment. If so severe a one as confiscation were really necessary in regard to rent free lands, it must have been equally so in the case of those which were taxable; yet the latter were not subject to any such law. Why? Because Government could not gain any thing by it. These lands were already taxed to the utmost, leaving only

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\* Mr. Trevelyan's Report on the Indian Customs has just been published: and what a picture does it present. In the regulations on this head the British Government really intended to realize a moderate revenue, and with as little inconvenience to the people as possible. Yet so little was the amount of knowledge of the subject possessed by our rulers, that it has been proved that the British system was a far greater hardship on the people, and infinitely more demoralizing than any ever enforced by any native power, and that it has caused incalculable injury to trade and manufactures. The country has indeed been withering under it.

† By circular orders of the Sudder Court, date 24th January 1824, a regulation is declared to be promulgated in each district from the date of the receipt of the English copy. This is put into the English part of the edict. The Persian translation is often not received till months after. I could mention an office in which the Persian copies of several regulations of the last two years have not yet been received: so little care is taken to make the people acquainted with laws, by which their interests are so deeply affected.

‡ It is by no means an uncommon occurrence, from carelessness on the part of the clerks, for the name of a deceased person to remain on the Collector's books as owner of an estate in which his heir has succeeded for several years after the death of the former. On its once being brought to the notice of a Collector, he merely observed that as the revenue had been regularly paid, it signified little, but that he would order the mistake to be rectified.



a bare subsistence to their owners; and the mere change of the proprietor, or manager afforded no field for demanding a still higher rent

Of the special commission laws for reversing sales by a collector to revenue balances, or by a court of justice in satisfaction of decrees, Reg. I. of 1831 and Reg. I. of 1823, I have already treated in No. 18 of these papers. I must again allude to them in prosecution of the present discussion, chiefly with a view to adduce further proof of the incompetence of the courts of law to give redress to the people. Let my readers look over carefully the preamble to Reg. I. of 1821, and they will see this distinctly avowed. The following paragraphs are quoted:—"Moreover in all suits brought to annul sales made for the recovery of arrears of revenue, the collector, on the part of Government, must, under the existing code, be made one of the defendants in the case along with the purchaser. Various other forms must be observed, which are likely to defeat the just claims of the ousted proprietors. The prosecution too in ordinary course of regular suits in the *adalut* necessarily involves considerable delay and expense,—requiring a long attendance at the court, the payment of various fees, the employment of *vakeels* and other expenses, which would alone operate greatly to prevent the complainants in question from seeking redress in that manner, even if the cases were such as to admit of easy decision by the regular tribunals."—"The established courts consequently are not so constituted as to provide adequate remedy for the evils above specified."—Even too if these courts were so constituted as adequately to provide for the trial and decision of the cases in question, yet the duty could not be completed by them for a long period of time without an entire interruption of their ordinary functions.

The next case in point is the extensive judicial authority bestowed upon the collectors by Reg. VI. of 1822. The real object of which Regulation, let me again observe, is to reduce the whole country beyond the pale of the perpetual settlement to a *ryotwar* tenure, (see again No. 18 of these papers,) and thereby annihilate the small remnant of landed proprietary right which still exists; also to search out every foot of land which may be in excess of the recorded extent of the different estates; and to count the fruit trees and cattle of the villagers in the hope of discovering some additional fund for taxation. God keep the miserable cultivator; there is little chance of

their being looked upon with an eye of pity by the British Indian Government. There was undoubtedly great uncertainty in the proprietary right of the respective portions of land, and an urgent necessity for some enquiry and for ascertaining the real owners; but this has by no means been accomplished by the famous ryotwar law; on the contrary it has in most cases increased the confusion and intricacy of the subject tenfold. Those who are interested in the matter should carefully read over the Regulation in question, and they will then be better able to understand how little its provisions can be carried into effect by the following detail of practice.

The collector sends word to the tihseeldar that he intends visiting a certain subdivision (pergunnah) of his district for this purpose, and desires the latter to begin the preliminary measurements and record of proprietary rights. In a few days afterwards he pitches his tents near the spot, but as far as this particular business is concerned, he might as well be a hundred miles off. His current duties occupy all his attention, to say nothing of the little of knowledge he possesses of the business of measuring lands. The tihseeldar is fully as much employed in his ordinary duties as the collector, and can do nothing personally in the matter; nevertheless, on the receipt of the order, he proceeds to some spot in the centre of half a dozen villages on which the visitation is to be inflicted. He then collects as many of his writers and measurers as he can spare from their regular duties, and occasionally hires extra men; most of these are of the lowest description, in the receipt of pay at the rate of from five to ten rupees a month each:—one of each class is distributed in each village, with directions to make the necessary measurements, enquiries, record of rights, and amount of rent payable, calculated chiefly from the accounts of the putwarries and kanongoes, which have been repeatedly declared unworthy of credit. When completed, each writer brings his work to the tihseeldar, who causes it to be copied, sets his seal to it, and brings it to the collector, in whose office it is again transcribed, signed by that officer, and by him forwarded to the commissioner. The latter transmits it to the Board of Revenue who, if the increase in the Government revenue be considerable, approve of it; if not, the Board generally pronounce the settlement papers to be “unsatisfactory”—and this is the mode in which the rights and interests of some millions of landed proprietors and cultivators are, under the British Indian system, placed at the mercy of men,

many of them hired for the occasion, upon salaries equivalent to what are paid to the inferior descriptions of menial servants! The bribery, extortion, and oppression which have been practised under this law would probably exceed anything in the annals of our misrule; yet these are the settlements which in some part of the investigations are pronounced final, and not to be disturbed by a judicial enquiry. Had the collectors been confined to the measurement of the lands, making, in conjunction with a surveyor, a skeleton map of each village and ascertaining the actual occupancy of each plot of land,† (as suggested in No. 18,) this would have been something gained, but as things have been conducted hitherto, every thing is in greater confusion than it was before.

The decision of summary suits relative to arrears and exactions of rent, and some other points, have been also taken out of the jurisdiction of the civil courts, and vested in the collectors. Where the settlement has been declared permanent these cases may perhaps be very properly left in the hands of the latter; because as they will then at any rate, after some time, be sure of the Government demand, there will be little temptation to learn too much to the side of the zemindars, and allow them unjustly to oppress their cultivators, but even then I am not sure that it would not be more expedient to rest the cognizance of them in the local moonsiffs.

But what is the conclusion to which all those statements tend and what is the result which suggests itself? Is it not the total insufficiency of the provision for the administration of justice? It is evident that this has been perceived by Government plainly enough by the pains taken to establish new jurisdictions for those cases in which its own interests were immediately concerned. Had there been any sincere desire to benefit the people, instead of all these special commissions and other contrivances, they would simply have improved upon Lord Cornwallis's plan; have separated the police from the civil judge's duties, appointing separate officers to the charge of the former; and have increased the number of the judges so that all might have had an equal chance. But these are

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† I have very little real information is acquired by Collectors respecting the lands which they assess, is pretty evident from the fact that hardly a settlement was ever yet made in which the Collector did not notice the great inequality which existed in the rate of the different estates in the previous settlements, and boast of his own success in rectifying the injustice. Yet every assessor makes the same assertion.

† Early surveyors, coupled with assistants to Collectors, have been appointed in some districts on a plan very similar to this.



the effects of the all-absorbing idea of a large revenue and of Calcutta educated legislators. A first rate collector has been justly described to be the curse of his district;—a first rate revenue secretary is the curse of the whole country, more especially when his notions are all derived from theory, and their evil tendency has been unchecked by any practical acquaintance with the working of our systems. Each revolving day echoes the execrations of thousands, and of millions, on the authors of these laws, for the misery which they have inflicted on misgoverned and plundered India.\* So long as they remain in force no Government, whatever may be its professions, can really deserve credit for benevolent or just intentions; and that Governor alone will be really entitled to claim the character of enlightened who will abolish the resumption laws, those establishing the two special commissions, and those which vest the collectors with judicial powers, and wipe out these foul blots from the British Indian legislation.†

Here, excepting as regards Reg. I. of 1821, even the negative praise of good intentions cannot be awarded to the Government. The other laws discussed in this paper were founded on the most bare-faced injustice; and what is more, the details of the enactments display a great share of ignorance regarding the affairs of the country.

Why does not Lord William Bentinck maintain the character he has hitherto received from the public, and prove himself worthy of it, by rescinding these odious laws? Hitherto he has but too closely followed the steps of those who have preceded him. Revenue, revenue, revenue, has been the main object in all his measures and the end of all his exertions. For one, and one only, *really* pure and enlightened proceeding can the just applause of the country be rendered to him,—the toleration of the most entire freedom of the press, of which this and many

\* Hear a native historian, the author of the *Seer Mutakerrin*, speaking of the English nation:—

“It is to so many military qualifications they know how to join the arts of government, if they showed a concern for the circumstances of the husbandman and the gentleman, and exerted as much ingenuity and solicitude in relieving and easing the people of God, as they do in whatever concerns their military affairs, no nation in the world would be preferable to them, or prove worthier of command. But such is the little regard which they show to the people of these kingdoms, and such their apathy and indifference for their welfare, that the people under their dominion groan every where, and are reduced to poverty and distress. Oh God! come to the assistance of these afflicted servants, and deliver them from the oppressions they suffer.”

† If this be not done speedily it will be useless. To abolish these laws after Government have succeeded in confiscating the whole of the rent free lands, will be a very cheap mode of gaining credit for a wish to benefit the people.

other publications are sufficient proofs, and for this indeed I thank him, not in my own name, but in that of the people of India. Unfavorable as his lordship's opinion of human nature is said to be, since he claims the merit of a desire to benefit the nation over which it has pleased Providence to place him, he may surely believe that others may be actuated by the same motives. What object can the author of these papers, and numerous other writers who have lately advocated the cause of the people of India, have in spending their leisure hours in additional labour, after having toiled the whole day in official or private business? What is it to us as individuals whether *they* be trodden to the dust or raised in the scale of existence? We have nothing in common with them; those in office receive their salaries; the concerns of others proceed in their due course; and if it please God to spare our lives, we shall each in due time have earned a competence by the sweat of our brows and shall return to enjoy it in our native land. But we know that the most splendid abilities and the most indefatigable activity possessed by the highest gifted individual, are not sufficient to enable him to search into every abuse; and, moreover, that it will be long before their existence will be known by mere official reports. This it is, added to the desire to do our duty to those among whom our lot has been cast, that induces us to come forward. We have not the vanity to suppose that our views are infallible, or that they may not stand in need of correction; but we strongly feel the necessity of rousing all who have any connection with the Government from the infatuated belief in which they have too supinely rested, that all is going on well, and that there is nothing in the principles or practice of our administration which requires amendment. Some of us have had opportunities which have not been generally afforded to Englishmen, of mixing in social intercourse with the better sort of the people of India; of living in an interchange of good offices with them, and a participation of kindly feelings; and of witnessing the good and the evil which have resulted from the introduction of British laws, institutions, and ideas of government. The common feelings of human nature induce us to exert our best, though feeble, endeavors to do them good in return; and for my own part, should I ever retire to my native land, it will be the proudest object of my ambition to be considered in the slightest degree entitled to the name of

A FRIEND TO INDIA.

April 10, 1834.

## NATIVE STATES OF INDIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BENGAL HURKARU AND CHRONICLE.

SIR,—I do not know that I need any longer delay to commence the papers promised in my letter of the 29th ultimo.

I shall first discuss the four examples in which we have interfered effectually for the protection of the people of Native States against the oppression of their rulers whether under the sanction of treaties or otherwise. They must be the four States of Nagpore, Sattara, Hyderabad and Mysore, and here is the Nagpore paper.

I shall afterwards enter in the other branches of the subject—that is, examples in which we have interfered through half measures, and these must be Lucknow, Jeypore, &c. and examples in which we have abstained from interference, and these must be Kotah, Bhopal, and Gwalior. I shall further follow this up with some general observations on the whole question.

Of course these matters will not be discussed in a small space. Nagpore will show the length to which one of these papers may be drawn—yet I am not aware that any part of what I have there stated could have been omitted without detriment to what I have in view—to communicate a right understanding of the question.

Nearly one-half of the vast region of India is under Native rule, and the happiness or otherwise of the inhabitants of that immense tract of country, depends in a great measure on the line of conduct pursued by the British Government towards the States with which it has diplomatic relations: the question can hardly therefore be deemed unimportant by one who takes an interest in the well-being of mankind.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

June 12.

NAMELESS.

#### EXAMPLES OF INTERFERENCE FOR GOOD.

NAGPORE.—It is perhaps hardly necessary to observe that the first of the Bhesla family, which family has since acted so conspicuous a part, was appointed by the Poona Court about the year 1700 to an extensive military command in Berar, and the collection of the Maratta chout of that province. The family rapidly extended their conquests over Cuttack in 1740, Nagpore in 1743, Chanda in 1751, and Chuteesgurrh and Sumblepore from 1745 to 1755.



During the greater part of this period these Chiefs were acknowledged by acting in subordination to the Maratta throne. But from the time of the Peshwa's usurpation in 1749, we find the Berar State generally opposed to the Peshwa, until the negotiation of the treaty of April 1769. This treaty, as described by Mr. Jenkins, is remarkable from its bearing so strong a resemblance to our own treaties with so many of the Native States.

“Janogee's dependence on the Peshwa is fully acknowledged. He is to furnish his quota of six thousand men, and to attend the Peshwa in person whenever required. He is to pay an annual nuzur of five lacks of rupees; to enter into no general negotiation with foreign powers, and to make no war without the Peshwa's sanction.”

It is unnecessary to follow the Nagpore Chiefs in their various relations to the Poona Court any further than to say, that they are found acting in subordinate co-operation against Tippoo Sultan in the war which commenced in 1789, and against the Nizam at the battle of Kundla in 1795.

The success of the British arms at Seringapatam in 1799, and the position which that power assumed at Poona, when in virtue of the treaty of Bassein it brought the Peshwa back to his capital and restored him to his throne, under the protection of a subsidiary force, naturally roused the jealousy of the principal Maratta powers. Scindia could ill brook that the control which he had so long exercised over the head of the Maratta nation should thus be transferred to the hands of foreigners—and Holkar still less that the arrangement which the fortune of war, had, for a moment, enabled him to make at Poona, should be thus rudely set aside. Accordingly, the league between Scindia and the Berar Rajah followed. Their power was, however, dissipated by the battles of Assye and Wurgaon. The latter lost Cuttack and other portions of his dominions, extending to 40 lakhs of yearly revenue; 26 of which went to the Nizam and 14 to the Company, whilst there remained to Berar a revenue of only 60 lakhs.

That power resisted the proposals which were made to it at the period of the negotiation of the treaty of the 17th of December 1803, again in 1810 and in 1814, to receive a subsidiary force. But when at some other periods of difficulty, arising from the excesses of the Pindaries, it was disposed to this measure, the British government could not conveniently comply.

The first years of the Maratta government of Berar were necessarily of war and conquest. But from the time of Janojee, whose reign extended from 1758 to 1772, a regular form of government was established, and it has been said of him that "he settled what his father had only conquered." Mr. Jenkins observes, "in the reign of Janojee justice was well administered; crimes were few, and punishments seldom capital. The revenues were flourishing and the people in easy circumstances. The allowances of all the officers, civil and military, and of the troops, were regularly paid without any deduction of any kind. His successor Moodajee reigned till 1788 "leaving his dominions in a state of perfect tranquillity, and bequeathing a considerable treasure both in cash and jewels to his son Rughojee."

This worthy successor is the prince with whom our relations commenced in 1803. Mr. Jenkins observed of him, in 1826. "From this spirit of meanness and rapacity, Rughojee was not unfrequently called in derision the great bunneah; and it must be confessed that in public as well as private concerns the love of money has for the last twenty years appeared to be the predominating passion of the Court of Nagpore, to the exclusion of every thing great, liberal or respectable." Again "from the first establishment of the Maratta power, until the year 1792 the country was prosperous, the land revenue had then probably attained its first maximum, as far at least as related to the actual condition of the cultivated land and the population; but from this period the inhabitants begin to date the period of misrule and oppressive assessment, though it was not carried at first to the ruinous extent of exaction which marked the conduct of Rughojee after the Maratta war of 1802. Increased assessment in the regular form was from that time but a small part of the evils to which the inhabitants were subjected. Rughojee was unwilling to reduce his military establishments in the degree required by his reduced means, and strove to raise the revenue of his remaining territory to make up in some measure for his losses in the war. The nominal revenue of the territory was raised by such means in the interval mentioned from sixty-one lakh to seventy-six." Again "His Government was in fact kept together chiefly from the absence of any external pressure to dissolve it, and in some degree, by his personal weight and experience and the remembrance of what had been. He left the Government in every department in a state of confu-

sion, through which it required all his experience and knowledge, as well as the weight of his long administration to steer. The army, too numerous for the finance was unpaid, and the revenues were in a great measure anticipated."

The misgovernment of this ruler began then in 1792, shortly after the return of his army from the first Seringapatam war, whether it had any connexion with that event, and with the expence incurred does not appear. But Mr. Jenkins clearly traces the latter period of his misrule to his connexion with us. By that connexion he was saved from "external pressure;" for, although not bound to protect him, we advanced in 1809 a force of some strength from the Madras and Bengal presidencies under the command of Sir Barry Close, to save Berar from falling a prey to Ameer Khan, and at a later period we curbed his ambition by interposing to prevent his conquering Bhopal. The danger of falling a prey to foreign invaders, and the hope of gratifying their ambition in foreign conquest, are the two great motives which have led native as other princes, in their degree of civilization, to study the welfare of their subjects, and these we see were both through his connexion with us destroyed in the breast of the ruler of Nagpore.

The imbecile son of Rugojee succeeded to the throne in his thirty-eighth year, and Appa Sahib to the Regency as the next heir. The latter negotiated in the name of the Prince a subsidiary treaty with the British Government on the 28th of May 1816, agreeing to pay for the services of a regiment of cavalry, a proportion of artillery and six regiments of infantry, seven lakh and a half of rupees per annum. In February of the following year, he murdered (as was afterwards discovered), the imbecile Raja, and seated himself in his place. In November of the same year, he joined the Maratta confederacy against the British Government, was defeated with the loss of his artillery, treasure, &c. He was restored to his musnud on conditions, including amongst other things the transfer of territory in lieu of money for the payment of the subsidiary force; again invited our enemy Bajee Rao to join him for the purpose of opposing the English, and on the 15th of March was arrested in his palace and deposed. A cousin of Appa Sahib's of female descent was raised to the throne, and being a minor, "the general superintendence of affairs was assumed by the Resident, acting in the name of the Rajah, who had the assistance of British officers acting at the head of every department."



On Appa Sahib's restoration to the throne it was made a condition that the Government of the country should be conducted by ministers to be guided by the advice of the Resident. His defection relieved us from all further anxiety on this score, and threw the entire management of the country into the Resident's hands during the minority of the person who by us was named his successor.

Mr. Jenkins was Resident, and the direction of affairs could not have fallen to abler or better hands. He has observed "the unlimited choice of British officers both for the civil and military branches of the Nagpore State, gave the Resident the means of bringing every kind of talent required for his purposes into action, and in such circumstances the exertions of every rank of functionaries have borne that character of personal devotion to their immediate superior, as well as of public zeal and ardour which the times required, and which have proved equal to every exigency."

The officers chiefly and most distinguishedly employed in the civil department were Colonel Agnew, C. B., Captains Gordon, Hamilton, Cameron and Wilkinson. To each of these was entrusted the management of a small and compact district in all its revenue, judicial and police affairs—the revenue of the whole country at the time, under all its heads, not exceeding Rs. 35,00,000.

It was the Resident's instructions to the superintendants, to employ as far as possible the former officers of the native government, and to endeavour by the exercise of a watchful control over them, to correct and reform the abuses of the former system and institutions, rather than to introduce any new instruments or system of our own. "The abolition of all demands from the cultivators beyond the fixed jumma bundee was to be announced. The village establishments were to be continued with their former privileges, or restored where they might have been discontinued. No great change, even appearing decidedly beneficial, was to precede that perfect knowledge of the state of the country, which would be necessary to reconcile such change with the interests both of the government and the people." "The establishment of an efficient police was particularly recommended and the superintendents were enjoined in this, as in every other branch of their duties, to take advantage of existing establishments. The encouragement of Panchaets, according to ancient usage,

was inculcated in civil cases. The native collectors were to superintend all minor causes, and the superintendant himself to judge in those of magnitude, and in appeals from the inferior tribunals. The Governor General would have wished a much less degree of control to be exercised. "It was the earnest wish of Lord Hastings as well as his positive instruction, that our interference should be restricted within the narrowest possible limits, and that even when exercising it, where necessary, the earliest practicable restoration of the ministerial and executive duties of the State to their natural and proper channels should be retained permanently in view." Lord Hastings in short, desired to throw the administration into the hands of a minister acting under the advice of the Resident.

Fortunately these views did not reach the Resident in time, and the Governor General did not withhold his sanction from the measures adopted by the Resident. "The early restoration of the state of Nagpore to its rank, as one of the substantive powers of India, continued, however to be the earnest wish of the Governor General in Council." The time first fixed for transferring the management of the country to the Raja was the expiration of the revenue settlement, which had been effected for three years—the period was again postponed until the Raja should come of age, and the blessings of British protection were thus secured for the whole of those long oppressed territories until 1826.

There is, perhaps, no system of management better calculated to secure the prosperity of the people of India than that adopted at Nagpore. Their rights and interests are not very complicated, and are easily decided on—the British officers employed had the benefit of the services and experience of the former functionaries of the native government—and extensive use was made of the *Puchayet* in all civil suits, which was found to work better at Nagpore than it seems to have done in other parts of India—perhaps because there was no regular *Adawlet* to counteract it—because its decrees were respected and enforced, unless partiality or corruption were suspected—and its dilatoriness was stimulated by a fine levied on the party retarding its proceedings.

Criminal justice was administered by the superintendants assisted by the native officers of the government. The powers of each in the infliction of punishment was limited, that of the superintendant extending to two years' imprisonment

when sanctioned by the Resident—and no execution of a capital sentence took place without a written order from the native government.

That most important branch of Indian administration, the revenue, was managed in the first year or two by collections from the villages according to their means of paying—after this, village settlements at moderate rates were framed for a period of two or three years, and then for a longer period. The superintendants were on the spot to watch the progress of their own measures. Revenue was not the sole object, and wherever it was discovered that these settlements were too high, were trenching on the capital of the people, or preventing the rise of capital among them, corresponding reductions, and remissions of arrears were freely granted—it being fortunately understood at that time, and in those parts, that in these respects the interests of the people can never without injury and injustice be separated from those of their governors.

Any one capable of judging of the effects which must have been produced on the condition of the inhabitants of a country, by the operations of a disunited Mahratta government, such as that of Nagpore was in the last days of its rule; and of the change which could not fail to follow the administration of affairs under the control of an enlightened statesman like Mr. Jenkins, aided by such officers as those already named, will understand the benefit conferred on the people of Nagpore—and the honour which our government reaped in those parts from its moderation and wisdom. But only those who saw the face of the country when these operations commenced, and when they terminated, can fully appreciate the good which in India may be worked in so short a space of time.

In 1826 when the period of the Raja's majority approached, Mr Jenkins' reports showed that he was prepared to transfer the country to native rule. "The above described system appears to be adequate to the wants of the people; the total number of civil suits pending, at the end of the year 1825, being only 86 before the superintendants and chief court in the city, and 125 before the petty Civil Court. Under its operation, legal decisions may be obtained without delay. The forms of the Courts give little or no encouragement to one having a bad cause to litigate in hopes that the law's delay, its charges or its quibbles may instal him in



the rights of his neighbour. It might be a bad one by which to administer a code of laws, with all its wise and artificial distinctions; but when the object is merely to secure rights, as they are considered to exist in local customs, or in the common understanding of equity, it ensures that end to us in considerable extent. If it possesses not the advantage of a more regular system, it is free from some of its concomitant evil; besides, it is well adapted to the existing state of the society for whose benefit it is administered; it is quite on a level with their understandings, and, in no way runs counter to their opinions, or jars on their prejudices." "The Police establishment for the city, was under the immediate orders of the Superintendant of Police."

"The *Kumaishdars*, acting under the several Superintendants, are entrusted with the Police of their respective Pergunnahs"

"Patels" (village heads) "are the Police Officers" in their respective villages. It has been found that this co-operation is zealously and beneficially afforded, the additional trouble which the charge entails on the Patels, being cheerfully supported in consideration of the increase of their respectability and influence with which it is attended."

"If the average of the years 1819 and 1820 be taken as before the proposition which the convictions bear to the population will be one in 366.669, and if taken for the subsequent five years, viz. 1821 to 1825 inclusive, it will be only one in 799.132 being less than one-half of the average amount of crime during the former period."

"The total number of prisoners in all the jails, at the close of the year 1825 was 518, which is 121 less than the corresponding period of the preceding year. This, with reference to the population, which may be computed at about two millions and a half, bears strong testimony to the good order and tranquillity subsisting in the country."

The revenue collected in the seven years was 3,54,55,544 rupees, the disbursements during the same period 3,25,60,895 rupees. But after correcting these sums, on account of certain collections, which properly belonged to the former period of rule, and by certain disbursements on account of the former period, there remained, as accruing to the Nagpore State from Mr. Jenkins' stewardship, 12,57,633 rupees.

The first three years of the management showed an average revenue of 35,63,153 rupees. The last three years of the Maratta rule, showed a collection of 39,25,415.

The last four years of the management showed an average of 39,88,348 rupees, the four years antecedent to the three above noticed of the Maratta rule, showed a collection of 41,31,491 rupees. I fear to touch with a rude hand Mr. Jenkins' admirable report of his administration. But as it extends over 350 printed folio pages, only those much interested in such questions are likely to address themselves with patience to such an inquiry—and I hope that the above synopsis may afford to those, who love to skim only on the surface of things, some notion of the measures adopted and the benefit conferred in this most useful and admirable of all the examples of interference in the affairs of our neighbours.

In 1826 the country was, in conformity with our original resolution, transferred to the Raja's management on his attaining his majority, with the exception of the portion reserved for the payment of the contingent of troops, organized under British officers, to whose services we were entitled. This contingent consisted of four regiments of cavalry and five of infantry. It was further declared that when the Raja's successful management should satisfy us that funds would be at all times forthcoming for the payment of the contingent, then the reserved districts also would be transferred. We reserving to ourselves the right to resume them, or any other portion, or all of His Highness's dominions when these funds should fail, or his mismanagement become manifest. In 1829 those districts were restored to the Raja, and the contingent sacrificed for a money payment of eight lakhs of rupees per annum. The British government still reserving to itself the right by treaty to advise, remonstrate, and on the failure of such system to produce reform, to re-appoint its own officers to the management of districts in His Highness's name, yielding a revenue equal to his obligations to us—a thousand horse are also to be maintained under their own officers to serve with our troops in time of war. It is impossible to dismiss this question without some further reflection. It will be seen from what follows, that over every step from the breaking out of the war of 1817, until the definitive treaty of 1829 has been of retrogression; we have sacrificed gradually and unnecessarily in each and all of them our own interests to the (perhaps vain) hope of maintaining a substantive Native State.

We restored Appa Sahib after he had ventured his fortunes in a contest with us by joining the Maratta confedera-

cy of 1817, and after he had treacherously attacked the Residency and the weak brigade, left at his capital when the strength of the subsidiary force was called to an advanced position for operations against the Pindarries. When his second defections, only three months afterwards, rendered it necessary to depose him, we sought for an heir to the throne in the family of the deposed Raja, and, failing to find one, we raised a minor of female descent; who neither according to Hindoo law nor Maratta usage had any inherent right.

Again when in 1826 it was resolved to negotiate what has been termed a treaty with this creature of our own creation, and our own will, where was the necessity or the policy of the promised transfer, from our own management of the territory reserved for the payment of the contingent of troops organized under British officers, of placing, in short our resources at the mercy of the native Government instead of holding them in our own hands?

Again—and worst of all—this highly efficient contingent was in 1829 abandoned to the tender mercy of the Native State, and its European officers withdrawn. Many of the men were the old troops of the Native Government. They had joined our standard, some of them before the breaking out of the war, most of them before its termination—they had during the whole period of their connexion with us, served faithfully and well—they were prepared to continue to do so—and were perfectly sufficient for the maintenance of our interests in Berar had it at any time been found necessary to withdraw the whole of the subsidiary force. Yet were they left to their fate without a single stipulation in the definitive treaty of alliance in their behalf. We cannot in India afford thus to trifle with the feeling of the native soldiery. We are in a foreign and a hostile land—our sole dependance for the maintenance of our power must be on our army—those who are not with us will be against us—and I may safely venture to say that greater evil was done to the stability of our power in Central and Southern India by the treatment which this body of soldiers received at our hands, than by the loss of numerical force which the measure inflicted. The parting scene between the European officers and men, who had long served together—the interests of the former having been as much compromised as those of the latter—particularly the scene between Major Cameron and the cavalry, will not be readily forgotten.



The territory enjoyed nine years of British rule under its best form. The period had arrived when a change of men and of measures must have produced its effect. Our Adawlut, with all their concomitant evils, would have taken the place of that simple system of administering the laws described by Mr. Jenkins. Our revenue system, with all its terrors, would have been substituted for that simple process of management, through which so much good was in so short a time produced—a call for additional revenue to support our expensive establishments, would have reached from the Government to the Commissioner, from the Commissioner to the Collector, and from him to his *uinla*. That minute inquiry into the resources of the country, that counting of heads and hands, and other productive or unproductive things, which has taken place, it may be found generally more for the purpose of ascertaining the means of the people to bear additional burthens than to save them from such, would naturally have followed that minute scrutiny into the resources of the people to which, with whatever intention instituted, they every where so reluctantly submit, until at last they are driven to seek even for this, by a condition of poverty which leaves them nothing to fear at the hands of the oppressor. Thus at the termination of a further period of years, we might have found the people of Nagpore impoverished in the same degree as those of the Peshwa's territory, of the Doab, and of Bundelkund, have been.

Since the transfer of the country to the Raja's management, the system introduced with such admirable results, has mostly been pursued. His principal adviser, if not minister, has been a Mahomedan foreigner, confidentially employed in the time of the British rule; but this person is just dead. I have since seen in the country the same degree of tranquillity, and the same apparent prosperity which reigned there during our administration of it. In some districts luxuriant crops of un-irrigated wheat, extending in one continued sheet, almost as far as the eye can reach.

But as under all despotisms this condition of things is precarious,—it almost entirely depends on the temper and will of the ruling Prince, and on the conduct of those by whom he is surrounded, and who are his advisers. There is no constitution, no charter of rights, no law superior to the sovereign's will; and no power on the part of the people, to resist the will of their rulers. The present Rajah is of good dis-

position. He owes his elevation entirely to us. His possession of his throne must depend on our support, for he was not right on his side. He has grown up under our guidance, and in observation of the system which worked so well. If therefore, any one condition of things can, more than another, conduce to the continuance of those relations under which our connexion with Nagpore commenced, it should be that which I have endeavoured to describe.

Yet with all these advantages in its favor, it must be, and is doubtful, whether we can with benefit to either the sovereign or the people of Nagpore, interfere through half measures even to the extent to which we are through treaty entitled. There is, and must be, a jealousy of such interference on the Raja's part, of the instrument whom we employ—be it a British Resident, an Agent, or a Native Wakeel. He too must, with good reason, be distrustful of the information which he may receive from the Native Agents, whom again we must employ—and of that which he receives from the Prince himself or from his ministers or servants, persons complaining to, or seeking from the Resident's support, who, after all, has not the power of affording effectual redress, must be expected to be received discourteously by either the Prince or his servants—the exaggerated representation of disappointed complainants will again inflame the mind and temper of the Resident, who is authorised to interpose his authority, in their behalf—until at last an open rupture will take place between the Prince and the Resident, the spirit will be communicated to and taken up by the Government—preparation for war on both sides will be the result—and through this, as well perhaps as through every other system, every state of India may be expected to be swallowed up by one Great Ruling Power,—the less by the more enlightened.

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SATTARA.—In notices of this description it may appear unnecessary to advert to remote periods of history; but in most things it is as well to begin at the beginning. The Maratta nation and government then is supposed to belong to remote antiquity. Having extended from the Satpoota mountains to the Kisna river, apparently the natural seat of that people and of their language, without however going far into Felingana. Their capital being Deoguh the modern Dowlutabad.

Like most of the other, and all the principal Hindoo dynasties, they yielded to the power, the discipline and superior enter-

prise of the Mahomedans—and did not again rise from their fallen condition until the vast empire established over India by that foreign people showed symptoms of decay and dissolution.

The father of Sevajee, the founder of the modern empire of Marattas, made some progress towards independence, whilst a servant of the Beejapore government and the increasing weakness of the Mahomedan kingdoms of the Dekhan, encouraged Sevajee himself to rebel against their power. He declared his independence in 1674, and at his death in 1782 was possessed of extensive territories. The vigorous operations of Aurungzebe in the Dekhan again nearly destroyed, under Sevajee's son and successor, the rising hopes of the Marattas. But these very operations, by subduing the other independent Mahomedan kingdoms of the Dekhan, without establishing any permanent rule in their stead, proved in the end extremely favorable to the establishment of the Maratta power. It was during the latter years of Aurungzebe's reign evident that they were rising to greatness; and on his death in 1707, the contests which arose for the succession, left them almost undisputed masters of their ancient possessions.

They received in 1719 a grant from the powerless emperor of Dehli for the chout of the six Soobas of the Dekhan—about 1735 they conquered Malwa and Guzerate—1740 Berar—and in 1760 were in possession of Dehli, Serhind, Lahore, and Multan.

Sattara became the capital in 1698 and the first Peshwa or minister had been appointed before that period. In 1749, the Peshwa, on the death of the fourth Raja, usurped the power of the empire, and continued until his overthrow in 1817, to be the acknowledged head of the nation, obeyed by the Chiefs of the Empire, and negotiated with, as such, by the foreign powers.

The descendants of Sevajee had, during the whole of this period, continued prisoners in their former capital, the fortress of Sattara: the Peshwa still going through the ceremony of paying them occasional visits at the principal festivals and on the accession always receiving a dress of investiture at their hands.

The first notice taken of the Sattara family by the British Government was in the Hon'ble Mr. Elphinstone's proclamation of the 11th of February, 1818, three months after the breaking out of the war, where he observed, "The Raja of Sattara, who is now a prisoner in Bajee Rao's hands, will be released and placed at the head of an independent sovereignty of such an extent as may maintain the Raja in comfort and dignity: with



this view the Fort of Sattara has been taken, the Raja's flag has been set up in it, and his former ministers have been called into employment. Whatever country is assigned to the Raja, will be administered by him."

Nine days after the date of this proclamation, the Sattara family was released through the Cavalry affair at Ashta, from a bondage of sixty-nine years' duration. Sir Lionel Smith said, "I have infinite pleasure in reporting that the Sattara Raja, his brothers and mother, were in these circumstances rescued and brought safe into camp, to their great satisfaction and joy." "The Raja made his entry in procession into Sattara, escorted by detachments of the corps of the division, and accompanied by most of the officers in camp. On this occasion he formally took his seat on his throne, in full durbar, and soon after published a proclamation, announcing his connection with the British Government, and the peculiar injuries he had received from Bajee Rao. Among them was an order, the existence of which was confirmed by the Killadar of Wupota, to put the whole family to death rather than suffer them to be rescued."

The young Raja was then in his twenty first year. But having been through the whole period of his life a prisoner, and being consequently entirely unversed in public affairs, it was not deemed prudent to intrust to his management, or that of his ministers, the government of a considerable portion of that tract of country, which the fortunes of war had placed in our hands, until future experience should prove their fitness for such a charge.

The Peshwa it appeared hardly allowed the Sattara family half a lack of rupees a year for their maintenance, exclusive of rich presents at the principal festivals. The young Raja now gave in an estimate of his expences amounting to half a crore a-year, and on being remonstrated with, on the exorbitancy of his expectations said, that half a lack and half a crore were the same to the Company when in a disposition to give. In the mean time he was with some difficulty persuaded to limit his expense to 27,000 rupees a month until a future scale of income could be fixed upon for His Highness.

Territory, estimated to yield eventually eighteen lack of rupees per annum, was set aside as the future principality of Sattara, and Captain Grant was appointed to superintend, under the control of the Commissioner at Poona, the management of this territory in all its judicial and revenue affairs. The whole of the territory conquered from the Peshwa was assign-

ed, under this form of management, to five principal officers, selected by the Commissioner at Poona—these were Mr. Chaplin, Captains Pottinger, Briggs, and Robertson—and the system adopted by Captain Grant in the Satara territory, did not differ materially from that in operation in the other four districts, except that the necessity of transferring that country to the Raja's management was held in view, when he should prove himself suited for so important a charge.

The Hon. Mr. Elphinstone, the Commissioner in the Dekhan, in his "Report on the Territories conquered from the Peshwa" has discussed the subject under three distinct heads: 1st, Revenue; 2d, Police and Criminal Justice; 3d, Civil Justice—contrasting the former mode of administration under the Native Government with that which his own experience, and the experience of the officers employed under him, afforded; and hazardous as the attempt may be I shall endeavour to give an epitome of the views of that enlightened man—seeing that they extend over upwards of one hundred folio pages, and that these pages can be commanded by but few—premising also that these views refer to the Sattara territory, for the amelioration of the condition of whose inhabitants we were there exercising interference.

The change for evil which the Peshwa was enabled to introduce into his administration through his connection with us, is not less remarkable than that which took place at Nagpore after the treaty of 1803 with that State. Some attempt had been made under the administration of his predecessor to consolidate his power. The treaty of Basseen gave to the Peshwa to be possessed in peace a small compact territory. But being himself "the head of an unpopular party and educated in a prison, he had little sympathy with the bulk of his nation, and little desire for any enterprise in which he might require their assistance. His only wish was to satisfy his love of power and of revenge, without endangering his safety or disturbing his ease. He had therefore begun his administration by plundering all the ministers connected with his enemy. Nana Furnavees had seized on the Jageers of his principal opponents. When the treaty of Bassen relieved him from all apprehension of resistance he gave loose to his desire of depressing the great, and degrading his enemies."

On the former Revenue System Mr. Elphinstone observes,—"In whatever point of view we examine the Native Government in the Deccan, the first and most important division is into

villages and townships. These communities contain in miniature all the materials of a State within themselves, and are almost sufficient to protect their members if all other Governments were withdrawn. Though probably not compatible with a very good form of Government, they are an excellent remedy for the imperfections of a bad one; they prevent the bad effects of its negligence and weakness, and even prevent some barrier against its tyranny and rapacity." Mr. Elphinstone goes on to describe the several village functionaries. "The patails are the most important functionaries in the village, and perhaps the most important class in the country," describes the nature of their office which is hereditary and with consent of Government saleable, entitling them to lands and fees. "In that capacity (revenue) he performs on a small scale what a Mamlutdar or Collector does on a large; he allots the lands to such cultivators as have no landed property of their own, and fixes the rent which each has to pay: he collects the revenue of Government from all the ryots, conducts all arrangements with them; and exerts himself to promote the cultivation and the prosperity of the village. Though originally the Agent of the Government, he is now regarded as equally the representative of the ryots, and is not less useful in executing the orders of the Government than in asserting the rights, or at least in making known the wrongs of the people."

"The Coolkairnee keeps the numerous records and accounts of the village. The most important are 1st, the general measurement and description of all the village lands; 2d, the list of fields with the name, size, and quality of each, terms, by which it is held, the name of the tenant, the rent for which he agreed, and the highest rent ever produced by the field; 3d, the list of all the inhabitants whether cultivators or otherwise, with a statement of the dues from each to Government, and the receipt and balance in the account of each; 4th, the general statement of the instalments of revenue which have been realized; and 5th, the detailed account where each branch of revenue is shown under a separate head, and the receipts and balance of each. Besides the public records he generally keeps the accounts of all the cultivators with each other, and with their creditors,—acts as a notary public in drawing up all their agreements, and even conducts any private correspondence they may have to carry on. He has lands, but oftener fees, allotted to him by Government; from which he holds his appointment."



On the important question of Land Tenures Mr. Elphinstone observes, "The result of those reports (from the Collectors) and of my own enquiries, is that a large portion of the ryots are the proprietors of their states, subject to the payment of a fixed land-tax to Government; that their property is hereditary and saleable, and that they are never dispossessed while they pay their tax, and even then they have for a long period (at least 30 years) the right of reclaiming their estate on paying the dues of Government." Their land tax is fixed, but the late Maratta Government loaded it with other impositions, and reduced the advantage to a mere name, so far however, was this from destroying the value of their estates that although the Government took advantage of their attachment to make them pay considerably more than an *Oopera*, (common farmer) and although all the Meerasdars, were in ordinary cases obliged to make up from failures in the payment of each of their body, yet their lands were saleable and generally at ten years' purchase. Their attachment to their estates induced these people to remain on them, even after they become losing concerns, and it was supposed that these proprietors were more numerous all over the Maratta country than common farmers.

"An opinion prevails throughout the Maratta country that under the Hindoo Government all the land was held by Meerassees, and that the Ooperas were introduced, as the old proprietors sunk under the tyranny of the Mahomedans. This opinion is supported by the fact that the greater part of the fields, now cultivated by Ooperas are recorded in the village books as belonging to absent proprietors."

"All the land which does not belong to Meerassees belongs to Government, on those to whom Government has assigned it. The property of the Zumeendars in the soil has not been introduced or even heard of in the Deccan."

"The cultivated land belonging to government except some parts which it kept in its own hands to be managed by the Mamlutdars, was always let out to Ooperas, who had a lease, with the expiration of which their claim and duties expired."

"These are all the tenures on which land was held as far as regards the property of the soil. The assignment by Government of its own revenue or share of the produce will be mentioned hereafter. It need only be observed, that in making these grants it could not transfer the share of a

Meerasdar. Even Bajee Rao, when he had occasion for Meeras land, paid the price of it."\*

The Daishmook, is considered to have been the revenue officer of the Hindoo Government. He became necessary to the Mahommedan conquerors, and they still hold the lands and fees which were originally assigned them as wages. On the decline of the Mohommedan kingdoms in the Deccan, they acquired too much authority and were able to maintain themselves for a time in independence. "The Maratta, or rather the Bramin Government, was led by this conduct, and by their embezzlements of the public revenue, almost to set aside the employment of the Zumeendars, transacting all business directly with the patails by means of its own officers. This change, though probably produced by the policy and avarice of the Bramins, is considered to have been attended with beneficial effects, as delivering the people from the oppressions and exactions of the Zumeendars."

Mr. Elphinstone enters into the detail of the Maratta manner of managing the revenue, both before and after the farming system. The principal revenue officers under the former system, the mamlutdar was appointed by the government, and the appointment of the inferior agents rested with him. He was reckoned reasonable, if his whole profits did not exceed 5 per cent. on the net revenue." About the end of the year, when the principal harvest was nearly ready to be cut, the mamlutdar moved out into his district, and was attended by the patails of villages, with their coolkurnees, who laid before him the papers already enumerated. The whole country has been surveyed, and each field classed and assessed according to its circumstances and quality." The mamlutdar proceeded to settle the revenue of the ensuing season, on a consideration of the amount paid in the former years, combined with a regard to the actual state of things.—"The patail represented any ground there was relaxation in the terms, in which he expected the support of the Daishmook and Daispandea; all hereditary officers being considered as connected with the ryots. The patail was likewise accompanied by some of the principal ryots, especially of the meerassdars, who were witnesses to his proceedings, and who also assisted him with their opinions. These discussions generally ended in a second, more particular agree-

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\* Mr. Elphinstone considers that the Meerassdars paid tax, the Ooperas rent.

ment, on which the patail interchanged with the mamlutdar an engagement fixing the revenue: that of the mamlutdar was called the Summabundee Puttee, and that of the patail Kabool Keetba. The patails had generally settled with the ryots, the share which each was to bear, before he came to make the settlements, and if any thing unexpected was proposed, so as to derange the distribution agreed on, he returned to his village to consult the ryots anew. When the patail continued obstinately to reject the terms offered by the mamlutdar, a special officer was sent to the spot to examine the fields, and if no other means succeeded in effecting an adjustment, the mamlutdars would offer to recur to what seems to have been the original principle in all settlements, namely, for Government to take half and leave half to the cultivator."

Mr. Elphinstone further describes the mode adopted in collecting the revenue fixed on the village. The extra revenue levied under eight different heads from the cultivators—and "extraordinary and occasioned impositions; but until the introduction of the farming system they are said to have been as rare as the occasion which furnished the pretext for them."

The farming system which seems to have been introduced only towards the close of the Peishwa's reign, was an aggravation of the evils which before existed. It did not differ materially from the same injurious system, as we are acquainted with it elsewhere—large tracts of country were let out to the highest bidder—generally the needy and corrupt hangers on about court—for men of property or capital will seldom risk it in such speculations—these sub-let to other farmers, and they to the patails—each squeezing the other, but the squeezing of all parties reaching at last the poor ryot.

The leading principles introduced by Mr. Elphinstone were—to abolish farming, but otherwise to maintain the native system; to levy the revenue according to actual cultivation; to make the assessments light; to impose no new taxes; and to do none away unless obviously unjust; and above all to make no innovations. "The chief authority now resided in the district, and devoted his whole time to its affairs; and all the subordinate agents were obliged to follow his example." "The assessments were much lighter than formerly, and much more uniform and clearly defined. The powers of the mamlutdars were limited, and the system of fixed pay and no perquisite was decidedly introduced in principle, although of some it may be still secretly departed from in practice. The improvements in



the administration of the Revenue Department are greater than in the others. Faith is kept with the ryot, more liberal assistance is given to him in advance; he is not harassed by false pretexts to extort money; and his complaints find a readier bearing and redress. Some of our alterations are less agreeable to all or to particular classes. We have more farms and more strictness than our predecessors; the power of the patail is weakened by the greater interference of our mamlutdars. His emoluments are injured by our reductions of the *Laudir Waurid*, and even the ryots who were taxed for his profit are made to free the want of some of their charities and amusements, while they confound the consequent reductions of their payments with the general diminution in the assessment." The character of the mamlutdars is described as being less respectable than would be wished, although it was an object to introduce the servants of the former government. The revenue servants introduced from the Madras Presidency are described as being "more active, more obedient to orders, more exact and methodical than the Marattas, but they introduce forms of respect for their immediate superiors quite unknown here, while they show much less consideration for the great men of the country, and are more rough, harsh, and insolent in their general demeanour. It might be worth while to consider how much of these characteristics they owe to us, and much to the Musulmans.

"The duties of a mamlutdar are to superintend the collection of the revenue, to manage the police, to receive civil and criminal complaints, referring "the former to punchayets and sending the latter to the Collector." They have a *Serishtadar* who keeps their records, an accountant, and some other assistants. The pay of a mamlutdar is from 70 to 150 a month, and that of a *Serishtadar* from 35 to 50. The system adopted by all the Collectors were founded on the Maratta practice, though varying from it and from each other in some particulars. The foundation for the assessment in all was the amount paid by each village in times when the people considered themselves to have been well governed. Deductions were made from this in proportion to the diminution of the cultivation, and afterwards further allowances were made on any specific grounds alleged by the ryots. The amount to be paid was partitioned among the ryots by the village officers, and, if all were satisfied, puttahs were given, and the settlement was ended."

"The customs were formed from the difficulty of managing

them otherwise, and as no complaints were made it was inferred that the system, if not favorable to government, was not oppressive to the people.

In Police affairs, under the Maratta Government, the patail was responsible for the Police of his village, aided by the watchmen, and where the occasion required it, by the whole of the inhabitants—he was generally equal to the charge—responsibility was thrown on the community, and unless stolen property were traced to a neighbouring village, they were held responsible for the whole amount lost, or such portion as their neglect or culpability should seem to require, and were otherwise punishable by fine. “The exaction and this indemnity is evidently unjust, since the village might neither be able to prevent the theft nor make up the loss, and it was only in particular cases that it was insisted on to the full extent.”

“In the district police the patail was under the same authority as a police officer, that he was as a revenue one, the mamlutdar, who employed the same agents in this department as in the other. The mamlutdar saw that the villages acted in concert, and with proper activity, and when there was a sirsoobedar, he kept the same superintendence over the mamlutdar. These officers had also considerable establishments to maintain the tranquillity of their districts. There were the sebundies or irregular infantry, and the small parties of horse which were kept in every district: they were, however, employed to oppose violence and to support the village police, not to discover offenders. The mamlutdar had great discretionary powers, and even a patail would not hesitate to secure a suspected person, or to take any measure that seemed necessary to maintain the police of his village, for which he was answerable.”

“This was the plan of police up to the time of Bajee Row, during the reign of Madhoo Row 1st, and likewise during the administration of Nana Furnavees; it is said to have succeeded in preserving great security and order.”

The confusion which ensued on the commencement of Bajee Row's reign in 1796, and the great famine of 1803-4, deranged the system of police like the other branches of administration. A new authority with a long Maratta name was engrafted on the old police, a sort of superintendant general with great powers, and enormous abuses arose under his administration. “It may be supposed that such a violent proceeding, and one so foreign to the ordinary system, could not fail to clash with the ordinary institutions, and accordingly

there were constant and loud complaints by the mamlútdars and villagers, that the Tapposuvavesses were only active in extorting money under false accusations, and that robbers rather flourished under their protection."

At the capital, in Bajee Row's time, the police was entrusted to an individual who maintained his own establishment, for which he received 9000 rupees a month, all deriving great profit from unavowed exactions, "the police however was good; on the whole, murders or robberies attended with violence and alarm, were very rare, and I have never heard any complaints of the insecurity of property."

"Next to the prevention of crimes and the apprehension of criminals comes the manner in which offences, &c. are tried and punished; in this are involved the authorities competent to try, the forms of trial, and the law by which guilt is defined and punishment awarded."

The revenue officers were the criminal judges under the Maratta Government, and the picture drawn by Mr. Elphinstone of the administration of criminal justice shows the deplorable condition to which that department was reduced. The following extracts may be sufficient.

"The right of inflicting punishment was, however, extremely undefined, and was exercised by each man more according to his power and influence than to his office."

"There was no prescribed form of trial. The chief authority would generally consult his officers, and perhaps employ a committee of them to conduct an inquiry, but I should doubt whether Panchayets were ever generally employed in criminal trials, though mentioned by Captain Grant to have been so in the Sattara country."

"In crimes against the state, the prince made such inquiries, or directed his minister to make such, as seemed requisite for his own safety, and gave such orders regarding the accused as their case seemed to require. Torture was employed to compel confession and disclosure of accomplices."

"Trials of this sort were naturally considered in a despotic Government as above all law, but even in common criminal trials no law seems ever to be referred to, except in cases connected with religion, where shastres were sometimes consulted. The only rule seems to be the custom of the country, and the magistrates' notion of expediency. The Hindoo law was quite disused, probably owing to its absurdity; and although every man is tolerably acquainted with its rules in civil cases, I do



not believe any one but the very learned has the least notion of its criminal enactments." Punishments.—Murder, unless attended with peculiar atrocity was seldom punished with death. "Highway robbery was generally so, because mostly committed by low people, for a greater distinction was made in the punishment, on account of the caste of the criminal than the nature of the crime. A man of tolerable caste was seldom put to death, except for offence against the state. In such cases birth seem to have been no protection." Trampling under the feet of an elephant, hanging, beheading, cutting to pieces with swords were common punishments. Women were not put to death, but mutilation of both sexes was common.

"No other punishment, it may be averred, was ever inflicted on a man who could afford to pay a fine; and on the whole, the criminal system of the Marattas was in the last state of disorder and corruption." "Judging from the impunity with which crimes might be committed, under a system of criminal justice and police, such as has been described, we should be led to fancy the Maratta country a complete scene of anarchy and violence. No picture, however, could be further from the truth. The reports of the Collectors do not represent crimes as particularly numerous. Mr. Chaplin who has the best opportunity of drawing a comparison with our old provinces, thinks them rather rarer here than there. Murder for revenge, generally arising either from jealousy or disputes about landed property, and as frequently about village rank, is mentioned as the commonest crime among the Marattas. Arson and cattle stealing, as a means of revenging wrongs, or extorting justice, is common in the Carnatic. Gang robberies and highway robberies are common, but are almost always committed by Bheels and other predatory tribes, who scarcely form part of the society; and they have never, since I have been in the country reached to such a pitch as to bear a moment's comparison with the state of Bengal, described in the papers laid before Parliament."

Mr. Elphinstone enters into a long disquisition of the causes "which kept this country in a state superior to our oldest possessions, amidst all the abuses and oppressions of a native government, and on the means for preserving an efficient police."

Our system of police produced a closer superintendence, the abolition of indefinite confinement: and introduced altogether a milder and more merciful mode of procedure; but it

was necessary to consider how much our abstaining from such tyranny would weaken the hands of the police, and how necessary it would be to provide a remedy in some more tolerable shape.

After describing the alterations introduced in the administration of criminal justice, Mr. Elphinstone observes: "The whole of this system is evidently better calculated for protecting the innocent from punishment, and the guilty from undue severity, than for securing the community by deterring from crimes. In the certainty and efficacy of punishment, it has the same inferiority to the native system, that the police has in detecting and seizing offenders." "In short it may be questioned, whether our system does not occasion as much suffering as the native one, but it is spread over a greater surface, and therefore makes less show, and neither shocks the legislator nor alarms the criminal."

After suggesting improvements in the administration of criminal justice, and describing the moral character of the people, Mr. Elphinstone observes: "I do not perceive any thing that we can do to improve the morals of the people, except by improving their education. There are already schools in all towns, and in many village, but reading is confined to Bramins, Banyans, and such of the agricultural classes as have to do with accounts. I am not sure that our establishing free schools would alter this state of things, and it might create a suspicion of some concealed design on our part. It would be more practicable and more useful to give a direction to the reading of those who do learn, of which the press affords so easily the means."

"Books are scarce, and the common ones probably ill chosen; but there exist in the Hindoo language many tales and fables that would be generally read, and that would circulate sound morals. There must be religious books tending directly to the same end. If many of them were printed and distributed gratuitously, the effect would without doubt be great and beneficial. It would, however, be indispensable that they should be purely Hindoo. We might silently omit all precepts of questionable morality, but the slightest infusion of religious controversy would secure the failure of the design. It would be better to call the prejudices of the Hindoos to our aid in reforming them, and to control their vices by the ties of religion, which are stronger than those of law. By maintaining and purifying their present tenets, at the same time that we

enlighten their understandings, we shall bring them nearer to that standard of perfection in which all concur in desiring that they should arrive while any attack on their faith, if successful, might be expected in theory as is found in practice to shake their reverence for all religion, and to set them free from those useful restraints which even a superstitious doctrine imposes on the passions."

Mr. Elphinstone had proposed that two lack of rupees should be set aside for religious purposes including two colleges. There was originally in the Peshwa's time a sum of five lack of rupees, set aside for purposes of religion and education, but the institution had degenerated into a giving of alms. It was now proposed that 50,000 rupees which had been conferred "on proficient in Hindoo Divinity, should be allotted to those most skilled in more useful branches of learning, law, mathematics, &c. and a certain number of professors might be appointed to teach those sciences." These means, with the circulation of a few well-chosen books, such as I believe are now printed in Calcutta, would have a better and more extensive effect than a regular college, and would cost much less to the government. I shall therefore avail myself of the permission formerly given to me, and put such an establishment in train."

"The authorities by whom civil justice was administered were the following:—In the country the patail, over him the mamlutdar, and sirsoobadars; and above all the Paishwa and his minister; jageerdars administered justice in their own lands; the great ones with little or no interference on the part of the government. In some towns there was a judicial officer, called the Nyace Desh, who tried causes under the Paishwa's authority, and any person whom the Paishwa pleased to authorize, might conduct an investigation, subject to his Highness's confirmation."

"Though a government officer endeavoured himself to settle the dispute, and though it rested with him to decide whether or not the case required a punchayet, yet it was reckoned gross injustice to refuse one on a question at all doubtful, and it was always reckoned sufficient ground for ordering a new investigation where there had been no punchayet."

"The punchayet may therefore be considered as the great instrument in the administration of justice, and it is of consequence to determine how the assembly was constituted, what were its power, and what its method of proceeding, and enforcing or procuring the enforcement of its decrees."



Mr Elphinstone enters largely into all these subjects of enquiry and into the defects and abuses of the judicial system of the Marattas.

“ But with all these defects the Maratta country flourished, and the people seem to have been exempt from some of the evils which exist under our more perfect government. There must, therefore, have been some advantages in the system to counterbalance its obvious defects, and most of them appear to me to have originated in one fact, that the government although it did little to obtain justice for the people, left them the means of procuring it for themselves. The advantage of this was particularly felt among the lower orders, who are most out of reach of their rulers, and most apt to be neglected under all governments. By means of the punchayet they were enabled to effect a tolerable dispensation of justice among themselves, and it happens that most of the objections above stated to that institution do not apply in their case ”

The patail of the village was afraid of exercising oppression, and so were the members of a punchayet, in view of those amongst whom they lived—the whole community were likely to know the merits of the case, the member of the punchayet of to-day might become the plaintiff or defendant before a similarly constituted tribunal to-morrow; and as the members of the court were kept from their usual occupation pending its deliberations, there was little probability of unnecessary delay. But although the punchayet was sufficient protection to the individual from the oppression of his neighbour, it was no protection of the people against the strong hand of power, and they had nothing else to rely on than the hope that their rulers would see that was for their own interest that they should prosper.

Mr. Elphinstone enters on a comparison of the advantages, or otherwise of the native plan with those of the Adawlut and concludes. “ This view of the Adawlut is taken from the reports drawn up in Bengal, and it is possible that many of the defects described may originate in the Revenue System, in the voluminousness of the Regulations, or in other extrinsic circumstances, a supposition which appears to be supported by the state of the Courts under Bombay, where most of the evils alluded to are said to be still unfelt, but enough will remain to satisfy us that the chance of attaining or approaching perfection is as small under our own plan as under that of the natives; that on either plan we must submit to many inconveni-

ences and many abuses, and that no very sudden improvement is to be looked for in the actual state of things. If this be the case, it becomes of the first consequence to cherish what there is good in the existing system, and to attempt no innovation that can injure the principles now in force, since it is uncertain whether we can introduce better in their room."

"I propose therefore that the native system should be still preserved, and means taken to remove its abuses and revive its energy. Such a course will be more welcome to the natives than any entire change, and if it should fail entirely, it is never too late to introduce the Adawlut."

Such are the opinions of Mr. Elphinstone after some years' experience in the management of the Poona territory. After various suggestions for the improvement of the Maratta system the report is concluded in these words.

"To sum up the effects of our Revenue, Police, and Judicial systems, we have, in Revenue, lighter, more equal and more certain assessment, less speculation and consequently less profit to the Agents of Government. In Police more attention and more vigour, but less violence and so far less efficiency. In Civil Justice the great change is that government has taken on itself the whole responsibility of protecting people's rights, but there is more form, more purity, more delay in some cases, and less in others. In Criminal Justice more system, more scruples, more trials, more acquittals, more certain punishment for all crimes except robbery, and for that both less certain and less severe."

The Sattara territory had continued under the same system of management as the rest of the territories conquered from the Peshwa. It has already been mentioned that the Raja ascended the throne of his ancestors on the 9th of May 1818. On the 25th of September 1819, a treaty was concluded with H. H. and certain territories ceded to him. These to be held in subordinate co-operation to the British Government, and the Raja to be guided in all matters by the advice of the Political Agent at his Court. His military force neither to be increased nor diminished without consent. To forbear from all intercourse with foreign states except through the Political Agent, the possessions of Jageerdars within the Sattara territory were taken under the protection of the British Government, together with the possessions of the Raja of Akulkote, the Punt Suchew, the Prittee-nidhee, and the Jageer of the Duffays in the pergunnah of Jhutt."

In 1820 the territory of Sattara yielded about 15-lack of rupees and when under full cultivation, it was supposed that it would yeild 18,00,000.

In March 1821 Mr. Chaplin observes: "In my late tour to the southward I had an opportunity of personally witnessing the general prosperity and good order that prevailed throughout the Raja's districts, and the satisfaction which was shewn by all classes of the people towards H. H. Government and the existing system of management.

"The Raja was warm in expressing how sensible he was of the kindness and consideration which Captain Grant had uniformly observed towards him, both publicly and privately; and I took my leave of him, impressed with a very favourable opinion of the good sense and judgement, and the respectability of the acquirements which H. H. evinced, both at this interview and on the occasion of a vi-it, at which I received and entertained H. H. on the following day."

On the 5th of April 1821, the entire management of the Sattara territories was transferred to the Raja, and in 1829 the Governor of Bombay describes those territories as being well governed, and the Raja himself as doing justice to the trouble that had been taken with his education.

Whatever may be thought of the policy which led to the sacrifice of so large a portion of our territorial conquests from the Peishwa, for the support of the Sattara family, we have at least so far as the interest and welfare of the people of the country are concerned, no cause of regret. The territory itself is of that limited nature which may be considered more in the right of an estate or family possession than of a dominion—the administration of the affairs of such a territory is apparently within the scope of the native mind, and we will most probably find the people of such countries the happiest and most prosperous in India. It is only in extensive possessions such as Hyderabad, Nagpore, Gwalior, Mysore, Oude, &c. where the management extends beyond the compass of individual control, that native administration proves so prejudicial to the interests of the people. It then becomes necessary to trust to the management of others; and, supposing the native ruler himself to have the welfare of his people at heart, it must be doubtful whether in the present demoralized condition of the people of this country he can find instruments who are trustworthy or likely to second his own intentions.

In founding a small state for the Sattara Raja the British



Government had in view "the further object of providing for a portion of the soldiery of the country, whose habits might be unsuitable to our service, and likewise of retaining some of the civil and religious orders, whom it might be difficult to dispose of under our own direct government."

The possessions of the Putwarders Appah Dessac, &c. in southern Maratta country yield a revenue of about twenty lack a year—of these the Governor of Bombay observed in 1829: "I was surprised to find from the most minute inquiry how comparatively little the character of the ruler depended on that of the chief. But the principal reason of this I discovered to be in the village system being preserved complete, and the almost invariable usage of the local officers (even to the highest) being seldom ever changed. Many of the finest districts have mamlutdars and other officers, who have succeeded to those duties like an inheritance. The consequence is that all the money made in the districts is spent in them."

"Whatever may be the reason, it is impossible not to acknowledge the fact that the towns and villages under these Jageerders, are in a better condition than any in our provinces in the Decran; and notwithstanding the impression of some to the contrary, I must from all I saw and heard, be of opinion that justice is, in most cases, administered in a way full as satisfactory to the inhabitants as under our improved system."

No one has had a better opportunity of comparing these things than Mr. Thackeray, who observes, "We may, I think, infer from the flourishing state of some of the Jageers, where the government is patriarchal, and where the machine of state seems to work imperceptibly, that the simplest form of administration is best adapted to this country. The Jageerders have, however, certain advantages which we never shall possess. They require less revenue and can afford better terms to their ryuts. Their managers are generally their friends and relations, who live and die in the country they manage, and look as much to their own popularity with the ryut as to the favor of the Jageerdar."

The first effect of our administration of the Poona territory was an increase of cultivation and an appearance of increased prosperity. This perhaps arose in some degree from the additional protection afforded to the people, and from a slight accumulation of capital in the hands of the cultivating classes, who escaped the exactions of the Maratta Government in the last year of its rule, and were not to the full extent subjected to

those of their new masters for the first few years after the change, cultivation increases in India more rapidly than population. This had an injurious effect on prices, whilst the demands of Government continued to increase with increased cultivation—capital was rapidly drawn out of the country, and notwithstanding constant remissions, and the utmost anxiety on the part of the British government to uphold prosperity, there is little doubt that the whole of the Maratta country was at the end of the fifth or sixth year reduced to a degree of poverty which it had not known under its former rulers. There was no employment, and little provision for the upper classes—the manufactures of rich kinkabs, clothes and other things which the expenditure of the native government and of these classes formerly went to support, disappeared with them, and I suppose that few who were employed in that country, or knew the sentiments of its inhabitants, will deny that the thoughts and prayers of all were turned towards Bajee Rao, the re-establishment of whose rule, it was believed, could alone restore them to their former prosperity. Remissions had nevertheless been made with no sparing hand—until, as was said, the new conquests cost the Bombay government nineteen lacks a-year, and that government must long since have become bankrupt, had not the Bengal treasury been open to it. Whether the condition of the people of that country has improved in the last few years, our Bombay friends will perhaps tell us. There is no doubt that such has been the impoverishing effects of our system of administration on the opposite coast, that in the northern Circars thousands of our subjects perished last year of famine, whilst rice was selling from fifteen to twenty seers per rupee, neither is there any doubt that the inhabitants of those provinces flocked in great numbers to the Nizam's; where, although prices were still higher (in the proportion in the end of May of 10 to 19) they either found employment, or that the people of the native state had the means of supporting them, whilst those living under our own rule had not.\* It was well known to every body at Hyderabad that, although grain was there at famine rates, the Nizam's government, and the people of the city fed daily, in addition to their own poor, some thousands of starving wretches from the

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\* I think that Mr. Alexander, the master attendant, who had witnessed the effects of a famine at Masulipatam, and superintended the importation of grain thirty years ago, considers that the people were then better able to bear up against prices at five seers per rupee than they now are at fifteen.



Company's country. Does any one suppose that under such circumstances the people of the Nizam's country would have gone to seek for support in the Company's? Yet the former territory is perhaps at this day the worst governed in India.

June 30.

**Mysore.**—The family of the present Raja seems to have run its natural course about the beginning of the 13th century, when the administration was usurped by the minister then in power. The family of the minister was again supplanted by Hyder in 1760—but the ancient Princes remained as pageants in the hands of these successive usurpers and rulers until the conquest of Mysore by the British on the 4th of May, 1799. As if fearing to assume to ourselves the rights and powers of conquerors, we looked (here as in other instances) for a descendant of the family which had been deposed a century before, and found a child of six years of age. On the 22nd of June this child was raised to the throne, and territory calculated to yield 13,74,000 pagodas was ceded to him. He agreeing to pay from this territory, the yearly sum of seven lack of pagodas for the maintenance of a subsidiary force for the defence of his country, and afterwards stipulating to furnish four thousand horse to serve with the British army. This arrangement evidently belongs to the infancy of our practice in treaty-making, and of our acquaintance with the character of the rulers of this country.

The value of the territory ceded to Mysore, however, under-estimated in the Schedule to the treaty—it is supposed to be more correctly stated at sixty lacks per annum—so that the sum remaining to that State after the payment of the British subsidy, was about thirty-five lacks, whilst territory yielding sixty lacks was consigned to its management—the British Government reserving to itself the right of controlling the Raja in the administration of the country, or in case of his misgovernment that of taking the administration into its own hands.

The Dewan of the former Government, Poorneah, was appointed to the administration of the affairs of Mysore, during the minority, and he continued in this capacity distinguished by the same vigour, integrity, and talent for which under the former dynasty had been so conspicuous; and which had pointed him out on the restoration as the fittest person for such a charge. He carried with him in his administration the entire confidence of the very remarkable men, who were during the



period of his power, Residents in Mysore, and in some respects his colleagues in its Government—Malcolm, Wilks, Close, and Webb—his measures commanded the applause and admiration of the Supreme Government, and of the subordinate Government of Madras, to whose management was left the control of our political relations with Mysore.

Great tranquillity reigned in Mysore during the administration of Poorneah, which would have been very remarkable, considering the turbulent character of the population of that country, had not his power been supported by a very efficient British force stationed within the territory. I cannot speak as to the nature of Poorneah's revenue administration, which was believed however, to be very beneficial to the country. But the courts of justice established by him, were of a very remarkable order, and have been considered to offer good models for our imitation, when it became necessary a second time to interpose that authority, which we had reserved to ourselves by treaty, to save the people of Mysore from the oppression of their rulers. But the most remarkable circumstance in the history of Poorneah's administration, is the vast sum of money which he amassed in the eleven years and a half of his rule, amounting I believe to about seventy lack of Pagodas. Supposing the revenue of Mysore to have been sixty lack of rupees—the whole sum at his disposal, after paying the subsidy, that is two hundred and eighty one lack, would have been four hundred and eight lack; that he should have saved from this sum two hundred and forty-five lack, and expended in his administration only one hundred and sixty-three, is I believe unprecedented, so far as our acquaintance goes, in the history of this country, and perhaps in that of any other country. This sum however, though bearing so large a proportion to the amount at Poorneah's disposal, was little more than a third of the whole Revenue of Mysore. It is a proof to us of what may be done by an avaricious ruler, having under our protection, and who has not a standing army to maintain. It contrasts oddly enough with the twelve lack saved by Mr. Jenkins at Nagpore in seven years, out of a Revenue of three hundred and fifty-four lack. How so small a population and so limited a territory could bear such a drain in so short a period of time, it is difficult to understand; and this single fact perhaps speaks volumes in favor of the administration of Hyder and Tippoo or of some former rulers.

Besides the natural desire to attain the possession of power which belongs to every man of proper ambition, the young Raja of Mysore is said to have evinced, at a very early period, unusual impatience at the thralldom in which he was kept by Poorneah, arising partly from the conduct of his minister, towards himself, partly from the circumstance of the minister having been Tippoo's Dewan, and partly from the knowledge which he had of the extent of the sufferings of former Members of his own family through the usurpations of former Dewans.

But however this may be, he assumed the reins of Government in the early part of 1812 when in his eighteenth year. High hopes were at first entertained that this Prince, who had been educated under the eye of the most distinguished of our Residents, and under the guidance of the ablest minister that India has seen of our selection, would have done honor to the high station to which it was his good fortune to be raised. But these hopes were hardly sooner formed than blighted. It was immediately discovered that the Rajah's education had been entirely neglected, and that he was totally unfit for, and unworthy of the station to which he had been raised through our power, at so great a sacrifice to ourselves. We have in other parts of India seen guardian mothers, both natural and by adoption, depressing the rising energies, withholding education from, and even pandering to the vices of their own sons, for the purpose of prolonging their own power; and it would not be very surprising if the Regent of Mysore should be found to have acted the same part towards his young sovereign for the same unworthy purpose; at least we know that it is a game that has been played in higher and better places—and it is one against which it is the interest, and should be the duty of the British Government to guard during minorities in the States in alliance with it.

Much of the profligacy of the Rajah's after life may of course be traced to neglected education, to temptation, and to those vicious habits in which his youth was spent. If in all conditions of life, education be reckoned of such paramount importance, how immeasurably greater must it become as we ascend in the scale of society, and reach that point where the welfare of millions depends on the will and the temper of one man; this individual however, to do good and harm, unhappily exists more in India than in most other countries; and, through the mode of succession adopted and supported under our supremacy, more now than in any former period of its history



—the evil in this as most other cases lies on the surface—where is the remedy?—and how is it to be applied?

Whatever effects the hoarding disposition of Poorneah may have produced on the condition of the people of Mysore, or whatever his motives may have been in accumulating so large a sum of money, there is no doubt that it precipitated his own downfall; for the possession of such wealth became at a very early age an object with the Rajah, and with those unworthy favorites in whose society his youth had been passed; who now influenced his conduct by their evil councils, and administered to his worst passions. Poorneah was not likely, after having exercised supreme power for so long a period, to take a share in any ministry that might have been formed under the Raja's control, nor was the profligate young Rajah likely to take to his councils a virtuous monitor like Poorneah. The angry discussions which took place at the period of the Rajah's assumption of power may, too, be supposed to have rendered future reconciliation impossible, and the ex-minister hardly survived his downfall a year.

The control exercised over Poorneah by the Resident at Mysore, was not of that effectual nature to enable any one to give a very minute or detailed account of the results of this form of administration on the condition of the people, and this is the more to be lamented, since this system and the benefits believed to have arisen from it, have been so often referred to as a fit model for our guidance under similar circumstances elsewhere. It is probable that the success of the Mysore scheme led to the secret article in the treaty of 1802, rendering the office of the Baroda minister permanent. There is no doubt that Lord Hastings had in view an imitation of the Mysore scheme, when was desired in 1818 to limit the power of the Resident at Nagpore, and to leave the administration in the hands of a minister acting under our control. Sir John Malcolm's support of Tantea Jogue in the Indore administration, was professedly an imitation of the Mysore scheme. But neither in the Mysore nor the Indore arrangement can the success of the minister's measures bear a moment's comparison with the administration of Mr. Jenkins at Nagpore, or with that conducted by Captain Grant at Sattara under the control of Mr. Elphinstone and Mr. Chaplin. The object in all four instances was the same—the protection of the people during minorities, in cases where, by the right of conquest, we might have retained possession of the country for ourselves, but where we chose to re-establish a na-



tive ruler. The eminent success which attended our own measures both at Nagpore and Sattara, and the lasting benefits which the people of those countries have derived from the continuance, by their own rulers, of the system pursued by us, turn the scale immeasurably in our favor; and leave no doubt as to what should hereafter be done under similar circumstances. Compared with these, the system adopted at Bhurtpore on the restoration in 1826 must also be considered to have failed. The attempt to conduct the administration under the regency of the queen mother, and through ministers acting under our protection, hardly lasted eight months. The measures of the Ministry which has been acting under our support have certainly not been so beneficial to the country; whilst they have been considered as much our own; and for them, whether good or bad, we have had as much credit or blame in the estimation of the people, as if they had originated more directly with our own political agent. What is to follow on the withdrawal of our interference at Bhurtpore, whether the present ministers will keep their place, whether the Rajah has been brought up in habits of business; whether his education has been conducted in a manner to admit of his undertaking with advantage the direction of affairs; or whether Ranee Imrat Kour and her favorites Janee Beyjnath and Mr. Wright, will return to power, yet remains to be seen: all that is now known, is, that the present system will terminate, leaving the Bhurtpore State indebted twenty lakhs of rupees to the British Government, whilst in the eight years which it has lasted, hardly a like sum will have been paid.

The other great instance of interference on our part, first to support a minister in uncontrolled and unlimited power, and then to protect the people from all the ills, which such a state of things was almost sure to produce, it is my intention to discuss in a separate paper. Observing only in this place that each step in our progress there, has been in direct opposition to the will of the prince, and in breach of the most sacred engagements.

It is perhaps hardly to be expected, that under any system of education, or in any state of society, the discharge of important functions can be entrusted to a youth of eighteen. Mr. Pitt it is true was Chancellor of the Exchequer at 23, and first Lord of the Treasury before he was 24. But even England, fertile as she is in genius, has produced few like him; and neither he nor any one else has exercised, or may expect to exercise, those unlimited powers over their fellow-men, which

the British Government of 1812, entrusted to the ignorant and depraved Raja of Mysore. It was not the Resident's fault, if the power of doing evil was left to him—for the reports of that officer to his Government, contained every thing that could be desired to be known of the Raja's conduct, and it needed no prophet to foresee, even in the first year of his power, the course which he was destined to run. Non-interference even in a case where we had the right to interfere, and when the exercise of that right was so obviously required to direct the measures of our youthful ally, and to save his people from the worst of evils, was however strictly enjoined; advice was to be offered only in a shape which was the least likely to be offensive to the Raja, or calculated to injure him, or lower his power in the estimation of his people. The relation of the British Government towards the state of Mysore, was deemed to have been materially changed from the period of the Raja's assumption of power, during the administration of Poorneah, we held ourselves to the guarantee to the Raja for the good conduct of the Minister, but from the period when this condition of things terminated, we held ourselves to be released from responsibility; and bound to permit the Raja to administer the affairs of his country in his own way. The Resident still continued to keep his Government informed of the course which the Raja was running at Mysore. He was surrounded by low and depraved men, his own pursuits continued of the most profligate and abandoned description, the instruments employed in the administration of the country were such as might be expected to spring from so corrupted a source; the condition of the country necessarily deteriorated under such management; the whole of the treasure accumulated under the administration of Poorneah had already been dissipated; the army and public establishments fell largely into arrears; and discontent and disaffection began every where to appear. The Raja through the whole of this period resisted the interference of the Resident in the conduct of his affairs, trusting apparently to the reluctance which he knew the Government to have evinced towards incurring such responsibility.

At last, as is well known the disorders of Mysore led Sir Thomas Munro there in 1825. The dangers of a revolution in that country, or of disturbances in the unpaid army of Mysore, whilst so many of our own troops were engaged in a foreign war, were sufficient to awaken his apprehensions. The best informed writer, that in the course of these discussions has ap-



peared, observes, "The independent States that are scattered every where about our dominions who will be the subjects of interference are the canker at our heart. If ever we suffer any considerable reverses, or are placed in depressing circumstances, we shall have reason to regret that we preserved towards them a delicate faith." Sir Thomas Munro's presence in Mysore produced for a time good effects, and it was then hoped, that the advice which he personally gave to the Raja, and the danger which he showed him, must necessarily result to the stability of his own power, from continued mis-government in his country, and neglect of his army, would leave a lasting impression on his mind. But the evil was too deeply seated, and of too long standing to be removed by such means; the danger towards ourselves terminated with the return of our army from the Burmese war; and nothing more effectually was then done, than to require the Raja to furnish accounts of his receipts and disbursements, which proved just as false and useless here, as they have invariably done elsewhere.

Things very soon returned to their former condition, and as the good advice of even Sir Thomas Munro, could hardly be expected to make any lasting impression on such a mind as that of the Raja of Mysore, they gradually proceeded from bad to worse, until the people finding that there was no other redress for the manifold evils, which they had so long endured, at last thought of the natural expedient of redressing their own wrongs. Combinations were accordingly formed in all parts of Mysore, but naturally at first in those most remote from the seat of power, or the least accessible to the troops of the state—leaders in India will never be wanting to place themselves at the head of their followers, and to assume the insignia of power, or even of royalty, as may best suit their purposes. Witness the remarkable instances of Tittoo Meer and of Budoo Bugut, within the last few years at the very gates of our capital! In Mysore the people found a leader in a person named Boody Buswappa, and an insurrection headed by him commenced about the middle of 1830—the forest, and beautiful district of Nuggur Bednore, being the first scene of their operation. Measures of conciliation and of concession were at first resorted to by the Mysore government, but the sufferings of the people were of too long standing, their complaints had been too long disregarded, and they had been too often deceived by false promises, to be easily conciliated. In their turn, they made demands on their government which could neither be granted



with safety nor with honor, and the Mysore Raja was taught the lesson, that a tone of defiance may by misgovernment, be roused in an industrious and peaceable peasantry, which his effeminate spirit, his depraved and enervated mind, was but little calculated to meet, or to understand.

The government troops were not in temper to act with cordiality against their fellow sufferers. The Raja was too well aware of this and at a very early period of the disturbances, called for the aid of British troops to second the efforts of his own in quelling them. The Dewan first took the field, the Raja afterwards, accompanied by the Resident; more for the purpose of conciliating than coercing the people. But the evil had reached a height which placed the remedy far beyond their power, and the opposition of the people led to measures of severity on the part of the Raja, and his officers which at the time were said to be of unusual atrocity, and calculated to enhance and perpetuate rather than allay it.

The next step was to summon British officers and British troops to the scene, and towards the beginning of the rainy season of 1831 a large force was employed in the Nuggur district. The British troops were but little opposed, the insurgents generally permitting them to pass through the jungles unmolested, and reserving their fire for those of Mysore. It was evident that the confidence of the people had been entirely forfeited by their rulers, and in conformity with the stipulations of treaty, the authority of the Raja was set aside, and Commissioners appointed by the Governor General to administer the country in His Highness' name.

A new experiment was in this respect tried by the Governor General. Heretofore, trusts of this description had been reposed generally, if not always, in individuals. In the Oude Territory, the Carnatic, in Malwa, Poona, Nagpore, and Hyderabad, individual officers had been employed in similar duties with distinguished success—and although men of their stamp are now hardly to be found in the service, for as Mr. Russell has well observed “it is with faculties as with commodities, the production depends upon the demand;” yet persons equal to all the duties which that station required might still have been found. One commissioner was appointed by the Governor General, the other by the Governor of Madras—the one was a Madras Civil, the other a Madras Military Officer, and it was evident that there were, in the constitution of such a Commission, many of the elements of discord.

Lord William Bentinck has wisely observed, and he is perhaps the only person that has made the observation,\* that the tone and spirit of the Mahomedan population of Mysore, is different from that which we find elsewhere in India. In other parts we found a fallen or a subdued people—here a powerful and insolent government; lately risen it is true, but therefore the more intolerant and bigotted. It seemed the last strong hold of Mahomedanism in India, and our subjugation of it will never be forgiven by that people. It was obvious therefore, that a very delicate task was assigned to the Commissioners, for the people had already had a foretaste of rebellion, and of war in the opposition which was shown to the Raja. Amongst the first measures of the Commissioner, however, who assumed charge of the Mysore territory, were those of resuming certain grants of land and money which were supposed to be held on insufficient tenures and authority, and the discharge of a considerable body of troops, both measures, so far as they went, tending to disturb men's minds, and to throw the sufferers into the arms of the already large body of disaffected. It is well known that the Commissioners, first appointed, never acted together; for the junior Commissioner left the field as the senior approached, and between those who next exercised authority there, neither harmony nor cordiality prevailed. The senior Commissioner in his turn retired from the scene, and it is not improbable that these dissensions, among ourselves, tended to enhance and foster the spirit of opposition which was well known to be abroad in Mysore. At all events that great soother of men's minds, a revenue settlement, had not been given to the country. It was in these circumstances that various attempts were made by the Mahomedan population of Mysore, and other parts of the country to stir up a spirit of hatred to their Christian rulers, by accusing them with polluting their mosques and edgas—that an abortive attempt was made to organize an insurrection for the purpose of taking possession of the fort of Bangalore and the treasure which it contained—and it is not improbable that to the same spirit, animating the Mahomedan population, may be traced the necessity we have been under of subduing the Coorg principality. If so, not the least of the advantages of that measure will be the blow with which, for a time, it has struck down that spirit.

I do not know that any settlement of the revenue, like that

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\* Vide his Lordship's memorial to the Court of Directors.

undertaken by Mr. Jenkins in the Nagpore territory, has yet been attempted or accomplished in Mysore. But of this I am certain, that until a revenue settlement has been effected, and British officers shall have been appointed to the superintendence of small and compact districts, the people of that country will never feel that their rights have been secured, or their interests sufficiently attended to.

The Mysore country has latterly been under the management of Commissioners, in every way calculated to do justice to the charge, and now it has the benefit of the superintendence of the Governor General himself. A sole Commissioner has, too, taken the place of a Commission,—so that we may at last expect to see those benefits conferred on the people, which were in contemplation when the direction of affairs were taken out of the Raja's hands.—*Bengal Hurkaru*.

July 4, 1834.

## THE CIVILIZATION OF INDIA.

[By ARISTOBULUS *Correspondent of the Courier.*]

PROPOSITION 2.—That the system of non-interference with the pursuits of the people, so rigidly maintained hitherto, has been attended on their part by as rigid a refraining from all improvement; and that the abundant examples afforded them of the advantages of civilization, have been almost as unproductive of good.

It was to be expected, that politicians, who are disciples in the modern school of economists; and students of the *motives* now actuating men in Europe, in the concerns of life, should calculate upon the presence of the same *motives* here; and expect this people to make advancement in civilization, and of consequence in prosperity, through the influence of example and opportunity alone. It was to be expected, that they should pronounce “a man's self interest”—“his emulation”—“his desire of improving his condition”—“his love of enjoyment”—“his wants”—“tastes,” in short “his natural desire of attaining to the greatest happiness,” to be imperious motives, which must force the Natives to burst the ties of prejudice, and, rising from their apathy, to press forward to a state of reasonable existence; upon their being afforded evidence, exemplifying the vast encrease of moral and domestic happiness, which civilization brings forth to the nations wooing her.



It was to be expected that many also in India would be fascinated by doctrines promising so much at so little cost—by the satisfactory notion, that, in proportion as they multiplied their own enjoyments, they were doing good by the force of their comfortable example? and that others should suppose, that, by bringing the products of the industry of England into the market of India, they would excite new tastes and a desire of improvement among the Natives, acquiring wealth themselves the while.

If it shall be proved that all these hopes are fallacious, being founded on an erroneous estimate of the Native character, let not the reader doubt that many, whose duties have led them to a daily intercourse with Natives for twenty years, labor under this ignorance; nor let surprise at this excite him to proportionate censure, until a reasonable allowance has been made for the difficulty they experience in drawing aside the veil which Native duplicity unremittingly places, and reduplicates around men in office. Truths, frankly admitted to a private individual, of the utmost shrewdness on the part of the former often fails to discover. With every allowance, however, on this account, there is no small ignorance of the Native characters still to be accounted for, and to be regretted.

Whether it has resulted from principle, from a persuasion founded as above, or from neglect, it must be admitted that, while the people of England have been subjected to legislative interference which, in various ways, controlled or modified, not their pursuit only, but their social, domestic, and personal habits even—the people of India have been hitherto unincumbered by any interference; excepting some very cautious interference in the way of education, and any amount requisite for fiscal and political purposes.

With the exception of the scanty fruits of the very limited interference in the way of education afforded them, the Natives of India have, assuredly, undergone in no one respect any the least improvement. The little that has been effected, has resulted from what little interference has been practised towards them. The general impression of the Natives, and indeed of many observant Europeans, appears to be, that the extension of the British rule over the Provinces, and especially of its system of judicature, has induced, not only no moral improvement in the people, but even that some demoralization has resulted from it. It is conceded, that the Natives, in general, are sorry judges in questions of morality, and that

any demoralization is questionable, since the diminution of a non-entity is impossible. But no candid person, qualified to form a judgment, will affirm, that any moral improvement is traceable among the people of India generally, beyond the limits of the influence of a few Missionaries. In their habits, the writer will affirm there is none whatever—neither in their tastes. In their arts, it has been already shown they are rather retrograding than otherwise.

The generalizing spirit of modern philosophy,—of that portion especially which has been termed Political Economy, and honored by the title of a Science,—has tended in no small degree to involve India's question in perplexity. So fascinating prove its doctrines, so imperative its laws, as to close the sight of many a politician to the sad realities of India, to the mountains of facts opposed to them; from which turning aside, he builds his castle on a molehill; upon the case of the few hundreds in Calcutta whose “prejudices are plainly giving way” after all the “motives” of the economists, and all the example of Europeans ought to have been working good for a century. Do such persons forget, that in every large community there may be expected some, from a spirit of singularity, some from a love of novelty, and some few from superior intelligence, ready to desert the customs of the multitude? And is it upon this small number, not yet filled up to the proportion in other countries, they rest their hopes that, without any other appliances the whole mass will, within any period of human calculation, be aroused from their torpor, and occupy themselves in the rational pursuits of intelligent men? Let not the writer be accused of undervaluing the study of the most interesting, and important—of any, but divine subjects—those treated of in “Political Economy.” He must be allowed, however, to maintain the opinion, that, in the present state of our knowledge, it would be well to designate it the *study*, rather than the *science*, of Political Economy. If it be called a science, it must be given *laws*: and to the mind of every statesman the term *law* conveys the impression of all that is absolute and irresistible; whereas the very foundations upon which this study is grounded, are ever liable to change, even in the same land; and they differ in every differing soil.

In the same people and climate the motives for human action, upon which this study is built, are so liable to change, that what may be predicated of one generation of men, often cannot of another. But of countries, climates,

and people, differing from each other in a degree as vast as is the geographical distance of India from England, little can be affirmed in common.

It is very possible to show that, what to an Englishman would be a motive for exertion, is a motive to the Indian for sleeping—that, what the former would propose as an interesting amusement for the leisure of the day, is put off by the latter as a burdensome duty to an indefinite “to-morrow,”—that, what the former values as the first of earthly comforts, worthy of soul-wearying efforts for their attainment, are viewed by the latter with a calm indifference, as undeserving of a thought—that while, “to better his condition” is an ever-powerful motive to an Englishman, infatuating hundreds, for a visionary prospect, into entering on a life of excitement and disease while it is inducing hundreds to traverse the world for wealth—wealth is very rarely sought by the native with the ultimate object of improving his condition.

The following picture of the family of a Hindoo, whose industry and wealth give him a high place of usefulness in the native community, may be taken as a very fair standard for comparing the habit of industry, wants, tastes, desires of improvement, &c. of the two nations; or the motives which determine man to produce and enjoy wealth in England and India.

A Hindoo, whose income is on the advance, does, at the most, add a little ghee to his meal of pease, and change his body dress for one of finer texture. As far as his means permit, he supports even distant relations; sometimes allowing his dependents to encrease to a large number; unless the prospect of wealth, and of its security, tempt him to hoard.

Let full justice be done to a remnant of the best feelings of Patriarchal times, when every member had a claim on his tribe—feelings affording a moral lesson to the encreasing pride and selfishness of domestic society in England. Upon an enquiry, however, into the motives in operation, the truth will afford some explanation of this paradox in the morality of the two nations.

The Native has a far less personal use for his money than an Englishman beyond a very humble subsistence. Hence his indifference, if a servant, at a threatened discharge. Hence also the difficulty of persuading him to leave his own neighbourhood. It is on this account that recruiting in the Native Regular Army is attended with difficulty, where, as in the



Company's territory, the people can obtain the means of subsistence at home; while the applicants for service in the Provincial Corps often greatly exceed the vacancies; although the pay and respectability of the former are much superior. A Native, whose income can do more than sustain him in his accustomed style, has little motive for withholding support from connexions, for whom he can feel but little attachment. With his encreasing means the number of idlers among his relatives encreases. He will often allow an able-bodied fellow to hang upon him for months;—a man, for whom his affection is in reality so slight, that, for an inducement of the smallest scale, he would, too often alas, be guilty of his death! Frequently, though his desire to hoard is great, he is alone prevented by fear, lest, his wealth exciting their cupidity, he should be poisoned by these very relations. So indifferent is he about “improving his condition,” that, instead of expending his gains as he acquires them, for this purpose, he supports the very parties, from whom he is sometimes in fear of his life; and the life of any one of whom, excepting perhaps his own child, he would sacrifice for a trifle. The whole tribe lives together, with a *lota*, *kuttora*, *dhotee*, and *half a seer of atta* a piece, but without a thought. This is no rare case. It is most common. It is the case of most natives of substance, who are not hoarders.

Where the parties are not so lawless, and the prospect of hoarding is greater, as in the case of sepoys, and in towns, the only *strong motive* of the-native for the acquirement of money has its play.

The steady persevering industry of the Shroff, Bunniah, and Mahajun, may then be observed. But its fruits can scarcely be perceived, except perhaps in the *suwarree*—in a gay *pulkee*, with a small retinue of *chobdars*, for show and protection. Their wealth is acquired, to be hoarded until accumulated to an amount corresponding with their ambition.

A portion is then squandered in a marriage, or other ceremony, rupees being thrown in thousands to the populace indiscriminately; which the Englishman would have long since thrown into circulation among the industrious of the community, while he added their products to the comfort of his family; but which the hoarder had no reasonable way of employing. The rest of his wealth, if not left to a family, is equally unproductive; immured, first for years in a chest, and then for ever in a ghat, or temple—were irreclaimable for

any purpose of adequate use, it serves only to gratify the hoarder's religious ambition. Such is the condition in mind and body of the superior orders of the whole Hindoo population, even in Calcutta itself; where the exception, of not one in one hundred, but marks the general rule. A relaxation of prejudices, and a modification of customs is to be observed in a number, just sufficient to encourage the philanthropic statesman to the utmost exertion. They fail in their compliment to the judgment, taste, and readiness to improve, in this people, who speak with admiration of certain natives of respectability having availed themselves, at last, of the opportunities afforded by European enterprize, and begun to purchase some of the instruments of comfort, invariably required by gentlemen in civilized life. The writer can only find cause for unceasing surprize, that a people, of intellectual powers, equal to those of the generality of mankind, should be so far behind all other people in appreciating the excellence of all the products of English skill, which any intelligent savage, even would value and desire.

So erroneous have been the opinions circulated regarding the native character, and so illusive the reliance on "the general laws of human action." "The universal desire of man to improve his condition." "His desire of enjoyment, &c. &c.," as to lead to the exportation to India of vast quantities of the products of civilized labor, in the form of prepared metals and manufactures, with the confident hope, that the natives would purchase them readily. The result proved that, with the exception of cotton goods, sheet copper, and some iron and zinc, no demand worthy of notice could be excited even by sales at a ruinous discount on prime cost. Nor have twenty years' persevering enterprize, on the part of English merchants, established any satisfactory demand; nothing amounting to one-tenth part of what such a population ought readily to take. The extent to which the delusions prevailed, will be proved by a reference to the speeches of some of the leading members of the trading community of England, at public meetings in London, and some of the commercial towns. Before the Charter of 1814, one person is found to hold out an unlimited demand for glass, window glass especially; as soon as the obstacles to its introduction were removed. About ten years after, a city politician at a London meeting, exhorted his fellow dealers not to contract their trading in blankets, for that the demand, *as soon as the barrier were thrown down,*

*and British goods could find their way into the heart of India,* would no doubt become enormous, for, said he, if we allow only one of the cheapest 16 shilling blankets a piece for each adult in India, the demand will exceed our utmost efforts of supply.

So long has this delusion lasted, against the inflexible evidence of a glutted and falling market, that, in the year 1832, a Mr. Felkin of Nottingham, is found to address all persons interested in the *bobbin net* trade in these words: "I  
 " would here observe that as no one can say *bobbin net* may  
 " not, in the event of this monopoly, (the East India Com-  
 " pany's) ceasing to stand in the way of its free export and  
 " sale, be generally adopted in India and China, so it is a  
 " matter of easy demonstration, that if only every woman at  
 " the head of every family in India (saying nothing of China)  
 " were to use but one square of bobbin net a year, the whole  
 " of the existing machinery of the trade, full-handed, and  
 " worked eighteen hours a day, would scarcely produce a  
 " supply sufficient for that market. Worked at that rate,  
 " our production would be under 30 millions of yards a year,  
 " and there are upwards of 27 millions of mothers in our  
 " Indian possessions." And he proceeds to say, "The  
 " writer of these remarks feels, that the evils contemplated  
 " as likely to result from increase of machinery, and conse-  
 " quent over production are too serious not to demand  
 " a careful and candid consideration; and is confident,  
 " that all will be convinced on reflection, that rather than  
 " attempt to decry the increase of the power of produc-  
 " tion, it is far more rational, and will ultimately be more  
 " successful, to draw the attention of the trade to any practi-  
 " cable means of increasing the demand."

The above are selected, as the opinions of men, influential in their respective lines of business, while many similar might be selected, were it necessary, in proof of the extent to which misconception on such important questions prevails in the minds of the people of England. Did not such opinions foster a lamentable delusion, and lead to the extension of machinery, under the vain prospect of a demand, which will never *spontaneously* arise on the part of *this* people, they would be truly ludicrous to those who have been eye witnesses of the habits and condition of the natives. Who but must smile at imagining one of these many Hindoo mothers of families—her sable neck adorned with a flowing collar of English bobbin net; and her



head with a basket of recent cow-dung to be kneaded into fire cakes with fingers which our glovers of Woodstock would protect with their softest kid-skin ! or at fancying her husband, who can barely allow himself a coarse horse blanket at 10 annas, wrapt in one of English Lamb's-wool costing 10 rupees, a sum collective, he perhaps never possessed in his life. Nay, it would be a strange occurrence for a wealthy Native, a few in Calcutta excepted, to allow himself any so costly a covering in bed. While out, he will draw over his shoulders a shawl valued at 500 rupees : on his cot he will cover himself with a common chintz *rusaie*, at a cost of one or two rupees.

In addition to the illusions excited by the doctrines of Political Economy, supposed of universal application, and by very incorrect information, on the parts of authors and orators on Indian matters, may be placed the promising demand, rapid at first, now stationary, for cotton goods, and sheet copper, which led to the impression in England, that, if an abundant and cheap supply of other manufactures were always in the market, the Natives would certainly and rapidly acquire a taste for the comforts of civilized life. Many years of vain efforts proved, that some other causes were overlooked in the anticipations. Excessive extortion on the part of the Company for revenue has of late years been cited as this cause, which, by impoverishing, has deprived them of the means of gratifying or acquiring a taste for the comforts of civilized life, and of becoming good customers to England. That the quantity of the agriculturist's produce taken as revenue (though little, the writer believes, if at all above 10 per cent. of the gross produce, after deducting the commercial plant,) proves a grievous burden to the people, and that they are in general lamentably poor, are facts which it would be very imprudent to deny ; but the reason assigned is not the main cause of their poverty, nor is their poverty the chief obstacle to their acquiring the habits of civilized life.

It is not poverty in means but poverty in taste. Moreover it is not, in India, poverty in means, which stands as the antecedent, or as it were, the cause of poverty in taste, as is commonly argued ; but the reverse ; universal poverty in taste occasions the universal poverty in means. The latter is not the cause, but the consequence of the former. It is of the first importance that this relation should be kept in view by the Indian Statesman. Out of one hundred, which might be adduced, ARISTOBULUS must request the reader's attention to one

striking fact in illustration of this truth. In no country in the world, those in the Frigid Zone excepted, is window glass more needed than in the upper provinces of Hindostan, by a people of the bodily constitution of the Natives. To the westward, the people suffer as much from cold and damp as any in Europe. Few escape fever and rheumatism in the rains and cold weather. And in the hot season the dust and parching wind are distressing even to brutes. Again,—at any city on the banks of the Ganges, window glass is procurable at a price as low perhaps as in London. Yet it is no less true, than strange, that with so good reasons for its use, and so ready a supply everywhere, the houses of all, even the wealthiest natives, (with the former exception of a *few* in Calcutta) are unprovided with window glass. The writer has watched the erection of houses, upon which half a lakh of rupees have been said to have been laid out, (few indeed indulge themselves with such mansions) but not twenty rupees on window glass. What renders this the more surprizing, is the custom, not uncommon, of such wealthy Natives to glaze one or two apartments for the reception of their European guests; while scarcely any are found to do so for their own comfort. Here we have superadded some experience in its use; but the whole in vain. Wealthy Mussulmans are indeed found much more ready to avail themselves of the articles of comfortable use, offered by English interprize at so low prices; but in their case, even it is to a limited extent, and the number of wealthy of that religion is very small. Hence window glass, of which so large a demand was anticipated, is always at a serious discount in the Calcutta market; although it would be difficult to name any article which men, right as to their *senses*, would want more in such a climate. How different this from the rapidly increased demand for this very article, when it was once introduced into England; lamented by a Sage of those times as a mark of such degeneracy; that, in one generation it was finding its way, after glazing patrician windows, even into the cottage farm-house of those days.

The comparatively large consumption of British cotton goods, which for a time underwent a rapid increase upon the opening of the trade, has been, and is still, daily adduced by the hopeful, as an earnest of an approaching vast demand in India for all other products of British industry.

The writer would refrain from the endeavour to dissipate so pleasant hopes, were not too many persons, relying on a false

analogy of motives, disposed to avoid any interference with so promising a course, and did not others, with full confidence in them, try the Indian market to their cost, with every possible production of art.

The demand for cotton goods, which, up to a certain amount, underwent a rapid encrease at first, was to have been expected from, and is to be attributed to the very ancient taste of this people for cotton fabrics for dress. It was no new taste, no demand for a new article, but merely a transfer of custom from the coarser and dearer to the finer and cheaper wares.

So far from the quantity of English cottons, now taken by the Natives, being any ground for future hope, it needs but little observation to perceive, in the fact of the amount having been for some years stationary, that it was only an ancient demand for clothes of such kinds to a certain extent, which, being transferred to those of England, rendered saleable proportional importations; and having become stationary at an amount trifling in comparison with the whole clothing of the people, it is but evidence of their indisposition to improve their condition of life which the writer has already sufficiently established.

If he has been successful in placing in their true light the deceptive appearances which this question wears, and the delusive expectations which have been founded on them; and, if he has disproved any real improvement in this people from their own spontaneous efforts, ARISTOBULUS will consider the first part of this proposition to be demonstrated—namely, that the system of non-interference maintained towards the natives unremittingly, with the exception of that sparingly afforded in school education, has been attended, on their part, with a refraining from all spontaneous improvement.

That abundant example afforded them of the advantages of civilization has been unavailing, is manifested in the state of Calcutta itself, and of the country in general. The reader's time will not be occupied by any long demonstration of what ought to be apparent to the mind of every unprejudiced observer. But one remarkable instance may be adduced, illustrative of that peculiar trait in the native character, which proves the barrier against all spontaneous advancement. The Calcutta *hackery* is painfully eloquent in proof of the fact, that example very abundant, evidence very striking, means as ready as possible, and considerable pecuniary advantage though all combined, fail in inducing the people to adopt of themselves a



simple improvement. *Hackeries* on wooden axles have been possessed by natives of all ranks and degrees of wealth, in Calcutta, while for a century their English fellow citizens have used vehicles, in vast numbers, on well turned iron axles, the easy draught of which ought daily to have been noticed by them. At the same time, English enterprize has supplied their markets abundantly with iron of all forms and dimensions, requiring little workmanship in order to form it into axles and boxes, and at a price which would be entirely saved in work, now lost by the excessive friction, in five or six months, at an estimate on the average daily hire of a hackery. At the same time numerous accidents from the snapping of wooden axles would be avoided with all this, the grating wooden axles is still used, the thickness and looseness of which cause this serious loss by friction, which the people entirely overlook, and it will continue to be used ; until hackeries of the usual form and price, with the addition of an iron axle, are introduced by Europeans ; so as to demonstrate by trial the pecuniary advantages which would result from them ; and to habituate a sufficient number of the natives to their use.

This and a hundred other instances prove, that example and opportunity alone are unavailing, though supported with good pecuniary reasons for improvement. When, however, a very great and manifest saving is noticed by them, or some vast gain the natives will occasionally exert themselves. Thus many have adopted the European method of making Indigo, their own producing an unsaleable article.

An ingenious author has drawn a parallel between the condition and habits of the people of England and India in ancient times, and has hence inferred that their present vast difference is to be attributed to certain political causes which have always operated disadvantageously towards India. He has, it may be supposed, succeeded in establishing a purity of condition at some former period, but by no means of character. A day of helpless infancy there is, during which some parallel as to feebleness may be drawn between all children ; but he would err against experience who should thence infer that any difference to be observed in after life in their strength and energy ought to be attributed to certain causes affecting the motive and education of the parties differently ; and not to the difference Nature has made in the constitutions of men. To the case of nations this argument is equally applicable.

It is affirmed, and affirmed truly, that the Natives are found to have powers of understanding adequate to the acquirement of all kinds of human knowledge ; and it has hence been concluded, but concluded falsely, that the opportunity alone being afforded them, they will learn *all* that it is useful for them to acquire, and will *put in practice* what they learn. In proportion as the Indian mind is extolled for readiness to understand, and learn the philosophic truths discovered by others, has the philanthropist to lament its deficiency in those qualities, to which are due, much more than to the former, the advanced civilization and greatness of England. However sincere may be their intentions, they are not India's best friends, whose desire of establishing for this people a high intellectual character, would lead them to affirm that the mighty change which ought, long ago, to have commenced in their habits and condition, may be trusted to any spontaneous exertions of their own.

The doctrines founded on what are termed the *laws* of Political Science, though far from being universally applicable in the Western World, may serve as a sufficient guidance to politicians of the present day in Europe ; but, applied to India, they cannot fail to misguide the judgment ; and be preventive of good.

They who are really acquainted with the native character, who have seen through false appearances, and sifting well the expectations of the hopeful, have found them to be little more than chaff, to be scattered by the blast of time, cannot fail of the conviction, that a system of economical polity, suited for England, is inapplicable here. In England a vast and efficient, though complicated, machinery of motives, forms, and then rules, the active character of each generation ; needing on the part of the statesman but little guidance and cautious interference.

In India no such engine is at work ; nor can the people build it up of themselves. They have not the moral, mental, nor physical energy, which, in the rudest times, characterized the people of England ; and which, in each successive generation, has added some movements to the machine of motives, which now, in return, determines our artificial, but highly civilized national character.

In India there being no such powerful instrument capable of doing the work itself ; the work must be done by the hand (like all other work here) of the statesman at present ;

suitable and beneficent interference must be practised towards this people ; for, without it there is no reasonable ground for supposing they will ever make progress in the habits of civilized life.

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## INDIAN JAILS.

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### MEMORANDUM.

#### *Proposed regulations for the better Government of Indian Jails.*

1. It ought to be the object of all punishment to reclaim and not to ruin the culprit. It appears beyond a doubt that our Jails are the great nurseries of crime, because from the want of all discipline they became public seminaries of vice where young persons inexperienced in guilt are associated with old and hardened profligates.

2. Pride of character and self esteem are grand barriers against crime ; the man who has a fair name in society, will, to retain that name, avoid crimes from which his conscience alone, unaided by his pride, and self esteem, would not deter him, our Jails strike down at once this barrier against crime, for irrecoverable *disgrace* follows almost every conviction for theft by the sentence of *irons*, the destruction of caste, and association with the lowest felons reform cannot be expected from that man, who, having hitherto had a fair name and held his place in society, has had the misfortune to fall into crime and has in consequence been put in irons to work upon the roads.

3. There surely ought to be gradation in punishment ; none but hardened offenders need be sent to Jail.

4. There ought to be a separate *House of Correction* from which a poor man might be discharged, and yet return to society with some character left.

5. Irons should scarcely ever be put upon men for the *first offence*, unless indeed it is very atrocious, and none put those in irons should be sent to jail.

6. Offenders for the first time confined in irons should be kept *quite distinct from the old offenders*, because men who have not before lost all character, will be likely to have some shame left. If this feeling of shame and remorse be destroyed the culprit will soon learn by the power of ruinous example to join the hardened convicts and boast and laugh at past crimes.



7. It is of great importance that all prisoners should be kept fully and most actively employed even to fatigue as well as to keep them from idleness and vice to teach them some useful trade, in order that those who come in useful vagrants should be sent out instructed in some mode of earning a livelihood.

8. To this end particular attention should be given to the employment of prisoners those already knowing any trade, as that of blacksmith, carpenter, tailor, weaver, or handicraft of any kind should be made diligently to work by themselves at that calling.

9. Those who are ignorant of all such work might be told off to learn some of the above employments they might choose and be placed under experienced teachers. A short time of instruction and actual labour would teach almost any common handicraft; an idle vagrant may thus become a tolerable weaver in a few weeks and a clever workman in 6 months, where there are no good instructor amongst the prisoners they should be hired for that purpose. The work done would amply pay the expences of instruction.

10. The work to be made, might be good settrenges, blankets, taut, coarse cloth, baskets, turnery of all kinds, locks, keys, screws, hookah, snakes, &c. in short every thing which will sell in the market.

11. A tread mill established in every Jail or House of Correction would be very advantageous that those sentenced to a few days confinement for trifling offences should have hard labour and do good service, the mill might grind corn, beat soorkey, draw water, &c.

12. The discipline should be very severe, not a moment of idleness allowed. The utmost activity in every department should prevail. The idlers or sullen should be quickly aroused by the rattan or by a post in the tread wheel, and when others had gone to rest they should be kept at work. All should see and feel that they were watched and that punishment would assuredly follow sloth.

13. A very active superintendant must of course be chosen to direct the whole, perhaps an European selected from the ranks for his intelligence, steadiness and activity of mind would be the best.

14. And in every department he would have active assistants from the prisoners themselves chosen from their qualification for this duty. Out of 5 or 600 men there is a large

field for selection. Their zeal would be secured by the assurance that the period of confinement would be shortened if they gave satisfaction and kept their charges diligently to their work.

15. The dawn of day should find the whole Jail and House of Correction in activity, and the labour should only cease with darkness.

16. That there should be little enjoyment and recreation, *all conversation* should be most strictly prohibited as in the celebrated American Jail at Auburn, *perfect unbroken silence* should every where prevail.

17. There will be little difficulty through the native assistants and their friends in securing the co-operation of the prisoners themselves in all the discipline.

18. In small districts where offenders are few they might be sent from thanna to thanna to any central House of Correction in a neighbouring district.

19. There is but too much reason to believe that many of the *Thugs, Dacoits* and *Thieves* who now infest our provinces are men whom our *dreadfully mismanaged Jails* have *thoroughly corrupted and driven to despair by the utter ruin of their character, caste and principles*, for I believe it has been proved that many of the most daring robberies have been committed by men who had been previously confined in our Jails. Whilst the grand object is to protect the public against crime, the very contrary may almost safely be said to be the case from the present system of our Jails. From whence do thieves and robbers come from but from our own Jails?

20. Most Indian Jails are now melancholy spectacles full of moral corruption and guilt, which is every day striking deeper root in the mind of every unfortunate man within their walls—for the whole tendency of Jails as now managed is *cruel'y to extinguish every remaining spark of shame and virtuous feeling*: surely this dreadful fact should awaken the attention of the British Government when it is considered that the annual average of prisoners confined is said to be 27,267. There seems to be no reason why our Indian Jails should not rival those at home and in America, celebrated for the excellence of their discipline.

21. In the present energetic administration the remedy might speedily and effectually be applied by a circular code of Jail regulations; then instead of indolence and increase of vice, activity and progressive reform would alter every

feature of the Jail ; the Magistrate would then with pleasure feel that he was sending a novice in crime to the salutary *House of Correction and Reform*, where at present he must feel, if he reflect at all, that the poor man whom he sends to the Jail is to be ruined for ever.

22. The management of Jails surely ought not to be left as now to the discretion of over worked Magistrates, who have no time to devote to their management. There might with prospect of great benefit be associated with every Magistrate two intelligent military officers, if it be a military station, who would be willing to undertake this philanthropic duty ; to form a Committee for the good government of the Jail, and to carry the regulations strictly into effect. This would merely require occasional attendance on their part, or two Civil Servants might be directed to form a Committee.

23. The great object of Government is to provide *the real antidote to crime*. Surely when the Government remove men into an *unnatural state of confinement where all the moral restraints of natural society are broken down, and where vice by precept and example is constant'y taught*, it becomes a solemn duty in Governments to supply the remedy to this unnatural moral evil ; and all Magistrates should consequently be minutely directed to superintend that *judicious correction* and moral discipline which is the remedy.

24. To express a desire to improve the condition of prisoners is by many unreflecting persons thought to be visionary and uncalled for, but on the contrary it is a matter of *public duty*, to neglect which is to be void of every good feeling, and the present attention to the subject leads to the belief that we shall see Jails, from public motives as well as humane feelings, become objects of the *peculiar circumspection* and care of government.

25. To overcome by some counteracting principle the bad habits of men is obviously wise. To *improve and reform* culprits, to punish whom there is a necessity for the sake of example, the very *mainspring of all improvement* ought surely not to be neglected—namely, the *minds* of those men who are now by thousands ruined by immuring them in Jails to the *annihilation* of those principles and feelings implanted by Providence as restraints to evil in every human breast, and which by better management might instead of being destroy-



ed, be roused into action, and become the chief instrument of reform.

26. No sensible or practical man can for a moment deny that we should endeavour by judicious and simple means to impress on men's minds the deformity and inconvenience of crime, and the excellence, beauty and convenience of virtue, and thus influence all their actions for their own benefit and for that of society.

27. The Judge on the bench is often heard to counsel to virtuous conduct the unfortunate men whom he punishes, and why should not this excellent advice follow the culprit to the House of Correction, and be daily repeated line upon line and the precept upon precept—and varied to suit every case as a part of the salutary discipline? Surely a counter-acting moral influence should be opposed to the unnatural and tenfold impulse to crime which the herding of criminals together must otherwise foster and produce. Good therefore would certainly result were moral instruction purposely prepared so as to offend none of their prejudices, yet in a striking manner to inculcate by interesting examples the dreadful consequences of vice, and delightful pursuit of virtue; contrasting the evils of idleness with the pleasure and profits of active and honest industry, comparing the degrading evils of lying and theft and all their black train of consequences, with the noble virtues of truth and integrity, and all the benefits resulting to those who practice them at some fixed hours of the day as part of the discipline, would it not be wise and proper to make a reader of one of the prisoners (for there are many educated men amongst them) read for an hour some impressive and instructive lessons. Especially should it be daily impressed upon their minds that they have a two-fold existence,—that they have a spiritual as well as a corporeal existence. These instructions would open to them such stirring and healing thoughts as had perhaps never before entered into their minds. Amidst *unbroken silence*, they could not fail to be deeply struck with the only voice which reached their ears, when that voice told them “of God, of Eternity, of future rewards and punishment, of suffering far greater than the mere physical endurance of the present life, and of joy infinitely beyond the pleasures they may have experienced.” Such awakening truths are calculated to let in a new light into their mind, hitherto kept by their pursuits in total darkness, and give to them the most salutary turn.

Under such instructions men must needs feel humbled—and under such impressions the most noble object of ambition will be held before them as attainable—whilst repenting of their past lives, they will hear themselves addressed as superior beings, and regarded as men having higher and nobler powers than they supposed, and capable of being called into action. Such instruction will offend no prejudice of any class, but must needs be applauded by the whole of the native population. It is impossible to suppose, the prisoners would not be benefited by such reading. If this be not done, if left to themselves, *they will continue as now, to corrupt each other; by the most degrading and disgusting conversation, and by the animating relation of former successful dakoites and exploits* tending to give even a guiltless air of romance to the most dreadful crimes, and thus to create a desire for liberty that they may again embark upon this black, but to them now that their character is for ever gone, tempting career of robbery and even of murder.

28. The volumes to be read could soon be prepared were the Government to call on any qualified person to collect the abundant materials which present themselves in every library, especially libraries for the instruction of youth. These once collected and approved of would be easily translated into the Native languages, and printed for use. The profits arising from well regulated Jails might be expected to repay all expences.

29. Were the accompanying abstract of regulations printed after being corrected and improved by the superior judgment of the Supreme Government, and put into general use, a great improvement might shortly be expected to result—experiments might be tried under officers favorable to reform.

(True Copy),

JAMES PATON.

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*Abstract of proposed regulations for the better Government of  
Indian Jails and Houses of Correction*

1. Until provision can be made for the *solitary confinement* of each prisoner all Jails to be divided into apartments, 1st, for old and hardened convicts in irons; 2nd, for men in irons *but confined for their first offence* who are never to be allowed to mix with the old offenders.

2. No prisoner for his first offence, unless indeed it be

very atrocious, is to be put into the common Jail or associated with the old *prisoners*. He is to be sent to the *House of Correction* which should be a separate building or part of the Jail separated off.

3. A strict system of Jail discipline to be observed. The Superintendant must be carefully chosen with reference to his *intelligence, zeal and activity*, and whether European or Native it will be his duty to see that the prisoners are turned out to their work at day break, and they are not to cease until twilight, being kept actively at work during the whole period (with the exception of one hour and a half in the middle of the day.) If they are at work far from the Jail, they are to commence their return so as to enable them to reach the Jail half an hour after sunset. Sunday is allowed to be a day of rest.

4. Those men not employed on the roads and out of door work, are to work at their respective trades, and those who are unskilled in any work are to be taught useful trades—as that of carpenter, blacksmith, weaver, turner, the manufacture of baskets, hooka snakes, &c.

5. Instructors in these handicrafts, if none are to be found amongst the prisoners themselves, are to be entertained.

6. The articles to be made are satringlees and blankets, coarse cloths, door posts, chairs, tables, charpois, nails, hinges, locks, keys, screws, hooka snakes, bridles, bit, stirrup irons, pick axes, and in short every thing which will sell in the market.

7. Native assistants are to be selected from the prisoners themselves to keep the others diligently at work; assistants should be active minded men and some privileges might be allowed them to stimulate them to exertion; for those in irons—one iron of both might be taken off from their legs when inside of the Jails; they might be allowed to smoke, *an indulgence to be denied to all others*, and for very useful men who keep the others to their work the period of confinement should be curtailed at the discretion of the Magistrate.

8. *No talking whatever* is to be allowed. A Jail or House of Correction is not a place for enjoyment. *Complete silence* therefore should be carefully preserved. The slightest breach of this and every other rule should be promptly corrected by the application of the rattan, or by a post in the tread mill; not even a whisper to be allowed.



9. In the morning or during the day, before the prisoners are fatigued, they should be assembled either inside or outside of the wards, and a good reader should read to them for one hour from the books to be provided for that purpose. Sunday being a day for rest should have several hours devoted to the moral instruction of the prisoners by this process of reading.

10. The females in the Jail or House of Correction to be under a similar discipline suited to their sex.

11. The practice of issuing subsistence money to the prisoners and of allowing them daily *as in a bazar to purchase* their own food from the retailers, inside the Jail, to be discontinued as incompatible with that *unbroken silence* essential to discipline and reform. Rations to be served out to each Hindoo and Mussulman according to his case in *perfect silence*.

12. Magistrates having generally too much public duty to allow of their giving that minute attention to the discipline of Jails and Houses of Correction which is essentially necessary; Commissioners should select from amongst the Military officers at the station (if it be a Military station) two intelligent officers who may be willing to lend their aid in this beneficial duty; these two officers and the Magistrate *to form a Committee for the management of the Jail and House of Correction*. Where no Military officers are available, gentlemen of the Civil Service to be nominated as members of the Committee.

13. The Commissioners should report to Government the names of those Military officers who from intelligence and public spirit they may select and find ready to undertake the duty of directing the discipline, and the Government will always feel obliged for any suggestions they may offer through the Commissioner.

14. The Jail Committee on the 1st of every month will make out a report of the Jail in a form which will be prepared, shewing the work done with receipts and disbursements, and commencing upon the state of the Jail discipline. In these reports the Magistrates will enter the dates on which he visited the Jail—this should never be less than **twice in the week**. All writing to be done by the Magistrate's establishment.

15. The work done by the prisoners or by those in the House of Correction to be strictly on account of Government, and not for private individuals.

16. Commissioners on the 1st January and 1st July will report to Government upon the state of each Jail in their respective divisions, and suggest such improvements as may occur to them.

17. The Secretary to Government in the Judicial Department, will prepare a general report upon the state of Jails on the 1st March and 1st September; grounded on the reports of the various Commissioners, and taking a general view of the whole, noting under what Committees the discipline appears to be most successful.

(True Copy,)

*Bengal Hurkatu ]*

JAMES PATON.

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## THE PHILIPPINE COMPANY.

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In illustration of the indefinite term to which the liquidation of the assets of the late Agency Houses was likely to be protracted by the impossibility of finding purchasers for the outstanding claims, Mr. Turton, on a recent occasion, instanced a heavy claim of Mackintosh and Co., upon the Philippine Company. "Would you sell this debt?" said he. "It stands upon the books of the firm for a large sum of money, and the King of Spain was a Member of the Company; but I would not give one Rupee for the security of His Catholic Majesty." The personal credit of the Kings of Spain has really, for many years past, been at such a low ebb, that there are few who would step forward with a bolder bid for any claim upon the assets of Charles the Fourth, or Ferdinand the Seventh, *both of happy memory*, to make good their share of the Philippine Company's responsibilities. And it does not appear that the little Queen, their successor, and the public revenue are at all liable for them on the score of partnership between the Company and the Government, for no such partnership ever existed: the partnership was not national, but personal, like that of King William of Holland with the Netherlands Trading Company; and we suspect that the personal effects of King Ferdinand, as well as those of his fathers, have been absorbed by their personal debts.

The Philippine Company, however, has claims upon the Government for loans of money at different periods, which must be admitted to registry, if the new Government act upon principles of justice. These loans, from the establishment of the Company up to 1813, amounted to 3,341,210 dollars, of

which only 1,154.864 dollars have been repaid. Consequently the Company has now a demand against the State amounting to 2,186,346 dollars, besides interest, and without taking into account a sum of 75,000 dollars extorted in 1817, for the removal of an encroachment upon its privileges. Of course the Company cannot expect to have a preference over other *bonâ fide* Creditors of the State; but, if its claims be allowed to rank with those of foreign loan contractors, there will be a considerable fund available to pay at least a large dividend on the debts of this unfortunate and much ill-used association. The history of its misfortunes is really curious, and we think a slight sketch of its most prominent features, from the notes in our possession, will not fail to be interesting at the present time.

Conceiving that the mission of Mr. Storm to Madrid, on the part of the Assignees of Mackintosh and Co., would throw some interest upon the subject at this time, we lately promised to give a sketch of the history of the Philippine Company, and will now endeavor to redeem the pledge.

The first charter for a Philippine Company was granted by Philip the Fifth, and bears date the 29th of March 1733, but no commercial expedition was undertaken by the association, and the charter therefore came to be regarded as a nullity. The Spanish Government afterwards licensed private adventures, and even lent ships of war for the purpose; but all these speculations proved unsuccessful.

Half a century later, namely in July 1784, the members of the Guipuzcoa Company, which had long enjoyed the exclusive trade of Caracas, under a charter that had just then expired and which they could not get renewed, held a meeting to determine how to dispose of their funds; and at the suggestion of a member, backed by Government influence, it was agreed, after a good deal of discussion, to employ their capital in the Manila trade. The new Philippine Company was thus formed with a fixed capital of 8 millions of current dollars in 32,000 shares of 250 dollars each; out of which number 3000 were to be reserved for the inhabitants of the Philippine islands, and the King and the Royal Princes together subscribed for shares to the extent of one million of dollars. Indeed, people were seized with a mania for the scheme, and actually offered subscriptions to the extent of 40 millions of dollars. The Marques de Sonora, then Minister, had the credit of being the founder of the Company, and of procuring



them their Charter, which bore date the 10th of March, 1785, and was limited to 25 years. The Company therein obtained a monopoly of the trade to and from the Philippine islands, and the exclusive privilege of importing Asiatic goods into Spain and her colonies, with a reservation to the Merchants of Mexico to send their annual *Nao* from Acapulco with half a million of hard dollars to Cavete, the port of Manila, for investment in a return cargo of Asiatic goods.

The first expedition sailed from Cadiz for Manila on the 1st of October 1785, round Cape Horn, touching at Lima. Two more followed in January, 1786, by the route of the Cape of Good Hope. The first returns, amounting by invoice to 855,767 dollars reached Cadiz in 1787. The trade was followed up with great activity for a few years; so much so that, on making up the accounts on the 31st of October 1790, it appeared that, up to that period, the Company had invested to the amount of 27,857,520 dollars in 42 expeditions, of which all but 2 were in their own ships—12 of them to Manila and the rest to different ports of America: that the Government duties on their trade had amounted to 1,816,542 dollars; and that the Company had then an effective capital of 5,599,406 dollars, which capital was afterwards made up to 7,347,919 dollars. They also valued the dead stock in their various establishments, ware-houses and ships at 4,436,577 dollars. Their sales of Asiatic goods up to the same period had only amounted to 2,182,650 dollars, while they had a stock on hand amounting to 5,670,293 dollars. The total sales in Europe up to 1805, amounted to 19,238,900 dollars; but, during the vigorous period of their commerce, much inconvenience was always felt from superabundance of stock, and efforts were made to dispose of it advantageously by re-shipment from Cadiz to Vera Cruz. The Mexican market, however, disappointed them, being amply supplied by the Acapulco *Nao* to a much larger extent than the *registro* allowed. This abuse was one of the grounds of complaint afterwards brought forward by the Company: they shewed that in 1811, the ship *Rey Fernando*, licensed to take a cargo of the value of 750,000 dollars (the sum had been increased,) had sailed from Manila for Acapulco with 3538 bales of piece goods, amounting to two millions of dollars.

The Philippine Company, anticipating by seven years its expiration, procured an extension of their Charter on the 12th

of July 1803, to the 1st of July 1825. The capital was then fixed at 12,500,000 current dollars in 50,000 shares of 250 dollars each. The Royal Family, which before had 5935 shares, now took 9886 more, making their interest amount to 3,943,250 dollars; and foreigners were allowed to hold shares, which it was declared should not be subject to confiscation in case of war. Several new privileges were now granted to the Company. They were allowed the exclusive right of trading to China and India; the privilege of sending specie to Manila from Mexico in the Acapulco ship, and also Mexican produce received in barter for their goods sold in Mexico; and to receive returns from Manila by the same vessel, paying the same rate of freight on which that privilege was enjoyed by the inhabitants of Manila, namely 18 dollars per package of 2 quintals (about 400 rupees per ton in weight.) The port of Manila, as before, was to remain open to foreigners for Asiatic goods only, and they were allowed to carry back the produce of the island. With this exception, and that of the annual *Nao* to Acapulco, the whole trade in cotton goods was put under the Company's monopoly; and the previous laws which allowed the import of muslins and other cotton fabrics into Spain by private inhabitants, were repealed, and all confiscated cotton goods were to be sold to the Company. Even the raw cotton of Manila was put under their monopoly. Their exports to the Philippine islands were exempted from all duties; and the Asiatic goods imported by them into Spain, were put on the same footing as Spanish merchandise, in regard to inland duties and duties on re-export to America. Raw silk and cotton were declared free from all import duties, which, on other articles, were limited to  $6\frac{2}{3}$  per cent. The Company were allowed to ship half a million of dollars in specie in every vessel despatched for India: they were also permitted to trade from Manila to Lima and other ports of South America, to the extent of half a million of dollars annually, exempt from duties at Manila, and subject only to a charge of 13 per cent. on the goods landed in South America, and  $9\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the specie taken as returns (these rates will appear high in Calcutta; yet they are but a third of what has been exacted on foreign licensed expeditions). The Company bound themselves to send two expeditions annually to Manila and China, and two to India, each to the amount of half a million of dollars, and to carry out, free of charge, all Artizans desirous of proceeding to Manila—not excepting

foreigners, if Catholics—also Botanists and other scientific persons whom Government might wish to send to those islands. They also agreed to reserve one-fifth of the homeward tonnage for the inhabitants of Manila, if applied for by them.

These were the principal conditions of the new Charter. Besides many other advantages, they promised the enjoyment of a close monopoly of the important trade in cotton goods for twenty-two years throughout the Spanish dominions, Mexico and Manila excepted, all which countries were without manufactures of their own : and no doubt the new shareholders congratulated themselves upon the bright prospect of large dividends. This prospect was very soon clouded, and in a few years not only their hopes of profit were gone, but all their immense capital was confiscated and wasted by wars and revolutions, and by the bad faith and bankrupt condition of the Government of Spain. In 1803 and 1804, four ships were fitted out at Cadiz, the *Gertrudis*, *Ifigenia*, *Princesa de Asturias*, and *Paz*, and despatched to their several destinations. The *Ifigenia* was the only one of them that ever returned. The *Princesa de Asturias* and another ship, the *Santo Domingo*, hearing of the war between England and France when on their return voyage, put into Maldonado, and were both captured by Sir Home Popham on the first expedition to Buenos Ayres. The Company also lost 600,000 dollars by shipwrecks in the China seas. In short, the tide of disaster had set in upon them, and it continued to rise rapidly until it overwhelmed them.

The breaking out of the war between England and Spain in 1804, and the news of their losses, induced the Directors of the Philippine Company to limit their trade to the annual *registro* from Lima to Manila. But distance afforded no security against such an enemy. The English captured two of their ships in the Pacific Ocean in 1806 and 1807, the *Pala* and *Principe de Asturias*, both richly laden, one of which they permitted to be ransomed for 450,000 dollars. The Company also lost 50,000 dollars by piracy in the China seas, and their ship *Neptune*, despatched from Callao in 1808, was wrecked among the Philippine Islands. Besides the two ships taken by Sir Home Popham's squadron in the River Plate, in 1806, as already mentioned, General Beresford made prize of 252,000 dollars belonging to the Company, which he found in the hands of their Agent Sarratea, at Buenos Ayres, and shipped off the



money for England. A large quantity of goods, the remnant of the two cargoes, was rescued from the grasp of the English by the prompt recovery of the place by Liniers; but no part of the value ever returned to Spain. Liniers himself, we believe, took a considerable sum, by way of loan, from the Agent for the extraordinary charges of his government, and the rest was finally confiscated by the Revolutionary Junta in 1812, whereby the Company sustained a further loss of 366,471 dollars according to their own estimate. They had also considerable property in goods at Lima at a much later period, the proceeds of which it is supposed might still be made available, if unremitted to Spain, as it is not known that a similar confiscation took place there.

In the mean time, the events in the Peninsula in 1808, had roused the spirit of the Spanish people to wage an unequal war with Napoleon, and as the contest proceeded, and the patriots lost ground, till at last the Government itself was besieged in the town of Cadiz, the financial difficulties of the Government increased from day to day, and every means was taken to raise money by loans and *donativos* from the corporations in the Colonies as well as in Spain. About eight millions of dollars were obtained in this way from Mexico alone. In every part of the Spanish dominions the feeling of devotion to *Fernando septimo* was so strong, when the news of his detention at Bayonne was first received, that persons of all classes came forward every where according to their means, with most liberal offers of money to support the French war; and in the first instance all the Corporations presented large donations, and afterwards yielded to the applications of Government for loans, until they had actually parted with their whole capital—sometimes even more, for money was borrowed on their credit to lend to the State. All the invested Church and Charity Funds which could be laid hold of in the Colonies, were surrendered: every public establishment or corporation in Mexico was absolutely ruined thereby. Of course the Philippine Company did not escape the general wreck. The sums which they expended for Military Clothing in London amounted to 682,063 dollars: and the rest of their disposable capital was all given in the shape of loans to the state; which altogether from first to last, namely from 1798 to 1813, they estimate at 1,140,955 dollars lent to the Government in Spain, and 2,200,254 dollars in the Colonies, of which only 1,154,864 dollars were ever repaid.—*Calcutta Courier*.

## THE REV. DR. CAREY.

We have to communicate intelligence to-day, which will be received with general lamentation, not only throughout India, but throughout the world. Dr. Carey has finished his pilgrimage on earth, having gently expired early last Monday morning. For several years past his health has been very infirm; and his strength has gradually sunk, until the weary wheels of nature stood still from mere debility, and not from disease. The peculiarly trying hot weather and rainy season of 1833, reduced him to such extreme weakness, that in September last he experienced a stroke of apoplexy, and, for some time after, his death was expected daily. It pleased God, however, to revive him for a little. During the past cold season, he could again take an evening and morning ride in his palanquin carriage, and spend much of the day reclining in an easy chair with a book in his hand or conversing cheerfully with any friend that called. As however the hot weather advanced, he sunk daily into still greater debility than before: he could take no nourishment: he lay helpless and speechless on his bed, until his skin was worn off his body, and death was a merciful relief. His dearest friends could not but rejoice that his sufferings were ended, although they mourn his loss to themselves and to mankind.

The career which Dr. Carey has run is worthy of most honourable notice. He was a man who stood prominently forward from the mass of the several generations of men with whom he lived; and both for his private and his public character he deserves to be had in lasting remembrance. He was the son of a poor man, and entered life with a very defective education, and assigned to a business nowhere in high estimation, and peculiarly despised in this country: he was a shoemaker. These disadvantages, however, could not repress the energy of his mind; and it soon appeared that Divine Providence had other work for him to do than that to which he seemed at first to have been consigned. A thirst for knowledge he manifested, in various ways, from his childhood; and just as he was coming to manhood, it pleased God to draw his heart to himself, which happy change in his character increased his pursuit of instruction. To understand the Word of God was the first object of his desire, and therefore he set himself to acquire a knowledge of the ancient languages in which it was written. Whilst he was yet labouring for his

daily bread with the awl, he sought acquaintance with grammars and dictionaries; and he never left them till those compiled by himself had gained, by universal consent, an honourable place amongst the monuments of human learning. He was soon after settled as pastor of a Church in Leicester.

In the mean time as he became more acquainted with the condition of the various nations of the earth, by reading the narratives of the voyagers and travellers, he felt great concern for the state of the heathen. So much was he affected thereby, that he resolved to leave all that was dear to him in his native land, for the purpose of preaching the gospel to the Heathen; and in 1792 a society was formed amongst his friends, and through his influence, at whose expense he came to Bengal with his family, and another Missionary, in the end of 1793.

Dr. Carey came to India in a Danish ship, without obtaining the consent of the Hon. Company. To have sought it would have been useless, since the Indian Government were at that time as opposed to the propagation of the Christian religion in India, as if they had thought their own faith to be false. When Dr. Carey came into Bengal, therefore, it was a principal object with him to conceal himself from the knowledge of Government; and for a little time he occupied himself in the cultivation of recently redeemed jungle lands near Takee, about forty miles east from Calcutta; and here he was exposed to much suffering. A few months afterwards, however, he was invited by the late Mr. Udny to take charge of an indigo factory, which he commenced between Malda and Dinagore; and his colleague obtained a similar situation. Through the kindness of their employer, too, they obtained formal permission from Government to continue in India. Dr. Carey continued thus situated from 1794 to the beginning of 1800; during which time he applied himself diligently to the study of the Bengallee language and then of the Sungskrit. He translated the scriptures into Bengallee, preached the gospel in it extensively, and supported several schools.

On the 10th of January, 1800, Dr. Carey came to Serampore and united with Dr. Marshman, Mr. Ward, and others, lately arrived from Europe, in forming the Mission which has since borne the name of this town. From the Serampore Government, and His Majesty the King of Denmark himself, Dr. Carey and his colleagues, from first to last, have received the most gracious protection and favour, with whatever jealousy they were in former days regarded by their own country-



men. In the first year of his residence at Serampore, Dr. Carey's translation of the New Testament was nearly all printed; and the first Christian converts from Hindooism in Bengal were baptized. The Christian Church which was then begun with a few individual believers in the gospel, has now branched into about twenty-four churches in different parts of India.

In 1801 Dr. Carey was chosen as Bengallee teacher in the newly instituted College of Fort William. He was afterwards appointed Professor of Sungskrit and Marhatta, and by this means he acquired an intimacy with learned pundits from all parts of India, through whom, in the course of years, he was enabled to translate the scriptures into all the principal languages of northern Hindoostan. For the students in the College, he had to compile grammars of the languages he taught them; and after many years he completed his voluminous Bengallee Dictionary. By means of these and other works, he became known throughout the world as an oriental scholar of the first eminence. He was not less celebrated as a man of science. Botany and Natural History he began to study long before he left England; and India opened to him a wide field of observation, which he examined with untiring assiduity from his first arrival, until his strength utterly failed him. In these pursuits, he was the coadjutor and personal friend of Roxburgh, Buchanan, Hardwicke, and Wallich, and the correspondent of several of the first men in Europe, with whom he was continually exchanging botanical treasures.

As a philanthropist Dr. Carey is entitled to a high rank. He sought and gained the prevention of infanticide at Gunga Saugur. He was amongst the first, if not the first, that engaged in seeking the abolition of suttees, and chiefly through his exertions the Marquis of Wellesley left to his successors in the government of India a minute declaring his conviction that suttees might and ought to be abolished. Had he continued in the Government, he would have abolished them. Dr. Carey also took an active part in attempting the establishment of a leper hospital in Calcutta. He was the founder of the Agricultural Society. And indeed scarcely any undertaking for the benefit of the country has been engaged in, of which he was not either a prime mover, or a zealous promoter.

It was however as a Christian, a Missionary, and a translator of the sacred scriptures, that Dr. Carey shone pre-eminently. Their obligations to him in these respects the people of India have yet in a great degree to learn. They

will however learn them; and future generations will arise to bless his name. All Bengalees at least may thank him for this: before his days, the Bengalee language was unknown, and had never been reduced to grammatical rule. Pundits would not write it, and there was scarcely a book in it worth reading. It is now rich, refined, and expressive; and scholarship in it is generally sought both by native and foreigners; and to Dr. Carey and the pundits whom he employed, and whose labours he directed, the change is principally owing.

Dr. Carey was born on the 17th August, 1771, and died on the 9th of June, 1834, full of years and honour.—*Samachur Durpun.*

### WILL OF THE LATE DR. CAREY.

I, William Carey, Doctor of Divinity, residing at Serampore in the Province of Bengal, being in good health, and of sound mind, do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following:

First. I utterly disclaim all or any right or title to the Premises at Serampore called the Mission Premises, and every part and parcel thereof, and do hereby declare that I never had, or supposed myself to have, any such right or title.

Secondly. I disclaim all right and title to the property belonging to my present wife Grace Carey, amounting to twenty-five thousand Rupees, more or less, which was settled upon her by a particular Deed, executed previously to my marriage with her.

Thirdly. I give and bequeath to the College of Serampore, the whole of my Museum, consisting of Minerals, Shells, Corals, Insects, and other natural curiosities, and a Hortus Siccus. Also the folio edition of Hortus Woburnensis, which was presented to me by Lord Hastings, Taylor's Hebrew Concordance, my collection of Bibles in Foreign languages, and all my Books in the Italian and German languages.

Fourthly. I desire that my wife, Grace Carey, will select from my Library whatever books in the English Language she wishes for, and keep them for her own use.

Fifthly. From the failure of funds to carry my former intentions into effect, I direct that my Library, with the exceptions above made, be sold by public auction, unless it, or any part of it, can be advantageously disposed of by private sale, and that from the proceeds one thousand five hundred rupees

be paid as a legacy to my son Jabez Carey, a like sum having heretofore been paid to my sons Felix and William.

Sixthly It was my intention to have bequeathed a similar sum to my son Jonathan Carey, but God has so prospered him, that he is in no immediate want of it. I direct that if any thing remains it be given to my wife Grace Carey, to whom I also bequeath all my Household Furniture, Weaving Apparel, and whatever other effects I may possess, for her proper use and behoof.

Seventhly. I direct that before every other thing, all my lawful debts may be paid; that my funeral be as plain as possible; that I be buried by the side of my second wife Charlotte Emilia Carey; and that the following inscription, and nothing more, may be cut on the stone which commemorates her, either above or below as there may be room; viz.

William Carey, born August 17th, 1761, Died——

“ A wretched, poor, and helpless worm,  
“ On thy kind arms I fall.”

Eighthly. I hereby constitute and appoint my dear friends the Reverend William Robinson of Calcutta, and the Reverend John Mack of Serampore, Executors to this my last Will and Testament, and request them to perform all therein desired and ordered by me, to the utmost of their power.

Ninthly. I hereby declare this to be my last Will and Testament, and revoke all other Wills and Testaments of a date prior to this.

(Sd.) WILLIAM CAREY.

(Sd.) W. H. JONES.

SAMUEL MCINTOSH.

## STRAITS' PRODUCE.

GAMBIER.—As Gambier appears likely to become a staple article of export from this settlement to England, it may be worth while to make a few observations on it.

Mr. Macculloch, in his valuable “ Dictionary of Commerce,” notices two kinds, the *Acacia Catechu*, and the *Uncaria Gambier*. The Gambier obtained from the former tree is commonly called cutch, and is made extensively on the Malabar coast, in Pegu, and other places. The substance is obtained by boiling the heart of the tree for a few hours, when it hardens by cooling. The Gambier so well known here, is obtained by boiling the leaves of the *Uncaria Gambier*, a shrub



from 6 to 8 feet in height, and is prepared in large quantities on this island, and on the neighbouring one of *Bintang*. The quantity said to be exported from Rhio annually amounts to 80,000 piculs, most of which finds its way into Java, where we believe, it is used as a dye. It yields a good revenue to the Dutch Government, as the import duty in Java is 8 guilders per picul, if brought from a Dutch settlement, and by Dutch vessels; and 12 guilders, if by British vessels. That produced of late in this island, is estimated at about 20,000 piculs, in one year, and has hitherto been chiefly bought up by the Bugis, in their periodical visits to this port. It is likewise exported occasionally to Calcutta.

The method employed in preparing the extract is thus correctly related by Mr. Finlayson: "The leaves are collected three or four times a year; they are thrown into a large cauldron, the bottom of which is formed of iron, the upper part of bark, and boiled for five or six hours, until a strong decoction is obtained; the leaves are then withdrawn, and allowed to strain over the vessel, which is kept boiling for as many hours more, until the decoction is inspissated; it is then allowed to cool when the catechu subsides. The water is drawn off, a soft soapy substance remains, which is cut into large masses; these are further divided by a knife into small cubes, about an inch square, or into still smaller pieces, which are laid in frames to dry. This catechu has more of a granular uniform appearance than that of Bengal: it is perhaps, also, less pure."

In Mr. Macculloch's notice of Gambier, it appears from experiments made, that Gambier contains a large portion of tannin; one lb. according to Mr. Purkis being "equivalent to 7 or 8 lbs. of oak bark, for tanning leather." It appears also that the very heavy duty of £3 per cwt. has hitherto prevented its being extensively used in tanneries; but as that duty is now reduced to 1s. per cwt., we infer that Gambier will henceforth become a staple article of export to England from this settlement.

We observe that a large quantity was shipped on the two vessels which left for England since our last, and extensive purchases are still making for further shipment.

Should the result we anticipate take place, the advantages this settlement must derive will be extensive. A new impetus will be given to the Chinese, to plant the shrub more extensively than at present, and many portions of the island

now covered with jungle, will be made to bloom with cultivation. As the culture of the Gambier plant enlarges, so will the rearing of pepper vines increase; for it has invariably been found that pepper thrives better on this island, in the vicinity of Gambier plantations,—where the refuse of the boiled leaves are scattered about the stems—than in other spots. The quantity of pepper produced at present on the island may be estimated at eight to ten thousand piculs.

Dr. Bennett, who has visited this settlement, and whose writings, illustrative of natural history, we have at times quoted, published a few observations on Gambier, as cultivated in these parts, and calls it the *Gambier Nauclea*. He asserts that its medicinal properties are astringent, and it is considered useful in diarrhoea and dysentery, in gleet, cattarrhal affections, &c. The dose is usually from twelve grains to one drachm.

There are different qualities of the extract, the first and purest being white and brittle, having an earthy appearance, when rubbed between the fingers; (whence the name of *Terra Japonica*, as it was supposed at first to come from Japan,) and is formed into small round cakes. This kind is occasionally brought from Siac. The second quality is of a brownish yellow colour, and when broken, has a light brown earthy appearance; it is formed either into oblong cakes, or made into a solid cube form. The third quality contains more impurities than the preceding, and is sometimes formed into small circular cakes.—*Singapore Chronicle*, May 1.

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SAGO.—Sago being a commodity, the preparation of which for consumption in Europe as well as India, is exclusively confined to this settlement if we mistake not, a few observations on the culture, mode of manufacture, and the places it is imported from in its crude state, may be interesting to many of our readers.

On consulting the pages of our *Commercial Register* for the last twelve months, during which period the importations have been extensive, we find that Sago-tamping is brought chiefly from *Apong* and *Manda*, the former an island forming the east bank of Brewer's Straits, and the latter lying between the Campar and Indrageree rivers in Sumatra. Large quantities arrive also from *Bungoran*, *Seantan*, *Rantow*, *Mukah*, *Tabong Timyie*, *Sarasson*, *Ketaman* and *Siac*, all of which, we believe, are situated on or close to the east coast of Sumatra. From *Borneo*, we likewise receive a considerable

quantity both of the tamping and of sago coarsely prepared. The total quantity reported during the last official year was 6401 pls. and 252,900 bundles; of which Borneo afforded 4872 pls. and 18,600 bundles, the rest being chiefly from the places above enumerated.

The sago tree is described by a previous writer on this subject, who published his essay in this paper in 1827, as being a species of palm, thriving best in low marshy situations, well watered, and shut out from, but at no great distance, from the sea. The soil best adapted is the flaccid mould chiefly composed of decayed vegetable matter, to the depth of several feet, and extremely pervious to water. Cutting down and burning the jungle is all the preparation required previous to planting, which is best done from the seed, a small black nut, about the size of a pullet's egg, and about 5 fathoms a part. Plantations from suckers have been found not to be of such quick growth. From seven to ten years is the time necessary for the tree to arrive at full maturity, but the pith is generally extracted at the age of 6 or 7 years.

A plantation, after the above period, will yield a constant supply, as each tree is continually throwing out numerous suckers which in time supply the place of the trees cut down. A good tree, when felled, will yield 40 to 50 tampings. The tamping is a rough measure made of the leaves of the tree, of a conical form, 20 to 30 inches in length, with a base of about 8 inches diameter, both ends of which are stuffed with the refuse pith to prevent the escape of the farina. A tamping generally holds 19 pounds, so that 7 of them will weigh about a picul.

The method of obtaining the pith or medulla is thus described by the writer above alluded to. When the time arrives for cutting down the trees, the tampings are prepared and left to dry; the trees are then felled and split into halves, by means of wedges. The pith is next scooped out with hoes made of the rind of the tree and carried to a temporary building at hand, the floor of which is raised and latticed so closely as just to allow the finer parts of the medulla, to pass through on being wetted with water and trodden with the feet. Hollowed trunks of trees are placed below to receive the wet farina.

The medulla is trampled until the water passes through clear of the farina, and the refuse is thrown away. The next day, the water covering the farina in the trunks beneath is



drawn off, and the tappings are filled with the wet sago, and left to strain; the refuse pith is then put on the broad open end, which is now closed, and the operation ceases. Sago thus made is obliged to be kept moist, or it will soon spoil. The tappings when brought here fetch 8 to 12 Drs. the 100, according to the demand.

Having noticed the culture of the tree, and the rude method of preparing the pith, as adopted by the semi-barbarous growers, previous to its undergoing the final process of a granulous refinement, we shall make a few observations on the method which the Chinese manufacturers here use in converting it into what is commonly called Pearl Sago.

The fresher the meal the better it is, requiring less labour, and affording superior sago. The raw material becomes sour in proportion to the time it has been extracted from the tree. The sago brought here from Boreco in large quantities, and sold per picul, (not the sago tapping) is incapable of being refined, and can only be used as it is.

The process of refining commences by opening the tapping, and taking out the sago flour for the purpose of purification, which is always done by water, and that must be of the purest kind, and totally free from all vegetable matter, as the sago would turn red a few months after having been manufactured.

The process is so well described by the writer we have alluded to that we shall copy his own words:

“ There are two ways however of cleansing the raw sago —the common method practised is sousing the contents of two or three tappings into a tub full of water, stirring it well about, leaving it for five or six hours to settle, and then pouring off the water; this repeated nine times, generally sweetens the flour, which is somewhat sour when even fresh imported and clears it of all extraneous matter. The principal objection to its adoption is the waste of flour, which is necessarily carried away in pouring off the water and the loss of time in thus cleansing it, the process requiring three days, whereas the other method never occupies more than two days and is not subject to the same wastage, and is thus performed: —the Sago having water poured on it is strained through a cloth into an empty tub, and well stirred about, left to soak all day and night, next morning it is again stirred up, and gently poured off into troughs a foot wide, six inches deep, and ten feet long. Two of these troughs placed close to each other are used,

pouring a small quantity at a time first into one and then the other alternately; the time taken in pouring the water, saturated with the sago flour, into either of these troughs, allows the other to settle, the troughs are placed nearly horizontal and open at the end furthest from the operator, where a tub is placed to receive the water and refuse which is allowed to settle and given to pigs, &c. The whole of the fine flour subsides as the water passes gradually along the troughs, which receive a very thin coat of meal each time the water is poured into them, and the operation continues until the troughs are nearly full, when the flour is taken out and exposed for a few hours to the sun to dry previous to the process of sifting which it undergoes, after being broken in small pieces by a mallet; the sieve is made of bamboo and the openings for the flour to pass through longitudinal and very small—and instead of using it in the hand, which from its size, being about two feet square, would be very irksome, it is suspended at a convenient height from the ceiling and being drawn back and merely let go again, by striking against a beam placed opposite it for this purpose, the meal is driven through a little at a time and very finely sifted—if this time the meal is moist, which enables the next performer to granulate it, by simply putting the sifted meal in a bag about three feet long, one foot wide, and perhaps eighteen inches deep, suspended from the ceiling in the same manner as the sieve, and pulling the bag backwards and forwards—this operation is performed in about half an hour, the bag containing each time about sixty pounds of flour, and it is truly surprising to see how beautifully granulated this rude contrivance makes it—this done it undergoes another sifting, and all the coarse grains are returned to be remilled,—such then as has passed muster through the last sieve is baked for about half an hour, in large iron pans, placed over a pretty hot fire, each pan having a person to attend it, keeping the granulated sago constantly stirred, to prevent its being done unequally, or burning; about twenty pounds is put into a pan at a time—when properly baked it is sifted, the fine grains being separated from the coarse, and put up,—the first generally for exportation to Europe and India, and the latter, for sale at home. The manufacturers are invariably Chinese, and they take about three days to convert the raw into Pearl Sago; when it is cheap, they are induced to underbake it to save weight, in this case they are afraid to put it up in boxes, until there is a demand as it is liable to fermentation, from the

moisture remaining in it, and apt to turn red and coagulate.

Sago for exportation is packed in cases which contain somewhat more than a picul, and the cost is always included in the price given for the commodity. We have already mentioned that there are about ten Sago manufactories on the Island, which give employment to upwards of 200 Chinese. A number of carpenters are likewise constantly employed in making boxes.

The following is a close calculation of the quantity of Pearl Sago manufactured at this settlement and exported to various parts, during the last official year just ended :

17,030	pls.	to England.
1,700	„ „	Calcutta.
970	„ „	Bombay.
300	„ „	China and Manila.
150	„ „	Cape.
1,870	„ „	Hamburgh.
300	„ „	America.
260	„ „	Madras.
520	„ „	Sundry places, as Ceylon, Penang, Malacca, &c.

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23,100 piculs.

The greater part of the coarse Borneo Sago imported in the same period, was exported to Malacca and Penang, where probably it is used as an article of food, as it is here by the poorer classes of natives.

As Sago has now become a staple article of our commerce, it may be well worth the attention of some enterprising individual to try whether the cultivation of the tree here would prove advantageous or not. There is abundance of low marshy land, composed of alluvial soil, and in the immediate vicinity of our rivers, which may answer the purpose, being apparently calculated for no other. A plantation once set, requires little more than being kept free from underwood, which may be done by the labour of one man.—*Ibid*, May 8.

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**CULTIVATION OF NUTMEGS AND CLOVES.**—The cultivation of Nutmeg and Clove trees has for many years, occupied the attention of various enterprising individuals residing within the Straits settlements, who have embarked a large capital, and expended much labour in promoting plantations of these valuable trees. The case is pre-eminently so at



*Prince of Wales Island*, where according to competent authority, upwards of seven to eight hundred picu's of Cloves are annually produced. The quantity of Nutmegs collected, we have not heard stated, but we imagine it nearly equals that of Cloves. On this point we must look for accurate information to our Penang contemporary, who would do well were he to publish an article on the resources of that island. Similar plantations were commenced on this island, soon after the formation of the settlement, and upwards of twelve, though mostly young, may now be seen in the vicinity of the town, and generally in a thriving condition. At Malacca also there are a few plantations, and from specimens of Nutmegs grown there, we think the latter superior to those produced here, but capital and energy seem wanting in order to raise any considerable quantity.

An intelligent correspondent residing at Penang, in writing to us on the subject observes: "Any remarks on the cultivation of spices will ultimately tend to do good, and the oftener that subject is brought to the notice of Government the better. There does not exist a single doubt, but that our three settlements with proper encouragement given by Government,—a reduction of rates chargeable on lands, &c. would supply, in a very few years, the whole continent of Europe with spices and do away with the Dutch monopoly to the Eastward. Although the extent of spices cultivated here appears little, the produce of last year (1833) in Cloves, I imagine, cannot be less than 700 pls. without the mother Cloves. Our possessions opposite Fort Cornwallis called Province Wellesley, is capable of producing any thing, both from the nature of the soil, climate, and advantage of situation, and spices are cultivated there also, although the plantations are in their infancy. The land-tax is considered extremely high, and consequently will not admit of the poorer classes of individuals cultivating to the extent and with the spirit that they otherwise would do; were the land rents modified to suit the means of the poor ryots. You ought to get some one to give you a leading article on Province Wellesley—it would be well worth your attention."

The latter remarks may be applied with equal truth to Singapore, where in an area of 270 square miles, (the estimated extent of the island, not including, upwards of 50 adjacent islets, subject to the settlement,) the heavy land-rents have admitted only of a few plantations being undertaken by per-

sons possessing capital. Were the rents modified to suit the means of the poorer orders, there exists not a doubt but that spice plantations would soon be commenced on the island to a great extent. The policy which imposed the present obnoxious rates, at best was very narrow and extremely injurious to our local prosperity.

The duty on foreign Nutmegs imported into Great Britain is 3s. 6d. per lb.—when brought from any British possession it is only 2s 6d. The duty on Cloves, in like manner, is 3s. per lb. on foreign and 2s. on that brought from any English possession. The difference in these duties is certainly an encouragement to British planters, but a further protection should still be afforded, by levying the higher duties on all Nutmegs and Cloves, which are not actually produced in British possessions, though brought from them. This might be done by requiring a certificate of place of growth with each importation.

Since the reductions of duties on Nutmegs and Cloves, the consumption of both articles in Great Britain has greatly increased. In 1829 the quantity of Nutmegs retained for home consumption was 113,273½ lbs or nearly 855 pls. The Cloves entered for home consumption at present in Great Britain, amount to 60,000 lbs. or about 460 pls. a year, of which a part comes from Cayenne. If these quantities be correctly estimated, *Penang* alone produces even now, more than sufficient for the consumption of Great Britain, and in time when the plantations on this island are more matured, the total quantity produced in the Straits will go a great way towards supplying the demand on the continent of Europe also.

A valuable paper on the culture of spices, written by Mr. Lumsdaine some years ago, and which we re-publish in our present number may afford some useful hints to planters.

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The mode of culture adopted in the different plantations is nearly the same. The beds of the trees are kept free from grass and noxious weeds by the hoe, and the plough is occasionally run along the interjacent spaces for the purpose of eradicating the lallang (*Andropogon caricosum*) which proves greatly obstructive to the operations of agriculture. The trees are generally manured with cow dung and burnt earth once a year in the rainy season, but the preparation of suitable composts and their mode of application are but imperfectly understood. The pruning knife is too sparingly used; very few of

the planters lop off the lower verticles of the Nutmeg trees or thin them of the unproductive and straggling branches.

The site of a plantation is an object of primary importance, and doubtless the alluvial grounds are entitled to preference from the acknowledged fertility of their soil and its appropriate organization and capability of retaining moisture independent of the advantage of water carriage. Several of the Nutmeg trees, of the importation of 1798 at Moco-Moco are placed in soil of this description, although never manured they are in the highest state of luxuriance and bear abundantly; and I have been informed by a gentleman recently arrived from that station, that the stem of one of them measures 38 inches in circumference. Some of the trees in my own experimental garden corroborate the truth of this assertion; one of these blossomed at the early age of 2 years ten months and a half, a degree of precocity ascribable solely to its proximity to the lake which forms the southern boundary. This was the first tree that blossomed of the importation of 1803, which consisted of upwards of 22,000 Nutmeg plants. Next to the alluvial deposits, virgin forest lands claim pre-eminence, their surface being clothed with a dark colored carbonized mould formed by the slow decay of falling leaves and mouldering trunks of trees; and next to these are to be ranked the open plains. Declivities are objectionable from the risk of the precipitation of the mould and manure into the subjacent ravines by the heavy torrents of rain that occasionally deluge the country. Above all, the plantation must be protected from the southerly and northerly winds by a skirting of lofty trees, and if Nature has not already made this provision, no time should be lost in belting the grounds with a double row of the *Cassuarina littorea* and *Cerbera manghas*, which are well adapted for this purpose. This precautionary measure will not only secure the planter against eventual loss from the falling off of the blossom and young fruit in heavy gales, but will prevent the up-rooting of the trees, a contingency to which they are liable from the slender hold their roots have of the soil. If the plantation is extensive, subsidiary rows of these trees may be planted at convenient distances. No large trees whatever should be suffered to grow among the spice trees, for these exclude the vivifying rays of the sun and arrest the descent of the salutary night dews, both of which are essential to the quality and quantity of the produce. They further rob the soil of its fecundity, and intermingle their roots with those



of the spice trees. It is true that by the protection they afford they prevent frequently the premature bursting of the husk occasioned by the sudden action of a hot sun upon it when saturated with rain; but the loss sustained in this way is not equal to the damage the spice trees suffer from these intruders. Extensive tracts of land are to be met with in the interior of the country well adapted for the cultivation of the Nutmegs and Cloves, and to these undoubted preference is due.

In originating a Nutmeg plantation, the first care of the cultivation is to select ripe nuts and to set them at the distance of a foot apart in a rich soil, merely covering them very lightly with mould. They are to be protected from the heat of the sun, occasionally weeded, and watered in dry weather every other day. The seedlings may be expected to appear in from 30 to 90 days, and when four feet high the healthiest and most luxuriant consisting of 3 or 4 verticel are to be removed in the commencement of the rains to the plantation previously cleared of trees and underwood by burning and grubbing up their roots, and placed in holes dug for their reception at the distance of 80 feet from each other, screening them from the heat of the sun and violence of the winds. It is a matter of essential importance that the ground be well opened and its cohesion broken, in order to admit of the free expansion of the roots of the tender plants, and that it be intimately mixed with burnt earth and cow manure, in the proportion of two thirds of the former to one third of the latter. The plants are to be set in rows as well for the sake of regularity, as for the more convenient traversing of the plough, which is now to be employed in clearing the intermediate spaces of lallang and other noxious grasses, carefully avoiding to trespass on the beds of the trees. They must be watered every other day in sultry weather, manured annually during the rains with four garden baskets full of the above mentioned compost to each tree, and protected from the sun until they attain the age of five years. They will now be sufficiently hardy to bear the sun, and from that age until their fifteenth year, the compost should consist of equal parts of cow dung and burnt earth, and from 3 to 12 baskets full will be required for each bearing tree, a lesser proportion being distributed to the males. From the power of habit the trees will after the 15th year require a more stimulating nutriment; the dung ought not therefore to be more than two or three months old, and the mixture should consist of two parts of it

to one of burnt earth, of which the suitable proportion will be from 12 to 16 baskets to each tree biennially. In all cases the prepared compost must be spread out in the sun for 3 or 4 days previously to its application, in order to destroy grubs and worms that may have lodged in it, and which might injure the roots of the plants.

In all plantations whether situated in forest land or in the plains, the necessity of manuring at stated intervals has been found indispensable, and is indeed identified with their prosperity. The proper mode of applying it is in a circular furrow in immediate contact with the extremities of the fibrous roots which may be called the absorbents of the plant. Where there is a scarcity of dung recourse may be had to the dregs remaining after the preparation of the oil from the fruit of the *Arachis Hypogæa* which in mixture with burnt earth, is a very stimulating manure; or composts may be formed from the decomposition of leaves or vegetable matter of any description. A very fertilizing and highly animalized liquid nutriment for plants is obtained by macerating human ardure in water in proper pits for 4 or 5 months and applying the fluid to the radical absorbents of the plants. Sea weed and many other articles may also be resorted to which will readily occur to the intelligent agriculturist.

During the progressive growth of the plantation, the beds of the trees are to be regularly weeded and the roots kept properly covered with the mould, for those have constant tendency to seek the surface; the growth of the lateral branches alone is to be encouraged, and all suckers or dead and unproductive branches are to be removed by the pruning knife, so as to thin the trees considerably and to admit of the descent of the night dews which are greatly contributive to their well being, especially during the dry and sultry weather; creepers are to be dislodged, and the lower verticles lopped off, with the view of establishing an unimpeded circulation of air. The conclusion of the great annual harvest is the fittest time for pruning the trees. After the eradication of the lallang, the growth of innoxious grasses is to be encouraged in the intervals between the trees, which will give the plantation the appearance of a park, and the plough is now to be abandoned.

The Nutmeg tree is monoecious as well as dioecious, but no means of discovering the sexes before the period of inflorescence are known. The relative proportion of male and female trees to each other is also undefined, and is indeed the

result of chance. Setting aside however all pretension to mathematical precision, the number of productive trees may be roundly estimated at two thirds of the whole cultivation. However presumptuous it may appear to arraign the operations of Nature, I cannot but think that, with reference to the genus *Myristica*, she has made a most unnecessary provision in the creation of so many male trees, since the monoecious plants are fully as susceptible of the rapturous impulse of conjugal bliss, and equally competent for the purposes of ardent and successful love. The number of male trees therefore necessary to be retained will depend entirely on that of the monoecious kind; all above this number being considered as superfluous should be cut down, and other trees planted in their stead. Were I indeed to originate a Nutmeg plantation now, I should either attempt to procure grafts on male stocks on such trees as produce the largest and best fruit, by the process of inarching, notwithstanding the speculative hypothesis of the graft partaking of the gradual and progressive decay of the parent tree, leaving a branch or two of the stock for the purpose of establishing a regular polygamy, by which means the plantation would consist of monoecious trees only; or I should place the young plants in the nursery at the distance of four feet from each other, and force them to an early discovery of their sex, by lifting them out of their beds once a year and replacing them in the same spot so as to check the growth of wood and viviparous branches. The sex might thus be ascertained on an average within the fourth year, and the trees removed to the plantation and systematically arranged, whereas in the usual mode of proceeding it is not ascertainable before the 7th year in general.

Upon an average the Nutmeg tree fruits at the age of 7 years, and increases in produce till the 15th year, when it is at its greatest productiveness. It is said to continue prolific for 70 or 80 years in the Moluccas, but our experience carries us no farther than 22 years and a half, all the trees of which age that have been properly managed, are still in the highest degree of vigour and fecundity; and for this reason no term for planting a succession of trees can as yet be fixed upon. Seven months in general elapse between the appearance of the blossom and ripening of the fruit, and the produce of one bearing tree with another under good cultivation may in the fifteenth year of the plantation be calculated at five pounds of Nutmegs, and a pound and quarter of Mace. I have observ-



ed however that some trees produce every year a great quantity of fruit, whilst other constantly give very little. It bears all the year round, but more plentifully in some months than in others. The great harvest may generally be looked for in the months of September, October, November and December, a small one in April, May and June. Like other fruit trees on this portion of Sumatra, I have remarked that it yields most abundantly every other year. The fruit having ripened, the outer integument bursts spontaneously, and is gathered by means of a hook attached to a long stick, and the Mace being cautiously stripped off, and flattened by the hands in single layers, is placed on mats for 3 or 4 days in the sun to dry. Some planters cut off the heels and dry the Mace in double blades, from an opinion that the insect is apt to breed in or about the heels, and that the double blade gives a better and more substantial appearance to the Mace. The former idea is entirely groundless, for if the article be properly cured, kept in tight packages, in a dry situation and exposed to the sun for 5 or 6 hours once a fortnight, there need be no apprehension of the insect; if it is not, it will assuredly be attached by it whether the heels be cut off or not again, the insect is much more likely to nestle within the fold of the double blade, and the fancied superiority of appearance has so little weight with the purchaser, as not to counterbalance the risk of probable deterioration and eventual loss. In damp and rainy weather the Mace should be dried by the heat of a charcoal fire carefully conducted, so as not to smoke it or blacken its surface.

The nuts liberated from their macy envelope are transported to the drying house, and deposited on an elevated stage of spilt neebongs placed at a sufficient distance from each other to admit of the heat, from a mouldering fire beneath, without suffering even the smallest nuts to pass through. The heat should not exceed 140 of Fahrenheit, for a sudden inordinate degree of heat dries up the kernels of the nuts too rapidly, and its continued application produces fissures in them; or a fermentation is excited in them, which increases their volume so greatly as to fill up the whole cavity of the shell and to prevent them from rattling when put to this criterion of due preparation. The fire is lighted in the evening and kept up for the whole of the night. The smoking house is a brick building of a suitable size with a terraced roof, and the stage is placed at an elevation of ten feet from the ground, having three divi-

sions in it for the produce of different months. The nuts must be turned every second or third day, that they may all partake equally of the heat, and such as have undergone the smoking process for the period of 2 complete months and rattle freely in the shell are, to be cracked with wooden mallets, the worm eaten and shrivelled ones thrown out, and the good ones rubbed over simply with recently prepared well sifted day lime. They are now to be regarbled, and finally packed for transportation in tight casks, the insides of which have been smoked, cleaned, and covered with a coating of fresh water and lime. If packed in chests, the seams must be dammered to prevent the admission of air or water. There is no necessity for sorting them, as previously to their sale, they are classed into sizes in the Company's Ware-houses in London.

The mode generally practised in preparing Nutmegs for the market, is to dip them in a mixture of salt water and lime, and to spread them out on mats for 4 or 5 days in the shade to dry. I am however convinced from much experience that this is a pernicious practice, not only from the quantity of moisture imbibed in this process encouraging the breeding of insect and rendering the nuts liable to early decay, but from the heating quality of the mixture producing fissures and occasioning a great loss in the out turn ; whereas by liming them simply in the dry way as I have recommended, the loss ought not to exceed 8 per cent. In May 1816 I made some experiments on this subject. I cracked a quantity of Nutmegs that had been smoke-dried for 2 months, and distributed them into four equal portions. I prepared the nuts of one parcel with a mixture of lime and salt water ; those of the 2nd were rubbed over merely with fine well dried shell lime such as the natives use with their betel, although I have no doubt but that recently prepared and well sifted common lime would answer equally well ; those of the third parcel were mixed unlimed with one third of weight of whole black pepper ; and those of the fourth also unlimed with the same proportion of cloves. They were then put into separate boxes with sliding tops, and numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4 in the order I have mentioned them. At the expiration of the first year they were all sound. After that of the second, I found 3 worm eaten nuts in No. 1 and two in No. 3. but those in Nos. 2 and 4 remained untouched. The injured nuts were allowed to remain, and after the lapse of the third year, five worm eaten ones were discovered

in No. 1, three in No. 3 and two in No. 4 those in No 2 being in their original state. Four years and four months have now elapsed since the commencement of experiments, and upon examining the several parcels the other day, the number of decayed nuts has not increased in Nos. 1, 3 and 4; those in No 2 are as good as the day they were put into the box. These experiments not only prove the superiority of liming in the dry way, but also the fact that the progress to general decay in a heap of Nutmegs, even after the insect has established itself, must be a work of years. In the shell they will keep for a great length of time. I have myself kept them in this state for six years, and when cracked they were found perfectly sound. From the report of the London brokers however, they will not answer in Europe on account of the heavy allowance for shells, which is one third of the weight; but the Chinese merchants are in the daily habit of exporting them to Penang and China, where they are in request. It is stated on the best authority, the unfired or brown Nutmegs as the home dealers call them, mixed with Cloves as in experiment No. 4, are highly esteemed in England, and even preferred by some to the home produce; most probably for the greater facility of detecting the flaws in them in their naked state.

Although the Clove tree attains great perfection in the red mould of these districts, it is more partial to a less tenacious soil. Its cultivation has been established for many years in the West Indies and at Bourbon, and is of secondary importance only. The mother Cloves are planted in rich mould so as to reduce its tenacity; and to be cultivated in the same mode as the Nutmegs, only that when full grown they require less manure in the proportion of one third. They yield generally at the age of 6 years, and at that of 12 are in their highest state of bearing, when the average produce may be estimated at 6 or 7 pounds of marketable fruit each tree during the harvest, which takes place in the rainy months, but with us they have hitherto borne two crops in three years only. The fruit is terminal, and when of a reddish hue is plucked by the hand, so that the process of gathering it is tedious. It is then dried for several days on mats in the sun, until it breaks easily between the fingers, and assumes a dark brown color. It loses about 60 per cent. in drying. When past its prime the Clove tree has a ragged and uncombed appearance, and I am led to suppose that its existence is limited to 20



years, unless in very superior soil, in which it may drag out a protracted and unprofitable state of being to the period of perhaps 24 years. Hence it becomes necessary to plant a succession of seedlings when the old trees have attained eight years of age, and this octennial succession must be steadily kept in view.

17. With reference to the number of labourers, cattle and ploughs necessary for a plantation of 1000 Nutmeg or Clove trees after the ground has been thoroughly cleared of underwood and stumps of trees, I consider that 7 Chinese or active Bengalee labourers, 50 head of cattle and 2 ploughs would be sufficient for all the purpose of the cultivation, with the exception of collecting the Clove harvest, which being a very tedious process, would require an extra number of hands, and indeed the best plan would be to gather it in by contract.—*From a Paper by Mr. J. Lumsdaine in the Proceedings of the Agricultural Society, established in Sumatra, 1820.—Ibid, May 15.*

## THE COORG CAMPAIGN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MADRAS TIMES.

Sir,—If you feel disposed to give insertion to this letter in your paper, I shall feel indebted to you. Should you however decline doing so, may I request you will have the goodness to return it to me. I entertain a peculiar aversion to any thing in the shape of anonymous productions. When a man adheres strictly to the truth, I can perceive no very substantial reason why he should not state it fearlessly, and attach his signature to the production. You will find my name, rank, and regiment affixed to the termination of this. All responsibility as to incorrectness in any portion of the information it may contain, rests solely with myself.

The hostilities which have been carried on against the Coorg Rajah have excited considerable interest, and I have, I believe, perused every account in the Madras papers which has had reference to them. No where however have I observed the slightest attempt made to give a really accurate statement of the proceedings of the northern column under Colonel G. Waugh, on (to us) the memorable third of the month when we met with that severe repulse at the stockade of Buk'h. There appears an evident impression that the less said of the disaster the better. Considerable responsibility must naturally rest on the shoulders of the person who may endeavour to

throw light upon this delicate affair. That burden I have expressed my willingness to take upon myself. That either error, oversight, or misapprehension of orders exists somewhere, is a supposition, I presume, not far from the actual truth. In one of the official notifications it has been stated that a disregard of, or a want of proper attention to, the orders of the Brigadier, on the part of a noble and brave old officer, (the much regretted Lieut.-Colonel Mill of H. M. 55th Regiment who fell on this occasion,) had been the means of bringing into action a greater number of those fine spirited fellows of H. M. 55th than exactly suited Colonel Waugh's intentions; and this circumstances having increased the casualties of the day, had unhappily crippled the gallant Colonel's means of carrying into execution, as rapidly as he could have wished, the orders of superior authority. I am aware that my own limited standing in the service—fifteen years—in some measure prohibits me from giving utterance to my sentiments, though I am neither without eyes to see, nor judgement to comprehend the oversights of that day—I sincerely desire that my motives for writing should not be liable to any misconstruction, and shall therefore sedulously avoid making reflections. My language, I hope, will be found, when speaking of my superiors, to be respectful. My object being simply to submit a correct and distinct detail of the proceedings of the northern column from day break to midnight of the third instant. I trust the introduction of the personal pronouns may be charitably remarked upon, as I narrate what principally occurred under my own observation. I shall strictly confine myself to truth and utterly defy contradiction. I have it in view to establish three facts. The first, that it was *not* the intention of the Brigadier that the stockade of Buk'h should have been assaulted in *front*, as unfortunately was the case, and that this was altogether owing either to the treachery or ignorance of the guides furnished to the two assaulting parties—from the circumstances that the guide attached to the assaulting party under my command, brought us intentionally directly close to the front of the outer barrier gate, ere a shot was fired—as did afterwards also the guide which accompanied the other and more powerful assaulting party under the command of Major Bird, of the 31st Regt. Light Infantry. Secondly, that only one reconnoitring party was sent out during the day previous to the attack on the stockade being made, thus its means of observation were very circumscribed, that a sufficiency of

time was not allowed it to perform so responsible a duty as that of reconnoitring an enemy's position, either with satisfaction to the mind of the officer commanding it, (that officer was myself) or with benefit to the service, it having been recalled by bugle within an hour and a quarter or considerably less time from its starting. Thirdly, I will dare to venture on the assertion that it was altogether impracticable for the guns *during the engagement* to have been brought any nearer to the barrier than they were, which distance was verging on, if not fully, three quarters of a mile, in consequence of which they were comparatively of little use, as the point they bore upon (even if they struck any portion of the works at all) must have been the extreme right of the stockade—the jungle being impervious, but few of the enemy could have been scragged by the guns, which, though actively enough employed, it is to be regretted were so with but little effect.

Personal considerations would probably actuate the minds of those who are sailing the ocean of life with prosperous breezes, to pause ere they ventured to delineate the acts of their superiors. I have had *breezes* enough, Heaven knows, during my military career, but confound them, they were the reverse of being prosperous ones!—Considerations of this nature have, therefore, but trival influence with me. So long as, by the mercy of Heaven, I am enabled conscientiously to perform my duty, and uphold my station as an officer, I have nothing to fear. I am however perfectly aware I have much less to hope for in the service. Frowns or threats have now but small effect upon my nerves, having been unhappily often plunged into hot water, in a military sense, even to its maddening heat—that this species of bath hath lost its novelty with me—should I on any occasion fail in the performance of that duty, I expect no mercy, for, I would scorn to seek it. Mercy from man I spurn and loathe. It were a plant of Heavenly growth. Agony of mind hath taught me to seek it only in prayer to God above. But to my narrative. At day light on the morning of the third of April the column was under arms, with the hope of joining, before night fall, the eastern column under Col. Lindsay, C. B. Every officer was impressed more or less with the notion that it was likely to prove a day of hard fighting, having during the preceding evening heard so much regarding the stockade at Buk'h that the general anxiety to fall in with it was great, more particularly as its defences were represented as being of the first order. The



advance guard was this morning commanded by Major Bird of the 31st Light Infantry as field officer of the day, under whom it was my fortune to be Captain of the day, consequently my position was also with the advance. Heriot of H. M. 55th Regt. was Adjutant of the day, he who so distinguished himself on the occasion of the assault, and was twice so severely wounded. The advance was composed of seventy men including non-commissioned of H. M. 55th Regt. under the command of Lieuts. Bailey and Molloy. A picket of sixty rank and file with one native officer, and a due proportion of non-commissioned of the 9th Regt. N. I. commanded by Ensign Robertson of that corps, together with a similar number of the 31st Regt. L. I. under the immediate control of Ensign Babington of the L. I., the pioneers were also with the advance. Instructions were given to me previous to our breaking ground, to cover and flank the advance with the Light Infantry—at the same time the Major stated to me that on our approach to the stockade of Buk'h he would entrust me with one half of the advance as an assaulting party, while he in person would command the other. It was with the highest satisfaction that while about 100 paces in front with the skirmishers I remarked the steady manner in which our men with young Babington conducted themselves; they evidently displayed an anxiety to amulate those admirable steady sepoy, the Rifle Company of the 24th Regiment Native Infantry, who under Captain Scott and Lieutenant Kerr were engaged in flanking the column. Not a shadow of that precipitancy which had so marked their proceedings on the previous day was now observable amongst them—careful and stealthy as cats they *felt* every inch of their way—the jungle being sufficiently dense on either side to authorize their doing so, nor did they dream of firing till they had obtained a correct and steady aim. After the first two miles the road had almost entirely disappeared and you may judge of the labour of the pioneers, when I inform you, that it occupied a period of nearly two hours ere the guns could be brought the distance of half a mile. About 7 or 8 we were delighted to hear a very brisk and interesting cannonade from Col. Lindsay's column—this was his successful attack on Ramasawmy Kunnawye, which stockade he had carried by assault on both flanks with trifling loss. About half past 6 the column had arrived on the margin of a dense jungle, on the distant high grounds of which, it was understood, and by the guides asserted to be the case, that the stockade would be

fallen in with. It became necessary that a road should be made down a very deep declivity and across a range of paddy grounds, before the guns could be brought even to the skirts of the jungle, which in sober earnest was a confoundedly dense one, principally composed of large forest trees, sniping had ceased for some time when a smart fire was suddenly thrown in from a handful of Coorgas, who under cover of the jungle thought to have done considerable execution on the right of the advancing column; they were speedily dislodged by three rounds from the guns, and driven further back into their shelter by the rifles. It was now evident that an awful long time must, of necessity, elapse ere the guns could by possibility be brought across to the jungle. This was the golden moment for sending out a brace of reconnoitring parties. Had good information been obtained at this critical juncture, I may venture to say, that in all probability a very different result might have attended the evening's operation. Unhappily the hour and a half, which was consumed in effecting the passage of the guns, passed unheeded; our flankers and the rifles lay at their ease within the jungle, covering the working parties. Though we at that time knew nothing about it, the stockade was actually situated within a mile and a half of the spot which afforded the flankers such excellent cover. Its position was on the top of a range of heights of considerable elevation, inclining slightly to our left, thickly studded with jungle and magnificent teak trees even to their summit, affording splendid cover for reconnoitring. The guns having been got across, the skirmishers were drawn in; it was now half past 11. Major Bird having sent for me ordered me to form a reconnoitring party, sharp—the half of the advance fell in. I received minute instructions and started off with Baily of the 55th Regt. and Robertson of the 9th N. I. We had to make a considerable detour to our right with the hope that by penetrating the jungle in that direction we might hit upon some passage which would afford us an opportunity of viewing the left flank of the stockade, (as on starting we fronted it) or by better luck still fall on its rear. Fortune appeared at first propitious; we quickly fell in with a village evidently deserted but an hour or so previous to our arrival, as the domestic cattle and fowls were ranging about in abundance. We then hit upon a deep ravine, apparently leading in the direction of the object of our pursuit, our passage was much impeded by large trees having been felled and piled on each other every 20 paces across

this ravine. To remove the obstacles we had no means, consequently surmounted them by climbing over the best way we could; and were enjoying the expectation of an early brush at the stockade, when to our infinite chagrine we distinctly heard the field officer's bugles loudly sounding the re-call; so promptly was this obeyed, that in the hurry I suddenly disappeared beneath the earth, having fallen into an infernal sunken magazine or store-room, redolent with the vile effluvia oil, ghee and a thousand other villainous compounds, out of this I was lugged neck and crop by the men of the 55th, who heartily enjoyed my confusion. On rejoining the advance a few minutes breathing time was allowed, while a dram was issued to the Europeans. The two parties for the assaults were then told off; the advance guard being equally divided between Major Bird and myself. However as we were separating, a support was sent up from the column, it consisted of Capt. Baty of the 55th Regt. with five and twenty of his fine Light Company, and Lieutenants Gordon and Martin 3rd Light Infantry, with, I believe, a sub-division of their men; these parties both joined Major Bird. My instructions were shortly and explicitly given me by the Major. It was the decided and expressed intention of the Brigadier that the two assaulting parties should attack in flank, or if attainable in reverse, while the guns were to be brought to play on the front of the stockade. I mean the barrier. My party intending to attack the *left* of the enemy's works, I was directed not to penetrate the jungle very deeply to our right, but rather to skirt it and if possible to keep within hail of the field officer's bugles; it was therefore agreed between us that, in order to prevent our crossing fire with each other, that both parties should sound the bugles every ten minutes. Major Bird, I presume, did not at all intend to enter the thick of the jungle, his object being to wind round it, making a detour to his own left, hoping by this to fall in with the rear of the stockade. I was furnished with a guide who really possessed the confidence of the Brigadier, and I am inclined to suppose was also thought well of by the Deputy Assistant Qr. Mr. General, Capt. Simpson, who was at his post with the advance the whole day. We started in high spirits. I could plainly decipher delight and anticipation in the sunburnt countenances of the two fine young officers who accompanied me, Lieut. Bailey and Ensign Robertson; as also on each bronzed face of the gallant 55th with whom it is positively a pleasure to serve. The men



of the 9th kept up admirably, and turned out six volunteers of their grenadiers to flank the leading section of the Europeans. We proceeded steadily. The lads of the 55th cracking their jests with each other much to our entertainment. Supposing that we were rapidly approaching our destination, I was somewhat surprised at the guide suddenly leading us to a deep ravine, which terminated in a rugged narrow and exceedingly steep ascent, formed of large broken stones, evidently a high road to some place or other, thickly intersected every 10 or 15 yards with enormous large trees cut down and thrown directly across our way. The thought instantly flashed across my mind that our guide was intentionally deceiving us, and wilfully leading us to the very front of the stockade; this was neither in accordance with my wishes nor the orders I had received, as I had not a single pioneer nor a solitary scaling ladder with me. With a portion of former I ought, properly speaking, to have been furnished. I questioned the guide in every possible way; he having undertaken to lead me by a Bukhra-ke-rusta or sheep path; his reply at least was so plausible that I could scarcely withhold a portion of belief. "Should I lead you, said he, to the front of the thut or stockade, must I not be the first that the Coorgas will shoot? am I not in front with you?" This was specious reasoning. Notwithstanding I was perfectly correct in my supposition; the haremzaad was actually leading us direct to the very barrier "the gate of slaughter" as it has since been styled. At this moment finding the impediments to our progress greatly increase, I confess I was desirous of drawing off our party somewhat to the right into the deep and perfectly impervious jungle, for I expected every moment that a volley from the enemy among us would intimate our approximation to his stockade, but I verily believe the devil himself would have failed in persuading our gallant Europeans to diverge one yard either to the right or left. Nothing was left to us but scrambling over the impediments or crawling beneath them—for about half an hour we had altogether lost the sound of the field officer's bugle. We were within 100 paces from the outer barrier when it was reported to me that Major Bird's party was observed at a distance in the low grounds cutting his way and proceeding by the identical road which we had ascended. We hailed him with our bugle; he replied by directing us to halt till he had formed a junction with us; we joined; the Europeans were directed to fall back and give those

under Major Bird as commanding officer the *pas*. My own position was of course now with the leading section of the Europeans of my own party. The whole rested for 3 or 4 minutes that the pioneers might come up. The men fell in, and down came the anticipated volley of musketry. Cheerful huzzas responded to the fire. Major Bird and Heriot instantly led on the leading sections which divided to the right and left, and rapidly commenced a roar of musketry along both breasts of the stockade; the action was carried on with spirit on both sides. The stockade itself was so inimitably masked that it was utterly impossible to distinguish scarcely an iota of the breast work although standing near to the barrier gate; a deep ditch within the barrier; a strong palisade without, with a glacis, covered the inner walls. I shall avoid entering very minutely into the particulars of the affair—they are on official record. After some considerable time had elapsed, and only about 8 or 10 pioneers had got up to the barrier gate, where they instantly received their death wounds. I observed Major Bird apparently extremely anxious that the pioneers should be sent up to him in order that the barrier might be forced. He walked down about ten paces calling out loudly for the aid required—it came not—methought I could decipher the feelings of a brave man anxious to get the assistance he stood so much in need of, yet fearing that a single retrograde step on his part might by possibility be misinterpreted by the Europeans or by his own men who were intermingled with them. Whether I rightly judged the Major's feelings on this occasion he best can say. He returned double quick, nor did I conceive I was wanting in my duty when I stepped out and asked him if he would allow me to go down the hill and exert myself in bringing up the pioneers he so much wanted. He instructed me to do so forthwith. Happily I passed through a pretty considerably smart fire unhurt—the cross fire from both flanks of the stockade during the whole of the action concentrating on this pathway by which we had ascended. Having stumbled on a string of bodies laying on their faces apparently motionless, I imagined they were dead—it fortunately turned out otherwise. The picket of the 9th Regt. having lost their officer, young Robertson, who was shot through the head at the early part of the attack and died instantly, and having no confidence in their native officer whom I saw snug under cover, I should imagine became slightly confused for the moment and possibly somewhat disheartened at their loss. A few of them

recognized me, mentioned their loss and loudly called on me to have an officer of their Regt. sent up to them. The fire was so heavy that I had neither time nor inclination to parley, but mentioned to them I would return in a few minutes with pioneers, and I expected they would then follow me to the barrier. So long as young Robertson had been with them they intermingled in the action most freely with the men of the 31st and were equally as hotly engaged as the Light Infantry. Poor Robertson it was his maiden and his last. Having with some difficulty procured a handful of pioneers, some five and twenty or so, with two short ladders, I was hastily returning with them towards the barrier, when at no great distance from it I received a matchlock ball clean through the front part of my left wrist, striking my pistol out of my hand; the shock naturally caused me to stumble. In an instant I was seized by the legs and pulled down a declivity by some sepoys, and stowed away very comfortably under cover of a tree. Having bled profusely for more than half an hour, I naturally became dreadfully faint, though surrounded by sepoys who saw me bleeding, I could not obtain from them even a piece of rag to staunch the wound. The heat was intolerable, it was at this moment that a sepoy of the 9th threw me a cloth, with which I bandaged the wound and stopped the bleeding in a great measure. Having returned to the path-way I met Lieutenant Martin who had been knocked down, fortunately his life had been preserved by the ball actually lodging in the tin work of his pouch, which had got out of its proper place and shifted to the side of his lungs; the ball now remains in his pouch. He also had twice endeavoured to reinspire the men of the 9th with confidence but without material success, their own officers they required and none else. Some time after this Martin being again with his own men was shot through both legs, he is however doing well. Before crawling down to have my wound dressed, I considered it right as the men of the 9th belonged to my party to endeavour to prevail on them to follow me towards the barrier many of them sprung up; my bandage having now opened the bleeding had freely recommenced. I fell from faintness, and a dizziness soon rendered every thing imperceptible to me. I got some water from one of my own sepoys which refreshed me beyond measure. By dint of crawling, ducking, and at times running, that I might avoid being potted, I got safe down to the column. While descending I met Colonel Mill steadily leading



on his men to the support of the assaulting party, as rapidly as I could give utterance I entreated of him to avoid as much as possible the high road, sheltering his men on the descent to his right; he took no notice of this really good advice, and consequently had not a few of his brave fellows placed *hors de combat* before it might be said they had even engaged in the action. The Colonel was perfectly regardless of his own safety, this I presume is a feeling only to be acquired by a long apprenticeship to danger. It is an enviable sensation procure it how you will. He had not been very long at the barrier gate when he appeared in depressed spirits at the sight of so many of his own brave soldiers falling so thick around him; he would listen to no advice, and refused to take even a momentary cover from the hot fire in which he stood as I understand by the side of Bird and Heriot. Heriot about this time received his first wound, being shot through the right leg he fell, and was being carried to the rear by his own men on their shoulders when he received a ball through his left arm which at the moment was laying across his heart. The ball glided off by his left side. Col. Mill was towards the termination of the combat shot directly through his lungs, the ball passing clean through his body; he sunk his head upon his chest called for two or three of his officers by name, spoke to them and died. Young Babington of the 31st Light Infantry, who had during the whole day displayed the highest zeal and intrepidity, was shot near the barrier gate by a jinnall ball entering his chest and passing through his body; he fell mortally wounded near to his commanding officer Major Bird, with whom he held some conversation, grasped his hand, and panting for breath said, "Fa'ewell, I am dying." He expired in a few minutes; how the Major himself escaped is almost miraculous, exposed as he was to the whole brunt of this murderous fire, surrounded by the dying and the dead, he had for nearly four hours escaped unhit. At length he received a severe blow on the forehead, which knocked him over. Happily it was almost a spent ball by which he had been struck, and it fortunately has occasioned him no after material injury. Lieutenant Robertson who commanded the grenadiers of the 55th, received a handsome charge of small broken pieces of old iron in his right hip, which caused him to limp considerably, though even in limping, he still preserved that graceful gait for which he is so distinguished by the ladies. Captain Warren of the 55th was also wounded in the leg; the ball was extracted. The unex-

amplified loss of H. M. 55th Regt. was distressing. I refer you to the official returns, 31 killed and 68 wounded out of 250 who were engaged, is indeed a sad proportion. The loss of our own corps, the Light Infantry, was also considerable. It was remarked that young Lieut. De Warene of the 55th when the ladders were brought up was seen using every possible exertion to fix them at the barrier with his own hands, while under a very heavy fire. Having been  $4\frac{1}{2}$  hours under this fire and very exertion that could possibly have been made by man to carry the position by assault having been attempted, though in vain. The field officer summoned a council of war when a retreat was decided upon. When with the column, my wound having been attended to, I had leisure to make to myself the following observations, viz. That the Brigadier was with the guns in front of the column during the whole engagement, consequently he could not have seen any portion of the stockade, also I remarked that it would have been impracticable to have brought the guns nearer to the barrier than they were, owing to the deep ravines and steep ascents. The brigade of guns was commanded on that occasion by as intrepid, fine and promising a young officer as ever breathed,—one whose heart beat high that day for distinction and whose gallant bearing and unremitted exertions on this as on every occasion during the Coorg service, secured to him the admiration of every officer of the column,—I allude to Lieutenant Timmins of the Madras Artillery. I answered a question put to me by Colonel Waugh to this effect, that the guns could not, I thought, be brought nearer in proper time—the distance of the guns from the barrier (the direction which I also pointed out to Colonel Waugh as being considerably to his right) was a good three quarters of a mile at a rough guess. Had our column been furnished with shells it could, I presume, without difficulty have shelled the Coorgs out; there was not one in the whole brigade. The enemy, as the retreat commenced, began firing the jungle around us. The retreat, though with some little confusion at first, was conducted admirably and almost as steadily as if on a parade ground, not even a solitary bullock was lost. It was covered by two companies of the 31st L. I. under Lieut. Briggs who with Lieut. Brett had been sent up as supports to Major Bird. Many endeavours were made by the enemy to annoy the retreating column, these attempts were speedily checked. Sniping continued smartly during the whole of the retreat which was a distance

of four miles, being the ground we started from in the morning where we arrived about 7 or 8 in the evening. Considerable apprehensions were entertained as to the probability of the enemy making a night attack on the camp. Had the Coorgas been an enterprising enemy they would certainly have attacked us, and decidedly at a great advantage from our ground being almost circumscribed with hills and jungle. The sepoys of both Regiments were not in the best of humours, the sentries in general in that state of nervous excitement that they appeared well disposed to fire on any who approached them either friend or foe. The night was pitchy dark, so in order to secure the less chance of any misadventure to myself, I thought proper to dispense with the services of an escort in going my rounds at night. There was some trifling sniping during the night, but no attack whatever was attempted on our position. I have brought you now to the hour of midnight of the 3d and take my leave by enclosing you a copy of the Brigade morning orders of the 4th, as they relate to the business of the preceding day.

Your obedient servant,

G. W. HUTCHISON, Capt. 31st Regt. L. I.

*Camp Merkara, Coorg, May 2, 1834.*

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**INSOLVENTS' COURT,—SATURDAY, JUNE 7, 1834.**

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Four prisoners, viz. The Hon'ble Capt. Wm. Hamilton, Major F. J. Spiller, Lieut. W. Wymer, and Lieut. D. Wiggins were brought up for their discharge.

*Hon'ble Capt. Hamilton examined by Mr. Turton.* I am acquainted with Mr. Donnithorne, and was introduced to him by a relation of his in 1829. I had no previous acquaintance with him; I was then proceeding to England, being in a bad state of health; I never lived in his house; I occasionally dined but never slept there. I resided at Barfoot's Hotel. I dined oftener at Barfoot's than at Mr. Donnithorne's. I came down to Calcutta in August or September 1829. I received from my brother Lord Belhaven a letter to draw some money, but did not state it was for £1,500. I cannot state any particular sum. I destroyed Lord Belhaven's letter with some other papers, not supposing it would ever be of any use. I destroyed it either after I went home or before. I have no particular recollection of destroying the letter. I thought it of no consequence. I shewed that letter to Mr. Charles Mor-



gan of Mackintosh's house; I think he took a copy of that part allowing me to draw the money. I asked Mr. Donnithorne to endorse the bill along with my cousin Mr. Edward Marjoribanks. I was given to understand by Mr. Morgan, that if two persons endorsed the bill, it would be excepted. To the best of my knowledge Mr. Marjoribanks was at that time solvent. I never knew that he was not till after his death. I assigned no reason to Mr. Donnithorne to endorse the bill. I told Mr. Donnithorne to endorse the bill to enable me to get the money. I cannot say on how many bills I got Donnithorne's endorsement; I dare say I got it to two bills. I may have got it to three. I am quite sure I got it to two. I am not sure I did not get four. I don't think I ever had any thing to do with Messrs. Fergusson and Company; [looking at a protest] it appears to be a bill of mine, but it is not in my hand-writing; I dare say I drew it. I was not an endorser of any bills on Messrs. Fergusson and Company. I don't believe I received the amount of the bill at all. I drew on Lord Belhaven to enable me to pay my debts and my passage home, I suppose I did receive value for that bill; the bill is drawn by me on Mr. Donnithorne. I never received a single sixpence from Messrs. Fergusson and Company. I frequently received money from Mr. Marjoribanks. I received that money (amount of the bill) from the hands of Mr. Morgan. Nine thousand rupees is admitted in my schedule to have been received from Mr. Donnithorne, this bill forms a part of the 9,000 Rs. Mr. Donnithorne never lent me any money, except by having paid the dishonored bills he had endorsed. I don't remember how many bills Mr. Donnithorne accepted. I calculate upon three bills, and if drawn, it must be for £300 each. I never thought it necessary to enquire what he paid. I won't swear that I did not draw 4 bills of £300. each; but swear that my schedule is true; to the best of my belief [looking at 3 bills] these bills were drawn by me, the first bill and these are different. I don't remember to what extent I drew through Messrs. Alexander and Company on Lord Belhaven. I drew other bills through friends on Lord Belhaven at the same time. I drew other bills, some in favor of Mr. Coull. This was before I drew on Mr. Donnithorne. I drew on Mr. Coull in 1828 and on Mr. Donnithorne in 1829. To the best of my knowledge I received Lord Belhaven's letter in 1827 at Almorah; I drew all the bills on the authority of that letter. I drew the other bills in

favor of Colonel Faithful, I drew in favor of him, and I dare say in favor of others also. The nature of my debt to Major Night is that he paid a debt for me. I drew in favor of Colonel Faithful in 1827. My debt to Captain Veysey is partly for a horse and partly for a bungalow rent. I drew in favor of Colonel Faithful at least 6,000 Rs. I drew in favor of Alexander and Company in 1829. Lord Belhaven paid Colonel Faithful's bill, but I don't know when; he paid about £900 for me; to Colonel Faithful, I think he paid £600. Lord Belhaven never complained of my drawing upon him; this I swear positively. I left Calcutta for England about the last week of December 1829. My brother refused to accept of Mr. Coull's debt. I heard of it somewhere about May last year; I was then in London. Lord Belhaven told me that he had paid some, but owing to his misfortunes he was unable to pay any more. I never made any endeavours to take up the dishonored bills. Lord Belhaven told me to draw sufficient sums to free myself from debt in this country, pay my passage, and return to England, in bills for £300 each payable at intervals of one month; with reference to the bills of Messrs. Mackintosh and Alexander they were payable one month after each other. I did destroy Lord Belhaven's letter authorizing me to draw upon him in England; I think I destroyed it with my papers. I swear that all the bills I drew were on the authority of Lord Belhaven's letter; I did not think it necessary to state this in the bills. I did not consider these as gifts or loans, but partly my own. Lord Belhaven had a right to take mine, and considered I had a right upon his. The name of my agent was James Dundas, now John Dundas in St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, No. 29. Mr. James Dundas was my father's agent; my father died in 1814. I don't know what my father left me; he left a Will, but I never saw it; he left me something I know; what sums I have received I cannot give even a rough guess. I believe I was to receive the interest of £10,000. I never assigned over or mortgaged that interest under the will; I dare say Lord Belhaven has paid more than £10,000 for me. There was a legacy left me by my uncle Colonel Bailey for £2,000; I think I have received the whole; there were three other legacies from my three sisters, one of £1,500, and the others for £500 each. [Captain Hamilton at first refused to tell the names of the persons to whom he had made over the legacies, but upon Sir John Grant's observing that it was for him to

form an opinion with what candour Captain Hamilton would disclose his affairs he continued.] The whole of my sister's legacy of £1,500 I gave Mr. Paterson who was my brother's factor, (as a person who gathers rent is called in Scotland) till 1833; he had always been in the habit of procuring several little things for me. He might have paid it all away to old servants and others. I made over the money to Mr. Paterson in December 1830. I did not know that Mr. Donnithorne's bill was not honored in 1833. Lord Belhaven told me that owing to his misfortunes he could not at that time pass the bills I had drawn. I had then as I have now every reason to believe that at a future period Lord Belhaven would pay the bills, though not with Lord Belhaven's money. I have every reason to believe that Lady Belhaven will pay them out of her separate money. The other two legacies I spent and gave away in a similar manner to the last. The first legacy of £500 I first made over to a person by the name of Johnstone, I received the legacy in 1830, I made it over to Johnstone immediately after I got it. I placed it in his hands, and gave him instructions to keep it, and from time to time to pay it as I required; what had not been distributed, I placed in the hands of Mr. Jack, about £250 or £300. Mr. Jack is a farmer at Uddington; I gave him instructions to make small donations; it was all distributed in donations in about six months; I also drew upon him for hire of post chaises, &c. I never had an account from Mr. Jack, he was alive when I left Scotland. The third legacy of £500 I deposited and spent in the same way; Mr. Dundas may be in possession of some part. I had some other very small legacies left me, which I directed to be given to some of my relations. There was landed property left me under the will of Captain Bailey; but if I took it, I was to pay certain legacies from it; the whole property was sold by my consent; I had £2000; this was at the death of Colonel Bailey in 1815; Mrs. Bailey died in 1822 or 1823; the property was sold the year she died or the year following. I am Lord Belhaven's only brother, the family property is not entailed, a part of the property is. Lord Belhaven has no children, his Lordship was married in 1816, his age I think is about 42. I believe that if Lord Belhaven died to-morrow, I should not come in for a farthing; on Lord Belhaven's death I would be the nearest heir; my sister I think would come in before. Not an acre of my grandfather's land is entailed; and if I were to insert all these remote contingencies in my Schedule, I might have inserted half the county of Lanarkshire.



Mr. Smith, attorney for Messrs. Thacker and Company, the detaining creditors then examined Captain Hamilton regarding the purchases he had made and the bill drawn on account; after which, Mr. Strettell, attorney for Captain Hamilton, obtained leave to put a few questions to him regarding the nature of the misfortunes of Lord Belhaven. Captain Hamilton said that several years ago Lord Belhaven was advised by some of his friends to build a large Distillery which cost about £1,80,000. and kept up at enormous expence: his lordship never received half per cent on it, on the contrary it was the ruin of Lord Belhaven and of him also.

Captain Hamilton was then remanded for the amendment of his schedule, of one of the four bills endorsed by Mr. Donnithorne not having been included in the item noticed in his examination till next Saturday week.

Lieut. Wymer's case was called on, Mr. Macnaughten as assignee applied for the deduction of the one-third of the insolvent's pay for the benefit of his creditors, this was left for the future consideration of the Court and the Insolvent was discharged.

Lieut. Wiggins's case being called on, Mr. Collier appeared in behalf of some creditors, that a part of the insolvent's pay be deducted for the benefit of his creditors. Lieutenant Wiggins said, that his pay was only 109 Rs. 8 annas, out of which he could not pay a penny as he had to join his Regiment, which was as far off as Mhow, and had besides a variety of expences to incur. This was left for the future consideration of the court, and the insolvent was discharged.

Major Spiller next got his discharge, after some observations by the Commissioner on the enormous amount of his debts which were upwards of 3½ lakhs of Rupees. The deduction of Major Spiller's pay being left as in the other cases, for the future consideration of the Court.—*India Gazette.*

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SATURDAY, JUNE 28, 1834.

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Agreeably to the order of the Court the *Hon'ble Captain William Hamilton* was again brought up for his discharge; he was remanded on the 7th instant to amend his schedule, which was done. The amended schedule being filed only the day before, Mr. Turton objected to the case proceeding, as he had no time to see the schedule, or to communicate with his

client on the subject. The learned Commissioner wished to defer the hearing on that ground, and imputed much blame both to the insolvent and his attorney for their delay in filing the amended schedule, which must have prevented opposing creditors from seeing the same or of availing themselves of any flaws. *Mr. Turton* said if the Court would go on with the case, he would take no advantage of that objection, but would go into the merits of it. The Court complied, but proceeded first with other cases of both Courts, that *Mr. Turton* might see the schedule, which however he was unable to do from his other engagements. On the case being resumed, the learned Counsel addressed the Court in opposition to the Insolvent's discharge: he said he was sorry he was placed in a situation where it was his duty to oppose a gentleman on such grounds. He drew the attention of the Court to the 57th and 58th sections of the Act. The first of these sections says: "In case it shall appear to the Court that any such Insolvent has fraudulently with intention to conceal the state of his or her affairs, or to defeat the objects of this Act, destroyed, or otherwise wilfully prevented, or purposely withheld the production of any book, paper, or writing, relating to such of his or her affairs as are subject to investigation under this Act; or keep or cause to be kept false books or made false entries in, or without entries, from, or wilfully altered or falsified any such book, paper, or writing; or that such Insolvent has fraudulently, with intent of diminishing the sum to be divided among his or her creditors, or of giving an undue preference to the said creditors, discharged or concealed any debt due to or from the said Insolvent; or made away with, charged, mortgaged, or concealed any part of his or her property, of what kind soever; then it shall and may be lawful for such Court to adjudge that such Insolvent shall be so discharged, and so entitled as aforesaid, so soon as he or she shall have been in custody, for such period, not exceeding three years in the whole, as the Court shall direct." The learned Counsel contended that the accounts of the giving away of the legacies left to the Insolvent, if credible, was a fraud on the creditors, and that they could have been made with no other intention, and to defeat the objects of the Act; for in the manner he has described the spending of the money and knowing his brother was unable to honor his drafts, the returning to India and taking the benefit of the Act, he must have contemplated. The drafts amounted to 40,000 rupees, nearly the amount of the legacies he received,

and which he lavished away ; he opposed the Insolvent's discharge on this section on the ground of his having made away with these sums of money with the intention of defrauding his creditors, and defeating the objects of the Act by concealing a part of his property. The learned Counsel then read the 58th section. " In case it shall appear that such Insolvent shall have contracted any of the debts fraudulently, or by means of breach of trust, or by means of false pretences, or without having any reasonable or probable expectation at the time when contracted, of paying the same, &c. then it shall and may be lawful for such Court to adjudge that such Insolvent shall be so discharged, as soon as he shall have been in custody for a period not exceeding two years in the whole." He contended on behalf of Mr. Donnithorne, that from the Insolvent's own admission it appeared that the debt he contracted with Mr. Donnithorne was under false pretences. Though the fraud be not sufficient to indict a party, yet if credit was obtained under false pretences, it was enough to make it incumbent on the Court to remand the party under that clause. In looking at the circumstances of the case it appeared that Captain Hamilton received in 1827, a letter from his brother Lord Belhaven, which must have been in reply to one written by him in 1826, wherein according to his own account, he stated he was obliged to go to the Hills for the re-establishment of his health, and that his debts amounted to about £900 ; he received a reply from Lady Belhaven, that she was sorry to learn the bad state of his health, and that he should have resolved on going to the Hills instead of to Scotland for his recovery ; Lord Belhaven wrote, authorizing him to draw the £900. This could not have authorized him to draw £9,000, for it was only a letter of credit to the amount of £900. And that it was a fraud on Captain Hamilton's part to use it afterwards as an existing letter of credit. In 1827 he drew at least 6,000 Rs, and in March or April 1828, he drew in favor of Mr. Coull for 6,000 Rs. ; this was at least eighteen months prior to his making use of the letter with Mackintosh and Co., or obtaining Mr. Donnithorne's indorsement. Captain Hamilton had endeavoured to satisfy the Court that, on account of the losses his brother had met with, the draughts in 1829 were not honored, but the draughts drawn in favor of Mr. Coull eighteen months before were not honoured. Notwithstanding this, he came down in 1829, resided with Mr. Marjoribanks, through whose intervention he drew 12,000 Rs. from Alexander and Co., and



12,000 Rs. from Mackintosh and Co., and from Fergusson and Co £300. How did Captain Hamilton obtain the endorsements from Mr. Donnithorne? He brought a letter of introduction to him and asked him to endorse his draughts on the strength of a letter of credit that he had on his brother to a considerable amount. At this time he had no pretence for saying he had that letter of credit. Captain Hamilton in addition to his other statements said, that in 1829 he communicated with his brother Lord Belhaven, that his debts exceeded £900, and that he would be obliged to draw more, to this he received no reply. Was a person who received a letter of credit in 1827 for £900 and drew more the following year, justified in stating that he had an existing letter of credit, and getting people to endorse draughts to a considerable amount on the strength of it?—which was really a fraud. He had concealed from Mr. Donnithorne that he had drawn other drafts, and Alexander and Co. knew nothing of his having drawn in favor of Mackintosh and Co. He used that letter of credit as he thought proper, not only as an existing letter of credit, but as authorizing him to draw for more than it specified: if that was not a fraud, an obtaining money under false pretences, then there was no such thing as fraud which could constitute a criminal charge. The learned counsel contended that Captain Hamilton had brought himself under the 58th section of the Act, and that it was incumbent on the Court to commit him to jail for such a period as should teach others not to contract debts as they thought proper, without any prospects of liquidating them, and then apply for their discharge in that Court as a matter of course, with debts to the amount of forty or fifty thousand rupees without an anna to cover them. Captain Hamilton appeared to have drawn 39,000 Rs on a letter of credit written 3 years before the time it was drawn. A man who receives a letter of credit for £900 and uses it to the extent of 39,000 Rs. shewing it to each as an existing letter of credit, and saying nothing that he had drawn through others, was far from being honest. Captain Hamilton knew that the draft drawn in favor of Colonel Frith was paid, and probably guessed that the one drawn in favor of Mr. Coull was not. What must have been his feelings when he wrote to his brother from Santipore telling him that his debts exceeded much what he had before stated, and that he should be forced to draw on him for a larger amount, and when he afterwards drew on that letter of credit? Must he not have known at the time that he repre-

sented that letter to Mr. Donnithorne that he had no prospects of repaying the money, when on the eve of his departure he drew from Alexander's, Mackintosh's and Thacker's nearly to the amount of 30,000 Rs. ? The learned Counsel wished to know if Captain Hamilton had any hope of paying these debts when he contracted them, not having been authorized by his brother to draw to any further extent after 1827. He should have told Mr. Donnithorne when he asked him to endorse his drafts, how much he had already drawn upon the letter of credit, and how much more he intended. It was a complete fraud. He did not say why the letter of credit was destroyed; he once said he knew not where it was; it then struck him, that it being of no further use, he had destroyed it with his other papers when he was going home. If the drafts were dishonored he would be made to shew on what authority he had drawn them; there was nothing to show that the draughts were drawn on any authority, though he had sworn that he drew them on the authority of Lord Belhaven. It was painful to see a gentleman swear that he drew on authority, and then acknowledge that he had not even the inference to do so, concealing the real facts from those who pledged their credit. When the draughts were dishonored, he did not endeavour to take them up. Three days after his arrival in England, he saw his brother, who told him, he could not honor some of his draughts. None of the draughts which Mr. Donnithorne endorsed he had reason to think was paid, and yet what was the account he gave of the legacies which he received in 1830 amounting to £2,500 ? [Captain Hamilton's evidence relating to the disposal of the legacies which appeared in our former report of this case, was read.] He first said the legacies were left to himself, but this was contradicted in the amended schedule, where they were entered thus :—" During the time that I was at home three legacies were left me by my three sisters. These were however left under directions that I should lay out and distribute them amongst poor people on the estate of the family. This I have done according to the directions of the Will." It was useless to think that any one could be permitted to come into Court without any excuse for spending legacies bequeathed to him, to retract by the insertion of such an item. If the mere oath of an Insolvent were sufficient to carry him through the Court in spite of every thing, very little confidence could be placed in the Act. During the time Captain Hamilton was in England, he received £2,500, and

had a sufficient sum, within very little, to meet all the draughts he had drawn when leaving this country. At Edinburgh when he passed himself as an Insolvent, he was making presents of large sums to different people. It was observed, that he expected to liquidate his debts out of his salary; he first exhibited debts to the amount of 48,000 rupees, which now came up to 68,000 rupees, which sum he expected to liquidate out of his salary. Such an assertion would not have been believed if sworn to by a Hindoo; no, nor from any other person. In reading the notes of Captain Hamilton's evidence it appeared that part of the legacies was spent in post chaise hire which was inconsistent with the insertion in the amended schedule, that the legacies were given away in charity. The legacy left by Colonel Bailey went to the Edinburgh Agent, this legacy as well as three others may or may not be spent. It appeared the Insolvent's intention was, to conceal his property, take the benefit of the Act, and go home enjoy his half pay and all that he could manage to save. No honest man would have disposed of these legacies in the way he had done, when he had such debts to pay. Not a word of the way the legacies were disposed of could be believed. It was far from his intention to press upon any man, but the man to be spared was not the man of education and rank, who should have paid those who have lost by him. The learned Counsel then contended that under the 58th section of the Act, the Insolvent should not be discharged without suffering such imprisonment as may be a warning to others not to contract debts when they have no prospects of paying the same.

*Mr. Clarke* addressed the Court on behalf of the Insolvent, which he said he did under some difficulty, not being present when his client was examined, upon which examination his learned friend's argument was founded, the talacy of which he would expose.

The Court offered to read the notes taken of the evidence.

*Mr. Clarke* returned thanks, and observed the argument advanced were not sufficiently weighty to give so much trouble. His learned friend depended more on oratory success than on the merits of his case, and had not left a stone unturned to oppose the Insolvent's discharge. He then adverted to the several objections of his friend, of notice not having been given, then that sufficient time was not given, and when these fail him he resorted to what he called "facts of



the case," a great deal of which were matters of conjecture. From the sections appealed to by his friend, the law would be seen, and from the examination of the Insolvent whether he had made himself obnoxious to the punishment imposed by those sections. He read the first section, and saw no evidence considering the Act as rigidly as penal statutes, that could warrant the Court in saying the Insolvent had made away or concealed any part of his property. All that could be said against his client was that his accounts were not kept clear, but that did not indicate that he made away with or concealed any part of his property. All his friend's argument amounted to this: that the Insolvent instead of paying his debts, squandered away the legacies left him. This was culpable conduct, and he would not vindicate it. But it was not the conduct cognizable in this section, which applied to those who conceal property, that after they are discharged, they may have the use of it. He then read the 58th section which said "if any Insolvent shall have contracted debts fraudulently, or by means of breach of trust, or by false pretences, or without having any reasonable or probable expectation at the time when contracted of paying the same, &c." This referred to the amount of the Insolvent's debts, and the probability he had of paying them. He then referred to Captain MacNaghten's case, the amount of whose debts was 1,38,407 Rs., and he had no assets, and nothing but his military pay to depend upon, and the prospects of future promotion in his profession. He opposed Captain MacNaghten on that ground, but the Court did not consider that he came under the 58th section of the Act as he had his profession open to him, and objection was over-ruled. The argument of his friend therefore was unavailing. He should not have had recourse to these arguments but for his friend's dogmatical assertions; and if asked how the Court would act, he would shew his friend how the Court did act. Respecting the drafts drawn, he could hardly extract from his friend whether the letter of credit was only for £900 or whether it was otherwise. If his friend meant the former, it was a conjecture, in which case, it is possible, that the letter was an open letter of credit.

The evidence of the Insolvent stating the letter received from Lord Belhaven authorizing him to draw as much as he required, to pay his debts and his passage home, was read by the Court.

*Mr. Clarke* here entered at great length into the details

of his friend's opposition, the sections of the Act under consideration, and in justification of his client's conduct in drawing drafts on the authority of his brother, and the probable means of his paying the same. In conclusion, he said, the Act of Parliament ought to be strictly construed, and to bring his client under the 57th section it must appear clearly to the Court that fraud was committed by him, and that he had no probability of paying to remand under the other.

*Sir John Grant* said he agreed entirely with the Counsel for the Insolvent who said that the 57th and 58th sections of the Act are to be considered as penal enactments and that they were consequently to be considered strictly : the words of the Act are that it shall and may be lawful for the Court &c., with regard to the length of imprisonment, they are to be considered as words authorizing the Court to inflict imprisonment not exceeding a certain period on an Insolvent for having violated certain rules therein specified. There was nothing to guide the Court as to the facts except the information of the Insolvent himself ; the Court was bound to take it as it stood, comparing it as in all cases with what is credible, and what otherwise. The first objections made to the Insolvent's immediate discharge were, the ground in which it is insisted that the penalty of the Act should be inflicted on him under the 57th section. It then became necessary to see what the offences were mentioned in that 57th section which was read, and which could only refer in this case to the Insolvent's having destroyed the letter he received from his brother authorizing him to make the drafts.

The opposing Counsel said he relied principally on the 58th section.

*Sir John Grant* continued : placed in the situation as he was, he was bound to give a candid opinion. That there was as much carelessness in the conduct of the Insolvent as well towards his own interest as that of those who lent him money, could not be denied : such carelessness on the part of any one was highly culpable. The letter being destroyed was an unfortunate circumstance, for if his affairs were confused, he might have been able to put it in the hands of those who were answerable for the payment of the drafts if not honoured. [The 57th section read.] There were no grounds to say that the Insolvent did fraudulently with intent to diminish the sum to be divided, or of giving an undue preference, conceal or make away with his property. It did not appear to the Court, however blameable it was considered for any one who is un-

able to pay his debts to lay out sums which he got without paying those debts—he did not however come within the words of this section nor were there any grounds to impute the same to the Insolvent. If the Commissioner did not err in his conclusion of the evidence, and did not misconstrue the statute, he saw no grounds under the 57th section, for refusing the Insolvent his discharge. With regard to inflicting punishment under the 58th section of the Act which related to the contracting of debts fraudulently. Breach of trust was not imputed to the Insolvent, but false pretence was. But it is my opinion, continued the Commissioner, and that is not a new opinion, for I have had occasion to consider that clause of the Act before, that false pretences in this penal clause, must receive the same interpretation as in any other penal statute. It remains to be seen whether this money was contracted fraudulently, which word embraces every description of what may be termed fraud, or whether contracted without any prospects on the part of the Insolvent to be able to pay it. I would desire it to be known, that so far as it depends on me, I shall never be of opinion that a person who has contracted debts heedlessly should be dealt with on the footing of one entitled to the full benefit of the Act. It is indispensably necessary that different views should be taken of the two cases. That the Act should have the full interpretation under a meaning of the Legislature, and that a difference should obtain between an honest debtor, and one that has thoughtlessly contracted debts without any prospects of paying them. That that is a degree of guilt amounting to fraud no one would assert; and when a direct fraud appears one may deserve under this Act a severe punishment. The Insolvent was charged with having used a letter which authorized him to draw to a certain amount, for drawing more than the letter authorized. [The Insolvent's evidence was read.] Mackintosh and Co. must have been aware of the nature of the letter and Mr. Donnithorne knew that they would accept the draft when endorsed. The Insolvent believed Mr. Marjoribanks to be a man of property. Mackintosh and Co. must have been aware of the contrary. By the evidence it appeared that the Insolvent had often drawn before on his brother who had honored other drafts drawn by him, and that he received no communication from his brother for drawing so much. The letter appeared to be a general letter, referring to no statement that he should require £900; Lady Belhaven replied to that, and his brother wrote to him authorizing



him to draw for such sums as might be necessary to pay off his debts and his passage home. Throughout these transactions there was a great confusion, as it appeared from the Insolvent's evidence. I say that the Insolvent has behaved with very great carelessness, but I cannot say that this proceeded on his part from fraudulent intentions, nor is a case made out that I could say that, in obtaining the credit from Mr. Donni-thorne he has behaved fraudulently. If the letter of credit were in the terms the insolvent has sworn to, he had good grounds for his expectations of being able to pay the money, and the said letter not being produced would not prevent the ultimate payment. I state my opinion for the satisfaction of the creditors, that if that letter has been fairly represented their claims may yet be enforced in a Court of Equity. It is a fair representation; and believing as I do his uncontradicted statement, I am bound to say, that I think the Insolvent entitled to the benefit of the Act.—*India Gazette.*

## BANK OF BENGAL.

DR. BALANCE OF THE BANK OF BENGAL, THE 30TH JUNE, 1834..... CR.

	Sa. Rs.	A	P.		Sa. Rs.	A	P.
Cash and Govern- ment Securities,..	53,56,886	8	11	Bank Notes & Post- Bills out standing & Claims payable on demand, .....	1,57,39,260	7	11
Loans on Deposit Government Secu- rities, &c.....	80,07,706	8	11	Suspence Account,...	1,91,338	4	9
Bills on Government discounted,.....	24,19,924	1	7	Net Stock, .....	53,04,804	4	2
Private Bills dis- counted, .....	35,70,359	7	5				
Advances for Indigo...	5,72,049	8	5				
Purchasers of Pledg- ed and Forfeit Se- curities,.....	85,000	0	0				
Doubtful Debts,.....	7,96,382	8	1				
Account of Credit on Deposit Securi- ties,.....	3,09,910	9	9				
Advance for Legal Proceedings,.....	3,235	15	3				
Dead Stock,.....	1,13,947	12	6				
Sa. Rs..	2,12,35,403	0	10	Sa. Rs.	2,12,35,403	0	10

## REMARKS.

The items of the foregoing Statement, which would ap-  
pear to call for remark, are "Private Bills Discounted,"

“Advances for Indigo,” “Purchasers of Pledged and Forfeit Securities,” “Doubtful Debts,” and “Advance for Legal Proceedings.”

“PRIVATE BILLS DISCOUNTED.”—In this item is still included Sa. Rs. 14,63,515-6-4, being the balance of the principal amount of the acceptances, for which the Estates of Messieurs Cruttenden, Mackillop and Co., Alexander and Co., Fergusson and Co., and Mackintosh and Co., are liable; and also the sum of Sa. Rs. 6,97,301-8-1 paid to the Government Loan Committee, with the consent of the Assignees of Messrs. Alexander and Co., in satisfaction of their debt, to Government, which was secured by mortgage of sundry real and other properties, valued at Sa. Rs. 13,64,000. These properties were primarily mortgaged to the Government, and secondarily to the Bank: and the Bank, with a view to a more ready sale, took them over, paying the Government the balance of their account.

The Assignees of Messrs. Alexander and Co. have agreed to an arrangement, subject to the sanction of the Insolvent Court, for the redemption or sale of all the properties of the Estate mortgaged to the Bank: and it is proposed that this arrangement shall have immediate effect. The monies to be realized from the sale or redemption will, in the first instance, be applied to the reimbursement of the sum, with interest, paid to the Government.

“ADVANCES FOR INDIGO” (*on the Pledged Factories of Messrs. Alexander and Co.*)—The amount of this item has been disbursed in advances for Indigo of the current season. The advances, with interest, will as stipulated, be re-paid on the completion of the arrangement already alluded to.

With regard to the advances for the last season (Sa. Rs. 3,79,330); it will be satisfactory to the Proprietors to learn, that, after the re-payment of the advances with interest, there was a surplus on the transaction of Sa. Rs. 1,55,012-8-1.

“PURCHASERS OF PLEDGED AND FORFEIT SECURITIES.”—This head of account was opened in reference to certain conditional sales of mortgaged property. All the sales, however, with the exception of one, have been cancelled, and Sa. Rs. 35,000, the sum of the item, is the balance of the amount, (Sa. Rs. 1,00,000), for which that sale was made: the title deeds of the property remaining with the Bank pending full payment of the purchase money.

**“ DOUBTFUL DEBTS.”**—The sum of Sa. Rs. 7,96,382-8-1, at which this item stands, was valued by the Directors, at the close of the half year just ended, at Sa. Rs. 400,051-14-5 only. Of the difference, Sa. Rs. 3,50,000 covered, as stated in the last Report, by forged Company’s Paper to the amount of Sa. Rs. 5,01,500, have been considered bad, in consequence of the affirmation, by the Privy Council, of the judgment of the Supreme Court, in the case of the forgeries by Rajkissore Dutt.

The profit of the Banking business of the past half year amounts to Sa. Rs. 2,54,804-4-2, which is at the rate of Sa. Rs. 10 3-0 $\frac{7}{8}$  per cent. per annum upon the capital Stock. Besides this sum, the Directors have carried to credit under profit and loss Sa. Rs. 50,000, on account of old Bank notes outstanding for more than fifteen years. There is no reason to anticipate any diminution of the business for the half year ensuing; but the Directors having had to apply the above amount towards the loss incurred from the unlooked for issue of the Appeal referred to, can make no dividend for the half year, just closed.

The following Statement exhibits the profits of the nine half years ended by the 31st December last, the dividend made, and the amount written off against bad debts.

## STATEMENT.

Half years ended.	Amount of net Profit.			Rate of Dividend.	Amount of Dividend.	Written off to Bad Debts.			
	Sa. Rs.	A.	P.	Per annum.	Sa. Rs.	Sa. Rs.	A.	P.	
31st Dec. 1827,....	296803	8	8	9 Per Ct.,	225000	71803	8	8	
30th June 1830,.....	329258	3	5	8 Ditto,...	200000	129258	3	5	
31st Dec. 1830,.....	312145	13	1	9 Ditto,...	225000	87145	13	1	
30th June 1831,.....	233518	2	2	8 Ditto,...	200000	33518	2	2	
31st Dec. 1831,.....	21693	6	7	7 Ditto,...	175000	41923	6	7	
30th June 1832,.....	339945	7	5	8 Ditto,...	200000	139945	7	5	
31st Dec. 1832,.....	321117	13	10	7 Ditto,...	175000	146117	13	10	
30th June 1833,.....	248066	4	0	6 Ditto,...	150000	98066	4	0	
31st Dec. 1833,.....	164138	14	10	6 Ditto,...	150000	14138	14	10	
<hr/>									
	Sa. Rs	2461917	0	0	7 8 10½	1700000	761917	10	0

**“ ADVANCE FOR LEGAL PROCEEDINGS.”**—The amount of this item was disbursed in the expences of the Appeal from the Supreme Court’s judgment in the forgery case. The appeal having been unsuccessful, the item will cease to appear as an asset.

By order of the Directors,

(Signed) G. UDNY, Secy. to the Bank.

1st July, 1834.

[Calcutta Courier.



## MUNNEE RAM SETH.

(Copy.)

To W. H. MACNAGHTEN, Esq.

*Secretary to Government.*

Honoured Sir,—I beg to bring to the notice of the Government that in the present state of affairs at Gwalior, nothing is more insecure than the property of merchants and others possessing capital. Of this fact you are yourself fully aware, and to you, my master Seth Munnee Ram, trusts to represent it to the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council.

The exertions Munnee Ram made to forward the views of the British Government at periods when financial arrangements were indispensable, but as difficult of formation as they were necessary, are well known to you: and without claiming an undue degree of merit it may be permitted to Munnee Ram Seth to look upon himself as entitled to some degree of consideration from the British Government at the present crisis of affairs.

The influence possessed by the British Government is paramount every where, yet if only for the very assistance Munnee Ram has given it he is in danger, he may and probably will, if not succoured, lose wealth, property, all that is dear to man, by the acts of lawless persons. To prevent such misfortune he desires me to solicit a note or duplicate of a note from the Government to the Resident at Gwalior to be delivered by himself to enable him, as he is in fact a British subject from his residence in Muttra, and a well-wisher to the British Government, at all times to claim protection in the event of outrage being attempted. All this I should have represented in person, but from the last two months I have been insep<sup>t</sup>\* from sickness to go out of my house, I am therefore compelled to address you in writing.

I remain, honored Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) SHEWBUX ROY,

*Gomastah of Seth Munnee Ram.*

Calcutta, the 25th Nov. 1833.

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\* Sic in MS.—ED.

(Copy.)

TO C. E. TREVELYAN, ESQ. *Deputy Secretary*  
*to Government, Political Department.*

Sir,—On the 25th November 1833, Shewbux, the superintendent of the kothie of Luckmeechund and Radakissen, had the honor to address Mr. Macnaghten, on the part of our Seth Munnee Ram, soliciting that he would obtain permission from the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council, that a letter to the Resident at Gwalior might be written to desire that gentleman to afford to the Seth Munnee Ram some little countenance under the circumstance in which the latter was placed by the changes in a Government, which was by all natives considered to have been established and certain to continue under the auspices and protection of the British dominion. No reply was received from Mr. Macnaghten.

We are now sorry to be under the necessity of stating to you for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council and of the Honorable the Vice President in Council, that letters from Gwalior inform us that seeing the Maharaja not disposed to favor him our Sett Munnee Ram, who as you are aware superintended the revenue affairs of the Soobah of Gwalior, resigned his office on the 4th of the light side of the moon of Magh last; but the Maharaja nevertheless insisted on the Sett continuing to authenticate the official orders and to administer the affairs of the Soobah. The Sett declined, and on the 4th day of the dark side of the moon of Phagoon last the Maharaja ordered one thousand armed men to surround the Sett's house, to keep him in durance and not to allow him to eat unless he pays daily the sum of ten thousand rupees or consents to administer the affairs of the Soobah. Our Seth has no objection; he has offered to give every satisfactory explanation of accounts of receipts and disbursements of the Soobah which the Maharajah may in justice require, but this is not what is wanted: the object of this hard treatment is to extort from him his wealth by any and every means however harsh, however violent, however unjust.

Our Seth had been in durance for two days when his letter to us was dispatched, and he had already paid to his guards the sum of 20,000 Rs. for permission to eat and drink twice. What next will be demanded from him it is impossible to say: more favourable treatment he cannot expect unless some protection is afforded to him by the only power on earth which can give it.

We beg with great submission to bring to the recollection of Government that our Seth Munnee Ram directed Shewbux in November last, to communicate the certain consequences of his being left in an unprotected state by the British Government. He then predicted that loss of wealth was the least evil he should experience from the present ruling power of the country in which he now resides, and he pointed out the facile medium of affording him comparative security.

We beg to solicit that you will once more bring the Seth's case and his present unhappy circumstance to the notice of the Government. We are desirous to entreat that, as individuals cannot venture to represent the truth to Native princes, the Resident may be directed to ask from the Maharajah what he requires from our Seth. If accounts, they have been already submitted, and any explanation shall be willingly given. If money, whether under plea of embezzlement having been made or collections withheld; it shall be paid provided it be shewn on production of accounts before any European officer that the smallest fraction is due to the Maharajah. The Seth's release from imprisonment and indignity is urgently solicited.

We have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient servants.

(Signed) LUCHMEECHUND AND RADAKISSAN,  
Bankers and Agents on the part of the  
Seth Munnee Ram.

Calcutta, 15th 1834.

(Copy.)

To C. E. TREVELLYAN, Esq., *Deputy Secretary*  
*to Government, Political Department.*

Sir,—We humbly beg to represent to you for immediate communication to the Right Hon'ble the Vice President in Council the information we have received relating to our master the Seth Munnee Ram. We have through Mr. Macnaughten and through yourself pointed out to the English Government, first, the probability of his being persecuted if not protected. Secondly, that this evil had fallen upon him and, we now regret to say that our anticipations have been cruelly realized, as our letters from Gwalior inform us that the Seth has been taken into the presence of the Maharaja, after having been kept without drink and food for eight days, and three crores of rupees demanded from him by the Maharajah, in addition to other sums which he chooses to claim as alleged



embezzlements from the Soobah of Gwalior while under the Seth's management, and he has been tortured and beaten to compel him to pay this money. He cannot now have access to his people or his people to him. That death will be the end of this oppression and tyranny which he is suffering under, must now be apprehended. His banking establishments in Maharajah Scindia's country have all been confiscated.

We entreat that the Government will be pleased to recollect that in the year 1825, he and his predecessor Gocool Parakjee came forward with heavy loans to the British Government when few other monied men were willing to trust their capitals for the low rate of interest offered, in consequence of the embarrassments created by the Burmese war; that he has not since been backward in advancing money on loan whenever called on by the officers of the British Government: he has in fact, by affording facilities in this respect, brought down upon him the suspicion and ill-will of the native princes of the country. He foresaw the consequence to himself of all he proposed to do in becoming the vassal of the British Government, but hoped that he had secured its favour and protection in case of need and an asylum in its territories should he be brought to extremities.

When Baiza Baie was ejected from the throne of Gwalior, the Sett wished to depart from that scene of tyranny and to take refuge at Muttra, but at the British Resident's solicitations and entreaties he was induced to remain, trusting always in that officer's powers and the good-will of the British Government. He has by acquiescing in the Resident's wishes sacrificed himself. We entreat most humbly that some thing may be done, even at this late hour, in our Sett Munnee Ram's behalf by the British Government. We humbly beg to represent that if the man who is well known throughout India to be their devoted servant, is allowed to perish in tortures before the eyes of their own Resident, not only the Maharajah himself, but all the neighbouring princes will attribute the abstinence of the British Government from interfering to a want of power to prevent what no one will suppose it has not the wish to put a stop to.

We have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servants,

(Sd ) LUCHMEECHUND AND RADAKISEN.

Calcutta, March 25, 1834.

(Copy.)

*Copy of order on the petition of Luchmeechund and Radakissen, dated 25th, and received 27th March, 1834.*

The petitioner is to be informed that as Sett Munnee Ram is residing within the jurisdiction of the Gwalior Government, no cognisance can be taken of his case.

(Sd) C. E. TREVELYAN,  
By order.

(A true copy)

(Sd.) C. E. TREVELYAN, *Depy. Sec. to Govt.*  
April 7, 1834. *[India Gazette.]*

TRANSLATION OF A STATEMENT UNDER THE SIGNATURE OF MUNNEE RAM SETH.

After detailing the history of his connection with Gwalior, the services which he rendered to, and the consideration he experienced from Dowlut Rao Scindiah, who, it is stated, gave him before his death, an acquittance in full of all demands:—and after describing the manner in which he was subsequently treated by the Baiza Baie, from whom he in like manner continued to receive every mark of kindness and confidence, the Seth proceeds to state as follows :

On the day of the Baiza Baie's deposition, I followed her and remained in attendance on her. The people who remained behind in the *lushkur*, were sent for by the Maharajah, and mention having been made of me, orders were given by his Highness to summon me; and for this purpose a chobdar was sent to my *dookan*. My Goomashtah there, making some excuse for my absence, told the chobdar that I should make my appearance presently; and at the same time dispatched a *shooteer sowar* to me to apprise me the summons from the Maharajah. On receiving this message, I reflected that I had left lakhs of Rupees behind me in my *dookan*, and had lakhs moreover owing to me by a variety of persons at Gwalior, all which I must lose if I did not return to the *lushkur*: but, however great the sacrifice, I determined to submit to it rather than run the risk of going back without in the first instance securing a *puckah* guarantee. Having formed this resolution I sent for my Goomashtah, who always remained in attendance on the Resident (agreeably to that officer's orders) desiring him to represent to Mr. Cavendish in my name that I had joined the Baiza Baie: that the Maharajah had summoned me: and that as the several British Representatives at Gwalior

had, in consequence of commendatory letters from the Supreme Government, invariably treated me as a *protegé*, I wished to be guided entirely by his (Mr. C.'s) advice, whether good or bad, in regard to returning to the *lushkur* or not. This was the message which I directed my Goomashtah to convey to the Resident and it was delivered accordingly. On hearing the representation, Mr. Cavendish observed,—“What? cannot the Seth come himself and state in person what you say you have been directed to communicate in his behalf? If he has any thing to say let him appear himself and state it before me.” After receiving this reply, the Goomashtah came and reported it to me; upon which we both proceeded together to the Residency, and waited on Mr. Cavendish, to whom I detailed the whole of my case, stating that after the death of the late Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah, I wished to quit Gwalior, but that the Baiza Baie was unwilling to part with me, and that in consequence of her solicitations and assurances of favor and protection I was induced to remain: that now that Her Highness was about to leave the Gwalior territories, I was desirous of accompanying her, and could not obey the Maharajah's summons without the intervention of a guarantee on which I could depend, as the state of things in the *lushkur* had assumed a new aspect. I added that if he (Mr. C.) would take me by the hand and send me under a pledge from himself to the *lushkur*, I was ready to proceed thither; whilst on the other hand, if he thought it would be expedient for me to accompany the Baiza Baie, I would follow her fortunes; and I begged that, as I had thrown myself on him, he would favor me with his counsel in order that I might conform to it.—Mr. Cavendish replied: “In my opinion it is advisable and proper that you should go back to the *lushkur*: you are the well-wisher of the throne, and it becomes you to adhere to its occupant under all changes; and you may be sure that your pecuniary dealings with the Court, both as a Mahajun and in every other way, will continue exactly on the same footing under the Maharajah's rule as they have under that of the Baiza Baie. I (he added) will have you fully satisfied on all points: proceed at once to the *lushkur*; and in the meantime I will write a letter respecting you to the Maharajah who, as you will be acting by my bidding, will give you all the *dhurum kurum* pledges customary in Hindoostan.” Being thus counselled and assured by Mr. Cavendish, I went and waited on the Maharajah. His Highness manifested every disposition of kindness towards me, and said, addressing himself to me,



“ Sethjee, you have been from the first the well-wisher of the State of Gwalior, and the Resident moreover has written to me in your behalf: continue therefore, with the most perfect confidence to carry on business as heretofore. I here lay my hand on the throne and swear by all that's sacred, that as long as I live, you shall never experience any unfair or treacherous conduct from me. This is my solemn declaration, and from it I shall never deviate.”

The Seth then goes on to state how, under the above assurances, he carried on business for several months as usual, until all of a sudden, the Rajah at the instigation of certain interested persons, began to make arbitrary demands on him, which after the vain expostulation both with His Highness and the Resident, ended in his being subjected to every species of mal-treatment and privation, robbed and degraded, and ultimately cast into prison in the fortress; in which he is now confined under a threat of never being released.—*Delhi Gazette, June 11.*

## MEETING OF THE PROPRIETORS OF THE UNION BANK.

At a general half-yearly meeting of proprietors, made SPECIAL, and held at the Bank on Monday the 14th July 1834, Mr. Vint being called to the chair, the business of the meeting commenced by reading the following document.

*Secretary's Report of the Union Bank's Operations from 1st January to 30th June inclusive.*

The six months which have passed since the date of our last half yearly general meeting, bring to a close the fifth and final year of the period for which the Union Bank was originally established.

The present meeting is made SPECIAL, for the purpose of discussing the arrangements which shall appear necessary for giving effect in due form to your determination for extending the duration of the Bank to a further period: but the more immediate business of this Report is to lay before you the result of our last six months' operations. These exhibit a nett profit of Sa. Rs. 45,545, a little more than three per cent. on the capital stock of the Company; that is, at the rate of *six per cent.* per annum.

When compared with the same period of the preceding year (1833) this result shews a minute difference of Sa Rs. 1,255 in favor of 1834.

Taken together with the profits of the previous six months, the operations of the entire fifth year shew a result of nett pro-

fit of Sa. Rs. 1,00,371 15 11, which on a capital of Sa. Rs. 44,95,000 seems a fair return in a bank business resting hitherto chiefly upon discounts and loans; scarcely at all upon issue of paper. On a comparison too with other modes of investing small capitals, the Union Bank-stock holder appear to enjoy a better rate of interest than he could obtain easily elsewhere, on equally good security.

In the last half yearly Report you were apprized of the great fall in our circulation during 1833, after the dreadful failures and consequent mercantile depression, at the close of 1832, and in the early months of 1833. It was then stated to you, that the circulation had fallen to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lacs of rupees: but that towards the latter end of 1833, (embraced in that Report) the circulation had rather shewn a tendency to rise again; and a hope was expressed that the increase would be progressive as alarm should abate and confidence revive. In this hope we have been disappointed, through several concurring causes. The failure of the two remaining old firms in December and January last contributed to this disappointment, not only by adding more or less to mercantile troubles for a time, but by depriving us of our two best and largest customers — always zealous in promoting the interests of the Bank, in which the offices of Chairman and Deputy indeed were filled at the time by members of those very houses.

In February the hostility of the Bank of Bengal commenced: a subject on which it is unnecessary to enlarge in this place, further than to note the degree of success which followed the more active measures then enforced to put down the circulation of your Bank. That success appears to have been small as far as relates to the diminishing of our average issues, which continue to range between two and three lacs. If we were to assume even half a lac, as the average diminution effected during the four months from March to June, the actual loss sustained would not amount to 1,000 rupees, supposing the nett profit from circulating notes — after deducting reserves of unproductive cash — to be 4 per cent. per annum. But the endeavour to proscribe our bank notes may have had a more considerable effect in *preventing* that *increase* of circulation, for which we hoped, but which has not been realized. How far this non-increase may be owing to that cause, how far to others, is a point not so easily settled, but on which we may be better able to pronounce at the end of ensuing six months.

The half year ending with June, you are aware from experience, is always the least profitable; not only because

certain charges of an *annual* nature, such as stamps, fees, &c. are brought to debit within this period; but more so because the first half of the year is the least busy. Large repaid advances then remain in coffer or in Company's paper at low interest; while the last six months of a year offer the best occasions for profitable use of funds at high interest, on the security of indigo and other staples, actually manufactured and consigned to the possession of the Bank, preparatory to shipment or sale.

It is for these reasons of course that in comparing the nett profits of half yearly periods, the corresponding six months of each year have to be taken; as in the beginning of the present Report has been done.

In this place it seems proper to mention, that the resolution adopted unanimously at the special meeting on the 17th February last, for laying the proceedings and correspondence in the dispute with the Bank of Bengal before His Excellency the Governor General, has remained a dead letter. His Lordship's return to Bengal was then expected speedily to take place; and that expectation continued, as you are aware, for a long time to prevail. Had the resolution referred to the Governor General *in Council* or generally to the *Government*, your Directors would of course have submitted the papers to the Honorable the Vice President in Council. But as the resolution was not so worded, they have deemed it best to report the difficulty to this meeting.

Since the last half yearly Report was made to you, this Bank appears to have been attracting more business from the Mofussil. Not only individuals from a distance remit and deposit at interest, but the Bank of Agra has commenced exchange operations with us, which when matured are expected to prove mutually beneficial.

It only now remains in conclusion to inform you that the accounts of the Bank with all the insolvent firms have been finally and satisfactorily adjusted as anticipated; that the shares in your stock held by those firms have been disposed of to individuals; and that your Directors are not aware of any losses whatever, sustained or likely to be sustained by the Bank in any quarter, since the last half yearly Report; which in this particular was equally satisfactory.

Union Bank, June 30, 1834. J. YOUNG, *Secretary*.

The Report having been read it was moved by the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Hastie, and carried unanimously, —

I. That the Report be approved and published.



The attention of the meeting was called to the sub-joined statement of the accounts of the Bank, which then lay on the table, and which had been some time open for the inspection of proprietors.

## STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

Dr. THE TRUSTEES OF THE UNION BANK.

June 30—To establishment and house rent from 1st January to this date.....						20301	0	0
To charges general, being for law charges, stamps, stationary, &c.....						2974	13	11
To Dead Stock for amount written off for the half year.....						400	0	0
To balance due to the Trustees in silver.....	167781	0	7½					
In Bank of Bengal Notes..	351900	0	0					
					519681	0	7½	
In Dead Stock .....					6000	0	0	
In printed Bank Notes.....					14200	0	0	
Realizable—Bills discounted.	1196162	15	11					
Loans on Deposits.....	907863	0	0					
Cash Account.....	257276	12	5					
Cash Credits.....	334420	0	0					
Salt Cansrs.....	228800	0	0					
Agra Bank, Bank Note Account.....	10800	0	0					
Government 5 per cent. Paper .....	217500	0	0					
Ditto 4 per cent. ditto.....	509100	0	0					
At the Bank of Bengal.....		0	14	1				
In Suspence Account.....	18643	4	4					
In Dependencies.....	187760	0	11		3868623	15	8	
					Sa. Rs.	4408505	0	3½
Debts—Due on floating deposit Accounts.....	779338	11	1					
Due on fixed ditto.....	547817	9	1					
Due on Cash Credit ditto...	120363	4	0½					
Due on Bills payable.....	946300	0	0					
Due on Bank notes in circulation.. ..	344077	0	0					
Due on Dividend of July 1832.....	825	0	0					
Ditto ditto January 1833...	2175	0	0					
Ditto ditto July 1833 .....	2700	0	0					
Ditto ditto January 1834....	5550	0	0		2718176	8	2½	
						1660328	8	1
					Sa. Rs.	1684004	6	0
Shewing upon original subscription of.....					1495000	0	0	
A profit of (exclusive of Dividends paid).....					165328	8	1	
						1660328	8	1

Cr. THE PROPRIETORS OF THE UNION BANK.

July 1—By balance of Account rendered to 31st December 1833 being amount of subscription for 598 Shares in the Union Bank.				1495000	0	0		
Add amount of apparent profit to that date.....	161633	7	4					
Less Dividend paid to Proprietors.....	44850	0	0	119788	7	4	1614783	7 4
June 30—By Discounts realized to this date.....	40209	2	1					
Less appropriable to the half year ending 31st December 1834.....	9267	10	9	30911	7	4		
By Interest realized to this date.....	7840	9	1					
Add due on outstanding Loans.....	6662	3	4					
Ditto on Government Paper	22815	12	0					
Ditto on Cash Credit Bonds.	2336	7	7					
Ditto on Cash Account and Salt Chauris .....	10665	10	10					
	50320	10	10					
Less due on Deposits, Cash and Cash Credit Accounts.	12041	3	6	38279	7	4	69220	14 8
				Sicca Rupees	1684001	6	0	

Errors excepted,  
(Signed) A. H. SIM, Accountant.

Calcutta, June 30, 1834.

It was then moved by the Secretary, seconded by Mr. Carr, and carried unanimously,—

II. That the accounts now submitted are approved and passed by this meeting; and that the books be closed accordingly.

The next resolution was moved by Mr. Cockerell, seconded by Mr. W. R. Young, and carried unanimously.

III. That a half yearly dividend at the rate of six per cent. per annum, being seventy-five (75) Sa. Rs. per share be now declared.

The following Report of the Committee appointed at the last meeting was then read :—

*Report of a Committee of Proprietors of the Union Bank appointed at a General Meeting, on the 15th January, to consider and report to the ensuing half yearly Meeting on the state of the Bank and the best means of continuing it with increased utility for a further period as resolved at the General Meeting of January aforesaid.*

Your Committee having assembled on the 4th February and chosen Mr. Cockerell to be its Chairman, proceeded then and at successive adjourned sittings, to consider the subject referred by the General Meeting of Proprietors for discussion and report.

The wide scope given to the deliberations of your Committee, namely—to consider the “state of the institution and the best means of continuing it with increased utility” naturally led us to arrange the various points open to enquiry into the following heads.

I.—To consider whether any and what changes in the manner of conducting the ordinary business of the Bank ought to be recommended for the special sanction of the proprietary body, apart from such changes as the Directors have the power of adopting from time to time.

II.—What, if any, specific alterations in the articles of the deed of co-partnership might seem necessary under changes of circumstances since the original indenture was drawn up.

III.—Whether any and what changes were desirable in the general constitution of the Bank, as a corporate or joint stock institution.

The first and second heads under this arrangement embrace matters that require equally to be considered and settled, whether the Bank shall preserve its present form of a joint stock Company or shall assume that of a chartered corporation. The third and last head, embraces the distinct question of charter or no charter.

1st. — On the first of the above heads for consideration—namely, alterations in the nature of our business and the manner of carrying it on,—your Committee has not considered it necessary on the present occasion to recommend any authoritative interference on the part of the constituent body, with the detail functions of the executive.

Independent of the general objections to such a course, unless where circumstances arise of a nature to render interference indispensable, it is to be borne in mind that by the constitution of the Bank an easy remedy is always open to the speedy correction of any abuse by means of the half-yearly meetings of proprietors (which by adjournment may be made as frequent as the majority pleases) and by means of the powers vested in any seven proprietors (out of more than 200 actual holders of 600 shares) to call and adjourn special meetings. A reference to the proceedings, since the commencement of the Bank, shews that the facilities originally provided for modi-



fyng the rules and articles have not been a dead letter ; on the contrary indeed, these have been applied to various important matters by the proprietors at their meetings, in like manner as lesser changes have been adopted in the details of business from time to time by the Directors.

But although your Committee dissuade from frequent or minute interference on the part of the constituent body with an executive freely chosen, and of whom one-third vacate their seats every year, nevertheless the present occasion of reviewing the system generally, is a fitting one for recommending a modification in one or two rules of practice which seem to require relaxation or rather explanation ; and which, being formally laid down in the partnership articles, require therefore the formal sanction of the proprietors to modifications proposed.

The first of these is also the 1st article of the present deed, and this the Directors represent to be disadvantageous to the Bank.

The article in question prohibits the lending of money on security of *real* property ; a restriction, in the propriety of which there seems only one opinion. But it has been construed by some to restrain the Directors from additionally strengthening the Bank (in cases of apprehended loss) by taking subsequent securities of that description over and above the personal or other securities already in hand, upon which advances had originally been made to parties.

It seems impossible that any such intent, manifestly to the detriment of the Bank itself, could have been really contemplated by those who framed the first article. But since the doubt has been started, your Committee recommend that a few words of distinct explanation be added to the article as it previously stood.

Another restriction which your Committee recommend to be modified is, that, in article 3d, which taken literally restrains the Bank from doing any business out of Calcutta itself. Although there is no immediate likelihood of establishing Branch Banks, yet with reference to that possible contingency, and indeed to a description of business mutually beneficial which the Directors are trying as an experiment by desire of the Agra Bank, it seems expedient to add to the above article 3d, a clause explanatory of the meaning which your Committee consider it expedient that the article in question be understood to bear.

The alterations in the above two points together with others to be noticed are added in the shape of proposed resolutions at the end of this Report.

2d.—On the second head of enquiry, namely, improvements to be suggested in the conditions and wording of the articles of partnership, your Committee have minutely revised the old deed under advice of your counsel on one or two points in particular, where it seemed expedient to leave no room for doubt or difference.

The few points on which any changes are suggested in the articles, follow this report in the shape of resolutions. We are assured by your law advisers that there is no occasion for any substituted deed or additional instrument whatever, on occasion of extending the duration of the Bank to a further period. Any resolutions adopted by two-thirds of *this* general half yearly meeting, (made SPECIAL for the purpose) and confirmed by two thirds of *another* general meeting (a month after,) SPECIALLY called for the purpose, do then become the law and constitution of this Bank, (under section 69 of our deed) in like manner as if they had been engrossed or executed with all the formalities of the original instrument. They are so many amendments enacted by the same authority, and in the same manner with the other modifications in the original provision, passed in the shape of resolutions at general meetings during the expired five years.

Some articles of the deed having become obsolete or superseded by alterations of subsequent date, may be considered and declared expunged. Such are sections 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11, relating to the return of the promissory notes of the shareholders for the (2,503 Rs.) moiety of *original* subscription.

Section 27th. relating to shareholders departing from India, requires formal notice of intention, and security for payment of eventual calls, under penalty of forfeiture.

This rule in the present thriving condition of the Bank at least, is impolitic, if it has the effect of deterring individuals going home from leaving their capitals invested in our stock to the real benefit of both parties. It seems superfluous moreover; as the requisite consent of three Directors with their signatures and the Secretary's to every transfer, always gave the Bank a practical veto in any extreme case, against improper transfer and evasion; while a sufficient security for any contingent liabilities of absent members is found in the value of their shares.

Your Committee, under the advice of your counsels Mr. Turton and Mr. Dobbs, have framed a precautionary resolution which seems right and reasonable, extending (under sections 29 and 32,) your lien upon the shares of all proprietors *under engagements as individuals with the Bank*. At present their shares are only liable to the Bank for debts actually become due; they will hereafter be liable under the new clause for engagements and debts *likely* to become due, at the expiration of the remaining term for which a bill or bond has to run before it can be considered *legally* overdue.

The remaining modifications your Committee has to suggest in the partnership articles are insignificant, and relate chiefly to the reduced amount of subscribed capital and shares, number of Directors, &c. &c. with exception however, to one alteration in article 36, by which proprietors in future may hold *fifty* shares instead of *fifteen*, with votes in proportion. Your Committee is not aware of any valid objection now subsisting against allowing individuals to hold fifty shares. Fifty shares now represent 1,25,000 Rupees, which amount exceeds that of the 15 shares, originally contemplated by the deed (or 75,000, Rs) by 50,000. The real increased interest thus recommended is not quite double the old, being as 5 to 3 only :—but so far from wishing now to restrain, your Committee desire to encourage individuals, in enlarging the present paid-up capital of the Bank; as there seems a fair field for enlarged and profitable employment of funds in good and safe discount business. In consequence of this augmentation of shares, it seems proper to extend the number of votes, proportionately; the following scale is therefore recommended.

For 15 shares.....	Five votes.
For 20 ditto,.....	Six. „
For 25 ditto,.....	Seven. „
For 30 ditto,.....	Eight. „
For 40 ditto,.....	Nine. „
For 50 ditto,.....	Ten. „

3d.—In regard to the third and last head of enquiry, touching the expediency of effecting any fundamental change in the constitution of the Company, the only question which had to be discussed was that of the charter, on which difference of individual opinion prevails in your Committee, as well as among the Directors, and in your own body; nor are we aware that any new or important light remains to be thrown on a question so often agitated. As the case now stands, the application for



a charter presented so far back as the year 1831 by desire of the proprietors, is still before Government; and the Directors have been since assured, on further urging the point, that a reference made to the Hon'ble Court of Directors still remains unanswered!

At your last half yearly meeting the state of this question was adverted to in the Director's Report, and it was suggested that if when the enlarged machinery for the Government of India came into operation (as it was then expected shortly to do) the majority of the proprietors should still desire a charter, a renewed application would have a better chance of success, unimpeded by the need for previous reference to England. That general meeting however did *not* come to any resolution on the subject of the charter, nor advert particularly to the notice taken of that question, in the Director's Reports: but it seems to have been understood that your Committee (then nominated) would again take up this important subject. Your Committee have done so, earnestly and diligently, and have finally determined that no recommendation on the subject of a charter be now made to the general meeting.

Your Committee observe that as the new Government has not yet been established, and may probably not be so for some time to come, no immediate opportunity presents itself for renewed application to obtain a charter. The question therefore does not appear to press urgently, and may perhaps more expediently be taken up at the next half yearly meeting of January 1835; unless a special meeting be called intermediately to determine this long pending matter.

On the general bearings of that question your Committee have little that is material to add to the brief statement of the main arguments on each side, contained in the Director's last half yearly report. To that statement perhaps may be added that no shareholder by the articles can sell out without the assenting signature of three Directors to the transfer; and further, that by one of the resolutions *above* recommended, under the II. head, the Bank has a lien on its proprietors' shares before any other creditor, not only in reference to actual debts due to the partnership, but to debts and responsibilities which the Directors might see cause to *apprehend*.

The following are the resolutions recommended by your Committee for adoption by the proprietary body:—

Resolved.—That the following modifications be made in the articles of indenture of the Union Bank, enumerated below,

to have effect from the expiration of the present period of five years.

ARTICLE 1. Add "*But that nothing in this article be interpreted to prevent the said Bank from taking any subsequent additional security of whatever sort which may be procurable, for the greater safety of the Bank, in cases where such precaution may appear necessary for better securing the realization of outstandings*"

ARTICLE 3. Add "*Provided also that nothing herein contained shall restrain the said Company from transacting business as above at other places within the British territories in India, where it may seem advantageous to establish Branch Banks, or to do business with local Banks established within the same.*"

ARTICLES 4, 5, 13. Substitute for "*five millions*" the words "*two millions and five hundred thousand*," and for "*five thousand*" the words "*two thousand and five hundred.*"

ARTICLES 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 may be considered as superseded.

ARTICLE 12. Substitute for "*five several promissory notes*" the words "*two thousand and five hundred sicca rupees per share.*"

ARTICLE 15. Add "*And it is further hereby provided that a list of the proprietors of the said Company shall be corrected on the first day of every month, and hung up in a conspicuous place in the Bank for general information.*"

ARTICLE 28. Insert between "*she*" and "*within*" the words "*or the Assignees or Trustees of him or her ;*" between "*shareholder*" and "*shall*," the words "*or Assignee or Trustee.*"

Substitute for "*so'd*," the words "*considered liable to be sold.*"

ARTICLE 36. Substitute every where for "*fifteen*" the words "*fifty.*"

ARTICLE 41. Substitute for all that follows the word "*July*,"—the following words immediately after—"in each year one third of the whole number twelve, namely, four Directors, shall relinquish their offices, such retiring Directors being those who have each served the longest time in the said office, since the period when each was last elected a Director."

ARTICLE 46. Substitute for "*seven*" Directors to constitute a meeting, "*six ;*" and for "*three*" to attend to daily business, "*two.*"

ARTICLE 51. Insert between the words "*Company*" and "*shall*," the words "*the Accountant, the Treasurer, and every person employed in the service of the Union Bank.*"

ARTICLE 53. Add "*And it shall be competent to the Directors of the said Company, and they are hereby empowered to authorize the endorsement on their behalf, of all bills and other paper for discount, and of all Government and other securities pledged for loans, to and by the Secretary to the said Bank in place of the Trustees.*"

ARTICLE 54. Insert between the words "*them*" and "*shall*" the words "*or of the Secretary to the Bank as empowered in the preceding section of this indenture.*"

ARTICLE 64. Add "*Provided always that on occasion of any great or special emergency, it shall be competent to the Directors of the said Company to summon an extraordinary meeting at such shorter notice as the case will admit.*"

ARTICLE 65. After the word "*ten*" (shares) strike out the words "*or more shares*" and insert these words—" *shares, five votes for fifteen shares, six votes for twenty shares, seven votes for twenty-five shares, eight votes for thirty shares, nine votes for forty shares, and ten votes for fifty shares.*"

Resolved,—In addition to the above alterations, that the provisions of the 29 and 32 sections of the deed of co-partnership be enlarged, and they are so enlarged hereby, as to include all liabilities which any shareholder, as drawer, maker, acceptor, or indorser, of any negotiable security, or as obliged of any bond, may be under, to the Bank; or any such security held by the Bank, and which, though they do not, at the time of the intended transfer or assignment, may eventually make him a debtor to the said Bank; unless notice of the transfer or assignment be given to the Directors of the said Bank before any of the said liabilities are incurred. And that it shall and may be lawful for the said Company to retain the share or shares of such shareholder, and to refuse to acknowledge any transfer or Assignment of such share or shares, so long as such liabilities continue; and it is further resolved that any debts which may eventually arise from such liabilities, shall in respect of the share or shares of such shareholder be a charge on such share or shares; and such share or shares shall be held by the said Bank, subject thereto in the same manner as if such share or shares was or were formally pledged to the said Company; and in case such shareholder shall refuse or neglect to pay such debts to the said Company, or to give security, for



the space of one calendar month next after a requisition in writing shall be made to him in that behalf by the Secretary for the time being, for all such liabilities as shall be outstanding, it shall be lawful for the Directors of the said Company, for the time being, upon such liabilities becoming overdue to sell the share or shares of the shareholders so refusing or neglecting as aforesaid, to pay or secure his said debts as aforesaid, rendering a just account of the proceeds thereof, in the manner provided for, in and by the 23d article of the deed of co-partnership of the said Company : And it is further resolved, that no shareholder of the said Company, so long as any such liability, or any such debt arising therefrom, shall continue, shall be at liberty without the consent of the Directors, to transfer or assign his share or shares in the said Bank.

R. H. COCKERELL.

H. M. PARKER.

W. H. L. FRITH, Lt. Col.

SAMUEL SMITH.

A. DOBBS.

WM. COBB HURRY.

RADAMADUB BANORJEE.

W. CARR.

A resolution was next moved by Mr. McLean and seconded by Mr. Dick extending the duration of the Bank for a farther period of ten years. An amendment was proposed by Mr. Hastie and seconded by Mr. J. W. Alexander, limiting the period to five years—but it was negatived by a large majority. The original resolution, with an addition made to it by Mr. Wight was then put and carried by a majority in the following form:—

IV.—That the Report of the Committee of Proprietors appointed to suggest arrangements for extending the duration of the Bank for a further term of years be approved, and that the Union Bank partnership be, and it hereby is, enlarged, in virtue of the 60th article of the original indentures, to a further term of ten years, from the first day of August next 1834, and that the said term of ten years limited for the duration of the co-partnership intended to be established, may at the expiration of the said period be, from time to time, enlarged to such further term, and in such manner as may be agreed upon by a majority of two-thirds of the votes of the shareholders at any special meeting to be convened for the purpose ; and that after

every such enlargement, the covenants, clauses, declarations, provisions and agreements, herein contained, and the rules and regulations made by virtue or in pursuance thereof, subject to the alterations and revocations in the next preceding article mentioned, shall be as binding and effectual on all the shareholders of the said Company, for such enlarged term or terms, as if such term or terms had been originally limited for the duration of the said Company.

It was moved by Mr. Dick, seconded by Captain Sewell, and carried unanimously :

V. That the various modifications in the several articles of the deed of partnership recommended by the Committee be adopted, under the provisions of article 68 of the indenture, and that another special meeting of proprietors be called on the 20th August, as therein provided, to confirm the same.

It was moved by Mr. Mackenzie, seconded by Baboo Prosunnoo Coomar Tagore, and carried unanimously :

VI. That the modification of articles 29 and 32 of the co-partnership deed be adopted, and those articles are accordingly enlarged hereby in the manner and terms recommended in the resolution drawn up by the Bank Counsel and appended to the Committee's Report.

It was moved by Mr. Wight, seconded by Mr. Hastie, and carried unanimously :

VII. That the nomination, by the Directors of Mr. McLean to act as a Director in the room of Mr. Browne, (who had proceeded to England) during the past six months, is approved and confirmed.

The meeting then proceeded to the election of four new Directors in the room of Mr. Wm. Carr and Mr. Wm. Bruce whose periods of service had expired; and of Mr. Wm. Smithson and Mr. R. H. Browne who had proceeded to England, when the following gentlemen were elected

Mr. ALEXANDER FRASER, firm of *Bruce, Shand and Co.*

Mr. JOHN MCLEAN, of the firm of *Shedden and Co.*

Mr. JAMES FERGUSON of *R. C. Jenkins and Co.*

Mr. RUSTOMJEE COWASJEE, merchant.

After which a vote of thanks to the Chairman was proposed by Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore, seconded by Mr. J. Mackenzie, and carried unanimously.

The meeting then broke up.—*Bengal Hurkaru.*

## CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

### REPORT BY THE GENERAL COMMITTEE TO THE SECOND MONTHLY GENERAL MEETING OF THE BENGAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

The General Committee presumes that it will not be considered intrusive on its part, to offer to the Second monthly General Meeting a few observations on the affairs of the Chamber.

The institution is of too recent origin to have allowed time for the performance of much, or even for the development of its capabilities.

The several Committees have all exhibited an alacrity in their respective spheres, that augurs well for the increasing utility, and for the permanence of the association. Time will disclose what ameliorations should be introduced into their construction so as to facilitate their operations, and to render these productive of most benefit to the public.

The General Committee, as its especial prerogative, exercises a due supervision over the proceedings of the sub-divisions of the Chamber. The minor bye laws for the internal administration, and the graduation of the fees to be levied from parties, are submitted for its sanction; and all matters of importance, and of a public nature, have to be referred to it, for consideration, and for ulterior directions, before the subordinate departments carry them into execution:—thus keeping up among the whole members to whom you have delegated the charge of your affairs, an intimate knowledge of all that is transacting; and securing a wider contribution of information, besides providing a salutary and constitutional check to regulate the workings of the several divisions, stimulating emulation on the one hand, and on the other guiding it from wandering beyond its legitimate province.

The Committee of Management anticipating that, after having adjusted at the commencement the internal economy of the Chamber, but little might remain for it to perform; and being willing, from the zealous interest it takes in the institution, to labor to uphold it, and to advance its resources, has thought of promoting this object by making its services available, with the approbation of the General Committee, for the revision or preparation of statements of insurance averages, keeping a register for the same—a change which is recom-



mended too by considerations distinct from that of profit, such as its confessed usefulness, and its necessary tendency, by the application of fixed principles to the details of adjustment, to remove the discrepancies inherent in the varying and conflicting practice which now obtains. As that Committee proceeds, it will be ready to dedicate its spare time to contribute, in such other way as experience may suggest, to further the objects, and to augment the resources of the Chamber.

The Committee of Correspondence has been a good deal occupied on the sundry subjects referable to it, and in supplying the opinions elicited. This presents an extensive field for the demonstration of its utility—defining rights—reconciling differences of practice—and gradually introducing a recognized standard of opinion. It has applied itself to obtain the removal of what the majority of this community have considered to be grievances; and it is endeavouring to compass an important desideratum, the establishment of uniformity in the dealings of the mercantile body. Other subjects of similar public importance will successively engage its attention, having undergone the examination of the General Committee; and their disposal, it is anticipated, will soon prove to you all, that this institution is well calculated to confer on the community essential services, which could not, by other ministration, be commanded. It has also placed itself in communication, with government; discharging a ceremony, in handing up a copy of your rules and regulation, and asserting a corporate function, in remonstrating against the observance of so many Hindoo holidays at the public offices. Both of the addresses have, as you will perceive by the official replies on the table, been received with courtesy and encouragement: and your political existence has been formally recognized.

The Committee of Arbitration, of course, will not be in regular requisition: and it is in the nature of things that resort to it should, in the beginning, be but hesitating and unfrequent. Confidence, which is of slow growth, must precede custom; but as that springs up, there can be no doubt that cases will be of tender submitted to this tribunal, whose judgments, rising in authority as they diffuse general satisfaction, and obtainable so promptly and so cheaply, will, it is but reasonable to reckon, attract and bring into vogue a free recourse to it in all mercantile questions. This department of the Chamber it is deemed of moment to support and cherish, in consideration chiefly of the signal benefit it is fitted to yield, in composing feuds and in

preventing costly, vexatious, and protracted litigation; and, also, as furnishing an unobjectionable source for the improvement of your pecuniary means, concurring with the accumulation of fees incident to the references to the Committee of Correspondence, to enable you to diminish the monthly imposts. With a view to render this extra-judicial tribunal more popular, measures are in progress to obtain a modification of Rule No. 17, defining the functions of the Committee of Arbitration. It is proposed that parties be allowed to challenge any of its members, the temporary vacancies so produced being to be supplied by and from the General Committee. Only two cases have yet been brought (one of them very recently) before this Committee. That which has been decided, was appealed to the General Committee, which confirmed the award that had been pronounced; but it is understood that there are several other questions in preparation for submission to it.

The principle observed in assessing the references to the Chamber, is, that, in comparison with what is done, the fee shall be very moderate. Up to the present time the aggregate is only Sa. Rs. 137 : but this affords no accurate data on which may be framed an estimate for the future, as time is wanted to shew whether or not these are to be reckoned as continuous, and susceptible of any and what progressive increasement. The Committee does however look with sanguine confidence to that source of supply. It rests mainly with you to realize its hopes. If you give a hearty co-operation to render the establishment prosperous, the period may not be distant, when, by the regular influx of moderate fees, it shall be able to maintain itself without any monthly contributions.

At present, as the Committee is yet without the requisite experience to enable it to compute the productiveness of future contingencies, and as it desires to avoid all hazard of entailing disappointment, it does not feel warranted now in doing more than stating its expectation that, by the ensuing month, circumstances will authorize it to propose the reduction of the rule of monthly subscription to 10 rupees.

You need not to be informed that, though on the whole, your numbers are extending, you are losing several by their departure from India : and you are aware that those dwelling in the interior are not required to contribute towards the current expence of the Chamber. Unless there should be a considerable accession of subscribers, you are not to count on there being more than about 75 resident members. At present there

are 68, which at 10 Rs. each would make the monthly amount of subscription 680 Rs. not more than sufficient surely, if indeed, it is sufficient, to pay your establishment, office rent, the supplies of newspapers, prices current, and other periodicals for the public room, and to meet the expence, heretofore very heavy of printing and advertisements. So that it is the revenue derivable from fees, that you must look for the means of reducing, and it may be, of altogether dispensing with the collection of monthly subscriptions.

The books of the Proceedings of the Chamber are daily placed during the forenoon on the public table, for the inspection of the members; and nothing would be more gratifying to the Committee, to offer a better earnest of ultimate success, that all the members of the society would frequent the Chamber, and maintain a full acquaintance with all its operations.

R. H. COCKERELL, President.

Chamber of Commerce, June 2, 1834.

## RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE BENGAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

ESTABLISHED 31ST MARCH 1834.

1st.—That such an association being intended to watch over and protect the general interests of Commerce, it is highly desirable not to recognise any principle of exclusion, and that all merchants or persons engaged in the general trade of Bengal, therefore, shall, upon payment of the Subscriptions and fees and signature of the Rules and Regulations, be admissible as Members in the manner hereafter described.

2nd.—That the Society shall be styled the “BENGAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.”

3rd.—That the objects and duties of the Chamber shall be, generally, to receive and collect information on all matters of mercantile interest, bearing upon the removal of evils, the redress of grievances and the promotion of the common good. To communicate with authorities and with individual parties thereupon. To take such steps as may appear needful in furtherance of these views, which may be done more effectively by such an associated body. To receive references on matters of custom or usage in doubt or dispute, deciding on the same, and recording the decision made, for future guidance. To form by that and other means a *Code of Practice*, whereby the transaction of business by all engaged



in it may be simplified and facilitated : and finally (should it be practicable,) to arbitrate between disputants wishing to avoid litigation, and willing to refer to, and to abide by, the judgment of the Chamber.

4th.—That candidates for admission, proposed by one Member and seconded by another, shall be ballotted for at the monthly General Meetings (as hereafter provided,) seven days notice being given by entry in a ballot-book to be kept for the purpose ; and a majority of votes shall decide the election.

5th.—That voting by proxy not to be allowed, nor by Members whose subscriptions, fees, &c. are in arrear.

6th.—That the Chamber reserves to itself the power of expulsion in case of need, to be decided at a General Meeting of the Members by ballot (as hereafter provided.)

7th.—That all resident partners of any house of business joining the Chamber, be required to subscribe as individuals.

8th.—That, to provide a suitable establishment, and to defray the necessary current expenses, a fund be raised in the following manner, viz. :

I.—By an entrance fee payable by each Member on admission of Rs. 100.

II.—By a monthly subscription of 12 Rs. from each resident Member (subject hereafter to an increase or reduction as by a General Meeting may be deemed necessary.)

III.—By such fines and fees on references, &c. as the General Committee (hereafter provided) for the time being shall settle.

9th.—That a *residence* at Calcutta, for an entire month at any one time shall subject a Member to the said Subscription, and on *absence* for 2 months shall in like manner exempt him therefrom.

10th.—That the business of the Chamber shall be conducted by a Committee ; and for the more efficient discharge of its various duties, as well as for the better equalization of labour, the said Committee be made sufficiently numerous to admit of sub-division, and that it shall consist accordingly of 21 Members.

11th.—That for the more general representation of all interests and all commercial establishments, as well as for the more equal distribution of duty, no two Members of the Committee shall belong to the same house, or be connected together in business.—And it shall be imperative on parties

elected to serve under penalty in case of refusal of double subscription for one year, when he shall be again eligible and in same manner liable to fine for non-service, unless in all cases a reason be assigned that is considered satisfactory to the General Committee for the time being.

12th.—That the Committee be elected by ballot, and at the expiration of one year, seven (7) Members shall go out by lot, and on the expiration of the second year seven more (of the original Members, of one year's standing,) and on the expiration of the third and of every succeeding year, at the annual Meetings (hereafter mentioned) the seven Committee men who have served longest shall go out by rotation. the vacancies thus occasioned being filled by election (as above.) That those going out be not re-eligible till after one year's expiration.—Other intermediate vacancies in the Committee shall be filled up at monthly General Meetings in the manner hereafter set forth.

13th.—That a *President* and *Vice-President* be chosen by ballot from the General Committee annually at the General Meetings (see Art. 27) re-eligible after one year's expiration.

14th.—That the *General Committee* be authorised to subdivide itself as follows, viz. :

I.—Into a "*Committee of Management*" of 7, a quorum to be 3.

II.—Into a "*Committee of Correspondence*" of 9, a quorum to be 5.

III.—Into a "*Committee of Arbitration*" of 5, a quorum to be 3.

15th.—That the President of the Chamber the ex-officio Chairman of the "*Committee of Management*," and that the said Committee do take charge of the internal affairs of the Chamber,—the controul of the establishment and expenditure,—the custody of the funds (under the restrictions of Art. 29) and the arrangement of Meetings, elections and so forth.

16th.—That the Vice President be ex-officio Chairman of the "*Committee of Correspondence*," and that the said Committee shall receive and dispose of all communications and references to the Chamber on general points within the scope of its objects ; shall investigate and report on all matters of a like nature brought before it, and settle, as far as it can, disputed questions of usage or right.

17th.—That the "*Committee of Arbitration*" shall appoint its own Chairman, and confine itself to the settlement

of differences between parties applying to it, as a Court of Reconciliation.

18th.—That the proceedings of the "*Committee of Management*" with the accounts of the Treasurer, are to be submitted to General half yearly Meetings (see art. 25); but not to be subject to the General Committee's confirmation.

19th.—That the proceedings of the "*Committee of Correspondence*" shall be submitted to the General Committee for approval and confirmation.

20th.—That the proceedings of the "*Committee of Arbitration*" shall be referred to the General Committee only in cases where either of the parties desire an appeal.

21st.—That the Chairmen of the respective Committees have casting votes.

22nd.—That the Records of the Chamber and the books of account be at all times open to the inspection of Members, under regulations and conditions to be arranged by the General Committee.

23rd.—That the General Committee duly elected be empowered to appoint subordinate office-bearers by ballot, the Chamber at large to have the right of displacing the same at the next following Monthly General Meeting, or at a special Meeting, (as provided for by art. 28.)

24th.—That Monthly General Meetings be held on the first Tuesday of every month, or on the next day after when that day falls on a Holiday.

I.—That an election of candidates take place at every such Meeting.

II.—That that proceedings of the "*Committee of Correspondence*" be laid on the table for the inspection of Members.

III.—That vacancies on the General Committee be filled up (as prescribed by art. 12.)

25th.—That on the sixth monthly or half yearly Meeting, and on every succeeding half yearly Meeting, the accounts of the Treasurer countersigned by the "*Committee of Management*" be submitted for inspection and approval, together with the proceedings of the Committee itself.

26th.—That at such half yearly Meetings (one month's previous notice being given) Rules may be framed, amended or revoked, as the majority of the Meeting, (and which shall not be less in number than a moiety of the Members then resident in Calcutta) shall determine.



27th.—That at the 12th Monthly or first *annual* General Meeting, and at every succeeding anniversary of the same, the Members of the Chamber shall elect (by ballot see art. 12,) Committee men to serve in lieu of those gone out by rotation ; also a President and Vice-president.

28th.—That *Special* General Meetings when called by ten resident Members, with one week's notice of the objects of the requisition shall be held, at which Rules may be altered, revoked or (formed but of which *one month's* notice is necessary as by article 26), Members may by ballot (the majority being equal to half the Members resident in Calcutta) be ejected, Office-bearers suspended or displaced, and such other business transacted, (of which due notice shall have been given,) as it may be competent for a General Meeting to do by the Rules of the Chamber.

29th.—That the *Funds* of the Chamber, as realized, be deposited in the “ Union Bank ” available to the calls of the Treasurer by cheques countersigned by the President or Vice President for the time being, and on the Balance amounting to *One thousand* Rupees, the same shall be invested in Government Securities in the names of the President and Vice-President for the time being.

30th.—That funds arising from entrance fees shall, (if possible), be set apart as a *reserved fund* for permanent objects, such as the formation of a Library, the purchase of furniture, and so forth.

And that the produce of subscriptions, fees, fines, &c. only be applicable to meet the current expenses of the Establishment.

31st.—That a *Secretary* be appointed (see art. 23) on a monthly salary of 300 Rs. in the first instance, who shall act under directions from the Chairmen of the respective Committees, and take charge of the Correspondence, the records of proceedings, and the preparation of references ; officiating as *Treasurer* in the collection of Subscriptions, fees, &c. the supervision of accounts, with such other duties as may hereafter be necessarily allotted to him. Daily attendance (Sundays excepted) from 10 A. M. to 5 P. M. to be required of him, and an entire abstinence from all private business.

32nd.—That in event of any question arising as to the construction or application of any of the foregoing Rules, the General Committee be empowered to decide the same, submitting the matter at the next Monthly General Meeting for approval.

33rd.—That the foregoing Rules when finally agreed to be printed for general use and guidance, an authenticated copy being subscribed to by each Member on admission, to be kept with the records of the Chamber, and another to be forwarded to the Secretary to Government, and to such other authorities abroad as it may appear desirable to make acquainted with the institution of the Chamber.

### NEW BENGAL STEAM FUND.

#### *Further Report of the Sub-Committee to the General Committee of the New Bengal Steam Fund.*

In continuation of the hasty report sent in by us on the ninth day of May, we have now to state to the General Committee the result of the further enquiries which we have thought it our duty to make.

We have directed our attention chiefly to three points ;—the state of the engines and boilers on the departure of the vessel from Calcutta—the cause of the accident,—and the capability of the boilers to perform the next intended voyage.

Upon the first point we have little more to report than what must be already known to most of the members of the Committee, as forming the grounds on which they originally recommended and adopted the vessel as calculated to perform the voyage to Suez.

On the 30th of April 1833 she ceased to be employed as a Tug, for the purpose of enabling the Trustees of Messrs. Mackintosh and Co. to have her closely examined, and, if necessary, thoroughly repaired, so as to enable them on sale to warrant her machinery and engines in complete order. She had some time previously been repaired by Messrs. Jessop and Company in consequence of an accident to the boiler, (the only one of importance she had ever met with ;) and on examination in July 1833, the machinery and boilers were reported fully equal to two years' work ; notwithstanding this the Trustees determined upon having any part of the boilers which were in the least deficient replaced with new copper, and the boilers made equally throughout ; this was done with other minor repairs, under the superintendence of Mr. Dayus, our present principal Engineer, at an expence of Sa. Rs. 5,000, and when the vessel recommenced running in December 1833, there was no reason to doubt that she was in every way capable of performing any work for at least three years. No accident of any nature

whatever occurred to her during the short period that she was subsequently plying in the river, till the 1st of March 1834, when she was delivered over to the committee; at which time, deducting the periods she was under repair, she had only run three years and eight months from the time she was launched.

Her fitness for a sea going vessel is further confirmed by a report which was given by the Company's Surveyor in March 1833.

In March last she was taken into dock, when her boilers were further examined and cleaned. There is no foundation whatever for the surmise which has reached us that the spaces under the flues were not completely cleaned. The evidence fully establishes that whilst in dock the aft front mud holes were opened, and all mud sediment removed from the boilers and the flues, and water passed through the bottom of the boilers; no defect was then found in any part of the *boilers* or flues, and the blowing off pipes, and others connected with the *former*, were ascertained to be perfectly clear and open.

On her return and upon a minute examination, the bottoms of those flues in which the accident occurred, were found considerably thinner than the rest of the copper. It was in the immediate vicinity of this part of the boiler that the principal Engineer was employed when the repairs already spoken of were done: so near indeed that any defect must have betrayed itself while the surrounding work was going on, had it then existed. This matter will again be noticed; but we are fully satisfied by the evidence we have taken, and the reports which have been made, that the disproportionate weakness, now remarked in these plates, did not exist when the vessel left the river; that in point of fact the injured boiler was then in as good a state as the other boilers which are now certified by Messrs. Jessop and Co. as capable of lasting with proper care two or three years without requiring any repairs; and we have no hesitation in giving it as our opinion, after a very minute investigation into this branch of the enquiry, that the vessel went to sea in perfect order and fully capable of performing the voyage. No expence was spared to make her so in every respect; whatever was considered necessary or desirable for the use of the engines and machinery, together with duplicates of many parts most liable to wear, and spare apparatus, was supplied; and a changing pump was suggested, but considered unnecessary by the engineers with reference to the means of blowing off originally provided.



With regard to the cause of the accident, actual examination of the boilers and flues, and all the evidence which we have had it in our power to obtain, confirm the opinion we have already expressed in our former report, that the injury sustained in the larboard after boiler was solely attributable to the formation of salt in that boiler and the pipes connected with it.

When it is borne in mind that in proportion as salt is formed in a marine engine boiler, water is displaced from underneath the flues, and from the deep and narrow intermediate channels of the boiler, it will readily be understood that where the saline deposit comes extensively in contact with portions of the flues, it soon gets intensely heated and hardened by the flame of the furnaces drawing through them, leaving such portions then unprotected by a due supply of water, not less, or rather more, exposed to injury than they would have been if the same current of flame had been allowed to pass through the flues before water had been admitted to the boiler. An injury of this nature is familiarly known to every one in the case of an empty copper vessel accidentally left on a brisk fire; so situated it is known that in the course of a few hours it will be found diminished in thickness and ultimately partially rent or entirely burnt through.

The formation of salt may *possibly* have been occasioned by some accident stopping the blowing off pipes and connecting pipes; we cannot however suggest any as *probable*, and we feel compelled to report that in our opinion the formation of salt was occasioned by a want of regular and sufficient blowing off, at least with respect to the larboard after boiler, which, from the additional heat applied to it from the construction of the flues, required peculiar attention to the regularity of this operation.

The flame of four furnaces draws through part of each of the three after boilers,—but the larboard after boiler sustains this heat in a nearer stage, and consequently in more force, than any of the others; hence the generation of steam and concentration of the salt water proceed more rapidly in it than in any other of the boilers. This may not have been borne in mind by the Engineers; but, even were it not, we are fully satisfied that (as in the China and Masulipatam voyages of the vessel), regular blowing off would have prevented the accident.

We think it our duty to state to the committee that we have experienced insurmountable difficulty in getting any satis-

factory or consistent account upon this point from the Engineers. We have been in a great measure compelled to form our opinion upon statements so contradictory and conflicting that it is impossible to reconcile them; there is an evident reluctance in the principal Engineers to endeavour to get rid of any portion of the blame which he knows must attach to him as the head, by accusing the 2nd Engineer of inattention or neglect on this point. He feels, as we cannot but feel also, that however any other Engineer may have neglected his order, the consequences rest with him alone. It is stated by all the Engineers that the orders of the principal Engineer were, that the blowing off should take place every six hours—we know no reason why this act should not have been confided to Mr. Lowder, the 2nd Engineer, of whose talents we have received from many quarters, and entertain ourselves, a high opinion. But whether it was so confided or not is left a matter of doubt, which in the discrepancies and contradictions that pervade the evidence, particularly that of the two junior engineers, we are unable to determine; we can only say we are satisfied that this was not done regularly every six hours.

We may here observe that, either the fourth or fifth day after leaving the Pilot, the principal engineer proposed stopping for some hours to screw down the engine packings. It may be considered unfortunate that this was done; for in that case he would have taken the opportunity of examining the boilers, which after the engines had ceased working might have been most efficaciously blown off; but in consideration of the delay which it would have created, and the state of the engines not absolutely requiring it, and there then existing no suspicion that salt was accumulating, or that any thing was wrong—the proposal was abandoned. It also appears that an interval of 24 hours in the middle of voyage occurred, during which Mr. Dayus considered it advisable not to blow off in consequence of the vessel being as he considered too much by the stern. It appears to us that this, which may have been the very principal cause of the accumulation of salt, proceeded from an unnecessary and ill-judged degree of caution; for it was fully demonstrated to us that the vessel never having been more by the stern at the utmost than one foot, the blowing might have taken place in any trim in which she was during the voyage; at least by blowing off more frequently and less at a time. We think it but fair to Mr. Dayus the chief engineer and Mr. Lowder the second to state, that they seem

throughout the voyage to have shewn the utmost activity, zeal, and attention in every other department of their duty, and to be persons most fully competent to the respective situations which they fill. Mr. Dayus is confessedly amongst the best engineers of the port, and Mr. Lowder is fully competent to the entire management of the engines; nor can we refrain from noticing reports that have reached us of the injury being intentional to give the unequivocal declaration of our belief, that there is not the shadow of ground for an insinuation so injurious to the character of the engineers.

We have moreover much satisfaction in stating, that during the whole voyage the utmost harmony seems to have prevailed between the Commander, Officers, and Engineers; and that all being fully confident of the capability of the vessel to perform the voyage, all were alike anxious to promote its success.

From Captain Forth, the officers, and gunner, we have received with readiness every information they possessed.

In entering upon the third head to which we have directed our attention, we should perhaps apologise for having in some degree gone beyond the objects of our appointment; but we considered this so intimately connected with the other points which we have noticed, that we trust the Committee will not think our observations on this head useless. On a close examination of the flues of the larboard after boiler, subsequent to our last report, it was discovered, as we have noticed under the 1st head, that some of the plates of copper in the bottom of its flues were so reduced in thickness as not to be relied on. This rendered it necessary that this boiler should be taken out of the vessel and removed to Messrs. Jessop and Co. to be thoroughly repaired; these repairs are now in rapid progress. The Committee are aware that no part of the flues of bottom plates which were reduced in thickness gave away at the time of the accident: but suspicions having been suggested that injury of a similar nature might be found in the other boilers, the whole of them were closely examined at our request by various competent persons and among others by Messrs. Jessop and Co. who report them to be fit for two or three years work, in which they are fully confirmed by the boiler-makers and others who have examined them. On the best consideration therefore which we can give to the reports and opinions which we have received, we think the conviction we have already expressed fully warranted, that the thinness



of the plates of the flues in which the accident occurred, was, as before described occasioned by the same cause which led to the rents in the angles of them—that is—by exposure to the action of the flame while the spaces under and between the flues were choked up with salt, and deprived of access to the water which otherwise would have carried off the excess of heat.

It is however to be remembered that so far from having been entirely burnt through, the bottom plates of the flues of the injured boiler, stiffened by their angle pieces, retained strength enough to resist a force that broke rivets and tore up plates unquestionably of sufficient size and thickness. On these grounds, and from what we know of the previous state of the boiler down to the time of the vessel quitting the river, and from the statements of the principal and 2d Engineer, both of whom were in charge of the engines from the time of her repair, we are of opinion that the thinness of the copper in the bottoms of the flues is fully accounted for by the accident which occurred, and any suspicions of further defects which the discovery of this one may have occasioned, are entirely dissipated by the result of the investigation to which it gave rise.

When the repairs now in progress shall be finished (and the rapidity with which they have hitherto proceeded confirms the hopes of their being completed in the stipulated period of two months) the whole of the boilers, according to the opinion of those best able to judge, will be equal to at least from two to three years' constant work, and of course in our judgment, fully competent for the two voyages for which the steamer is engaged by the committee.

It has already been mentioned that as ample means for blowing off the boilers had by their manner of construction been originally provided, the engineers previous to the departure of the vessel, naturally regarded the proposition for the introduction of a changing pump as involving an unnecessary expence. To obviate, however, the possibility of future accident of the nature that has occurred, a changing pump worked by one of the engines will now be attached to the boilers, and is in progress with the sanction of the committee.

This, by the regular removal of the more concentrated water, will render the blowing off through the pipes at the corners of the boilers (unless occasionally as matter of precaution) superfluous.

The boilers however will still be supplied with the same means of blowing off as heretofore, and we recommend that the strength of the salt water in them shall be regularly tried in every watch in the presence of the officer on duty by means of an Hydrometer, and entered in the log on the report of the engineer, to ascertain that no accident interferes with the working of the changing pump. In the very improbable event of its not acting, the ordinary mode of blowing off should again be resorted to, and be regularly performed every watch, in the presence of the officer of the watch, and entered in the log, or the reasons for omitting it, in case it should be deemed advisable by the principal engineer, shall be entered in lieu and he shall be responsible for such duty being regularly performed by himself or his subordinates in every watch, and the particulars of it being duly reported to the officer on duty, for the purpose of being by him entered in the log.

In addition to these precautions, a stop cock will be fitted to one of the connecting pipes at the back of the boilers, so as to prevent the water from the starboard or larboard one passing to the other when the vessel makes a heavy roll. Of the necessity for this we are not fully convinced, but being suggested by some in whose opinion we have confidence, and the expence being inconsiderable, we are induced to recommend it as a precautionary measure.

The repairs to the boilers are at the expence of the assignees of Messrs. Mackintosh and Co., and the cost of the changing pump and some other trifling additions which will not exceed a moderate amount will be defrayed by the committee. When the whole shall be completed, we know of no means which can be taken to render more secure the performance of the voyages intended; the engines, machinery, and boilers will be in perfect order.

We submit to the committee the evidence and the reports and documents which we had before us and from which the committee will in some degree be enabled to correct the judgment which we have formed.

(Signed)

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J. PRINSEP,

W. J. FORBES,

T. E. M. TURTON,

J. KYD.

Calcutta, 18th June, 1834.

I fully concur in the above report except in one point which I would concede did it not appear to me to involve injustice to an individual. It is in effect said, that no disobedience of the orders of the chief engineer Mr. Dayus by Mr. Lowder the 2d engineer can relieve the former from the blame, which it is said, he himself knows must attach to him as the head engineer. This direct imputation of blame to Mr. Dayus results from the facts of the case. It is clear that the formation of the salt arose from the want of sufficient blowing off, and that it was Mr. Dayus's duty and business to take care that so important a matter should be regularly attended to. Under these circumstances, however, painful it may be, we are warranted in directly imputing blame to Mr. Dayus, but I do not think we are justified in insinuating that blame may attach to Mr. Lowder the 2d engineer:—which I think is done in the following words. “There in an evident reluctance in the principal engineer to endeavour to get rid of any portion of the blame which he knows must attach to him as the head by accusing the 2d engineer of inattention or neglect. On this point, he feels, as we cannot but feel also, that however any other engineer may have neglected his orders the consequences rest with him alone.”

It seems to me scarcely just thus to insinuate possible blame against Mr. Lowder in assuming the existence of reluctance on the part of Mr. Dayus to accuse him of neglect of his orders. For my part I see no such evident reluctance,—as I certainly see no inclination, but if such reluctance does exist which also presumes that Mr. Lowder did neglect Mr. Dayus's orders and thereby is in his degree responsible for the injury, Mr. Dayus ought to be told that such reluctance is wholly misplaced, and at variance with his duty. He is bound to make known to us such misconduct on the part of his subordinates in a matter so important as much as Capt. Forth would be to report misconduct in his officers. Such a course on the part of Mr. Dayus, if he has grounds for accusing Mr. Lowder, is, I think, imperiously called for in justice to Mr. Lowder. As the matter now stands there is no direct accusation against Mr. Lowder which he can fairly meet, but, as it appears to me, just that degree of insinuation of all others the most difficult to be repelled.

This being my feeling and having a high opinion of Mr. Lowder's activity, zeal, and devotion to his duty, I cannot



give my assent to the insinuation of possible blame which I consider is conveyed in the paragraph in question.

It may be proper that I should state the above memorandum is founded on the proceedings as they are recorded. Doubtless, much took place which from my infirmity I am necessarily ignorant of, and I by no means say, that I might not, had I heard all that passed, have seen reason to concur entirely. Indeed, as I stated before, I should not have hesitated to concede this point, did I not feel that it induced injustice to an individual as the matter came home to my breast.

C. B. GREENLAW.

I cannot allow this minute to pass without saying that in signing the report I meant not to insinuate but to express my opinion that Mr. Lowder had been guilty of neglect of the orders to blow off, which he agrees were given; and I signed the report because I thought, though Mr. Lowder is a most industrious, hard working, and talented young man, that his evidence shewed he was wholly unworthy of credit, and that Mrs. Dayus did evince a marked reluctance to blame any one.

T. E. M. TURTON.

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**PROCEEDINGS OF A PUBLIC MEETING OF THE  
SUBSCRIBERS OF THE NEW BENGAL STEAM  
FUND, HELD AT THE TOWN HALL, CALCUTTA,  
THIS DAY, THE 5TH JULY, 1834.**

Lieut. Col. Beatson in the Chair.

The Secretary to the Committee having read the Report of the Committee, it was—

Proposed by Mr. McFarlan, seconded by Mr. Greenlaw—

That the Report now read be published and that a copy of it, together with the accounts and the detailed evidence referred to in the Report be left at the Town Hall for general inspection from 10 to 12, for one week, (afterwards to be available at the Secretary's Office), and that this Meeting be adjourned to the 2d day of August next, when the Report will be taken into consideration.

W. S. BEATSON, Chairman.

Town Hall, Calcutta, 5th July, 1834.

*Report of the Committee of the New Bengal Steam Fund to the Subscribers at a Meeting held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 5th July, 1834.*

It is with feelings of no ordinary regret that the Committee meet the Subscribers to the New Bengal Steam Fund on this occasion. They had fondly hoped, that at this, the half-yearly meeting, they would have had to congratulate their constituents on the arrival of the *Forbes* in the River from Suez after a successful voyage. The causes which have led to the failure of their hopes, have been published in the several papers of the Presidency in the Report of the Sub-Committee appointed to investigate them. Those Reports, together with the several Letters and Sub-Reports of different competent individuals on the boilers, are herewith laid upon the table, and submitted to the Subscribers at large for their information on the topics, which the Report embraces. Though concurring in the general sentiments expressed by the Sub-committee and adopting their views, the General Committee, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, have not thought it expedient to take any steps which might have interfered with the arrangements made for the immediate departure of the *Forbes*.

The failure having in no degree arisen from the inefficiency of the vessel herself, or that of her boilers or machinery, and the necessary expenditure for the three voyages, as well in regard to the vessel's hull and machinery, as the supply of the several Depots with coals, having unavoidably been incurred, the Committee have had no hesitation in at once determining to prepare the vessel for her second voyage. They would have been glad if this could have been effected so as to have kept the periods of departure quarterly; but as this could not be done, they have fixed the earliest day for which they have assurance that she will be ready. The Committee will not conceal from the meeting, that their regret at the return of the *Forbes*, without completing the voyage, is greatly enhanced by the reflection that she had a clear road before her—that having nothing to fear either from opposing winds or seas, there was every prospect of her reaching Suez—even before the strong northerly winds down the Red Sea set in—while for her return she would have had throughout a fair wind. The Committee would not disguise from themselves or the Subscribers, that the coming voyage is that on which the capabilities of the *Forbes* will be put to the severest test;

but they feel every confidence, if nothing beyond what they are prepared to expect shall occur, that she will be found fully equal to perform it and, that she will establish the practicability of maintaining Steam Communication with Europe throughout the year.

The measures which have been adopted to obtain the ulterior and permanent establishment of the Steam Communication are known to the Subscribers. It may not, however, be out of place to record them shortly in this report, at the suggestion of the Committee. His Excellency the Governor General has recommended to the Honourable the Court of Directors, to grant an annual premium of three lakhs of Rupees for five years, to parties engaging to maintain a communication by Steam between England and the three presidencies four times a year, the contractors receiving the postage and all other emoluments, conveying alone the public despatches to and from India for the above premium. The Committee have endeavoured to stimulate the Mercantile Community and influential individuals in Great Britain, connected with India or interested in Steam Navigation, generally, to unite in urging on His Majesty's Government and on the Honourable Court the adoption of His Lordship's recommendation, and they have themselves earnestly appealed to the same authorities in favor of it.

It is true, that the success of the first voyage of the *Forbes*, if she had been met by a Steamer on the other side of the Isthmus, would have tended greatly to promote the ulterior measure; and the failure is, therefore, on that account, also to be deplored. But when the Committee reflect on the vast importance of the measure; when they remember that as yet it can be scarcely considered to have engaged the serious attention of the Home Authorities; and above all, when they bear in mind the powerful recommendation of the Governor General, and the universally expressed wishes of the people of India, they cannot for a moment doubt the eventual establishment of a perfect and comprehensive communication.

The accounts also are laid on the table for the inspection of Subscribers. The total amount subscribed up to this date is Sa. Rs. 166,018-9-3, of which have been realized Sa. Rs. 155,838-0-10, leaving Sa. Rs. 10,180-8-5; from which is to be deducted on account of Hoondees and Bills on hand Sa. Rs. 292-12-6, and on account of difference between sicca rupees subscribed and sonat rupees paid Sa. Rs. 3385-8-3, minus Sa.



Rs. 74-1-8—Hoondean, leaving uncollected subscriptions from 194 Subscribers Sa. Rs. 6626 5 4 as per accompanying list market A\*

To the collected sum is to be added the net amount interest, viz. Sa. Rs. 655—making a total of Sicca rupees 1,56,493-0-10. Of this sum there remains on this date Sicca rupees 45,183-13-3,† shewing an expenditure of Sicca rupees 1,11,309-3-7, the general disbursement of which may be stated as per margin;‡ but of this expenditure there is recoverable from Government on account of the hire, insurance and establishment of the steamer, about Sa. Rs. 22,000, including the insurance for three months from 1st July; which being added to

* Unrealized,.....	Sa. Rs. 10180 8 5
Deduct Hoondee and Bill,.....	Sa. Rs. 292 12 6
Difference between Siccas and So-	
nate, .....	Sa. Rs. 3335 8 3
Minus Hoondean	74 1 8
	<u>3261 6 7</u>
	<u>3554 3 1</u>

Sa. Rs. 6626 5 4

† Company's Paper, with interest,.....	Sa. Rs. 40,479 10 6
Cash,.....	4,704 3 9

Sa. Rs. 45,183 13 3

‡ Advanced for Mr. Waghorn's passage, Sa. Rs.	4,000 0 0
Coals. 710 Tons, at Judda,.....	20,360
600 ..... Socotra, .....	16,037
500 ..... Galle, .....	10,000
Despatch of 85 Tons of Coal from } Bombay to Babelmandel, .... }	2,103 .....
Expences of fitting the <i>Forbes'</i> Hull and Machine- } ry, generally, for the whole number of voyages, }	18,622 0 0
Expences incurred on 1st voyage, including } moiety of Insurance, .. .. . }	26,086 0 0
Moiety of Insurance from 1st July, for three } months,..... }	5,016 0 0
Printing Charges, .....	2,628 0 0
Secretary's office, including stationery, &c. ....	1,238 0 0
Paid Messrs. Gillanders, Arbuthnot and Co., on } account of Agent at Galle..... }	1,000 0 0
Advance on account to Agent } at Juddah,..... Sa. Rs. }	1,260 0 0
His Salary for four months,.....	800 0 0
	<u>2,060 0 0</u>

Advanced to Capt. Ross, .. .. .	1,050 0 0
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Sa. Rs. .... 1,10,200 0 0

Actual Expenditure .....	1,11,309 0 0
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Expended on Sundries,.....	Sa. Rs. .... 1,109 0 0
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the above sum of Sa. Rs. 45,183, gives an assets of the Fund Sa. Rs. 67,183. From this sum there is payable Sa. Rs. 18,595,\* leaving assets Sa. Rs. 48,588, with stock to the value of Sa. Rs. 1,000. Of the unpaid subscriptions, it is expected that Sa. Rs. 2,000 may be yet realized. It is to be remembered that the above expenditure covers nearly the whole of the demands on the Fund for the three voyages, the chief current expenditure, viz. on account of hire, insurance and the establishment of the Steamer bearing borne by Government, the Fund having to provide alone for the material required for the working of the machinery,—namely, oil, tallow, hemp, &c. for the shipping of the Coal at the several Depots which is the heaviest expence, and for the other trifling expenditure of the vessel.

By Order of the Committee of the New Bengal Steam Fund,

C. B. GREENLAW, Secretary.

Town Hall, Calcutta, 5th July, 1834.

## ROMAN CATHOLIC MEETING AT MADRAS.

*Proceedings of a Public Meeting of the Roman Catholic Community held on Monday evening the 2d June, 1834, by permission of Government and pursuant to the Sheriff's notice at Popham's House in Black Town.*

On the motion of Mr. D. Gomes, seconded by Mr. M. James, Mr. A. K. Bantleman was called to the chair. He opened the business of the evening by observing that the shortness of the notice he received, that he should have the honour of filling the chair which has been so kindly conceded, has certainly put it out of his power to be quite prepared for the occasion, he therefore would merely state to them the object of the meeting and would make but a few observations as they occurred to him.

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• Balance of Freight,			
To Juddah,.....	Sa. Rs.	6,390	
Socotra .....		5,000	
Galle,.....		2,466	
	Sh. Rs.	13,856	0 0
Estimated balance of Expenditure in sending 85 tons of Coal to Babelmandel,.....		1,800	0 0
Charges at Madras per accepted Bill,.....		2,939	0 0
	Sa. Rs.	18,595	0 0

Gentlemen, continued the chairman, the object of the present Meeting is to submit to you the result of the proceedings of a few zealous individuals, who took upon themselves to form an association for the purpose of devising some means, whereby to supply a want now very generally felt and most deeply lamented by a large portion of the Catholic community of this place. Gentlemen, the want I allude to, is no other than the want of English preachers to administer the comforts of religion to a body now become so numerous and forming such a large branch of the Catholic Church—in the very first beginning of christianity the author of our salvation,—that fountain of light and infinite wisdom saw the necessity of sending forth preachers to instruct his people in the truths of divine revelations and to communicate to them the graces of eternal life. The Catholic Church following the example of its Holy Founder have continued from time to time to send out Ministers to different parts of the globe, instructed in the languages of the people to whom they were sent to administer religious comfort; but, it is seriously to be lamented that this part of the world has for several years past been supplied with pastors whose want of the knowledge of the only languages with which the people of this country are conversant, have rendered their religious labours extremely circumscribed, if not altogether useless; and the Catholic community have been deprived of that inestimable blessing the hearing of the word of life preached to them in a known language. Gentlemen, you must all be fully convinced that though the blessed Sacraments are administered, and books of religious instructions distributed, yet the powers of declamation issuing from the pulpit are very often not less conducive to prepare the mind for receiving the impressions of truth, and turning towards the paths of righteousness—able and elegant preachers may by their excellent sermons make as much impression upon the minds of the flock committed to their pastoral care, as a Demostheness or a Cicero did on a whole nation by their persuasive orations. Gentlemen, it was a knowledge of all these facts that induced those few individuals, to whom I have already adverted, to take upon themselves the glorious burden of devising such means, as they deemed best for procuring English Ministers for the Catholic community of this place; and the result of the several meetings which they had, and repeated consultations which they held, with very respectable people, who could best advise them on the subject, has been a determination to memorialize the



British Parliament, with the sanction and support of the kind and liberal Government under whose auspices we now thrive, praying that the spiritual want which we now so much feel, may be supplied to us with the same kindness, as the spiritual wants of our Protestant brethren are attended to, knowing as we do, and which we will most boldly maintain, that we are not in the least behind hand with them in obedience, attachment, and every other good feelings towards the authorities under whom it has pleased Providence to place us in common with them. Gentlemen, in accordance then with the determination so formed, a Memorial has been prepared, which is about to be read and submitted to you. It is for you, gentlemen, to approve of and adopt it, and to join both hand and heart in forwarding the object contemplated. Gentlemen, there may be a few among us who may perhaps think that, we may fail of success, that our application may not be complied with;—but I must truly confess that I see no reason why we should despair. Gentlemen, the goodness of the cause we are embarking in will speak volumes for us, and procure us the powerful and irresistible advocacy of that powerful God who is able to turn the hearts of our superiors in our favour; every undertaking may have its difficulties at first, but perseverance will surmount them. It is for the want of perseverance, gentlemen, that many undertakings have failed. The road to Canaan is through the wilderness; and it is by perseverance alone that we must accomplish our journey and arrive at the promised land of milk and honey. We are bent, gentlemen, upon a goodly thing. Let us therefore not despair, but only look up to God for success and unceasingly exert all our endeavours towards the accomplishment of our object. But, Gentlemen, why speak thus much. Happily for us we are placed under the auspices of a truly generous and benevolent Government, who will undoubtedly countenance our application. Exert then, gentlemen, and let us not slumber in the dispondency of hopelessness. Let us seek, and we shall find, let us knock and it shall be opened unto us. Gentlemen, I believe I have said enough to awaken your feelings in favour of the business for which we have been this day assembled, and may God the controller of all human transactions prosper our proposed undertaking and crown us with the realization of our present hopes.

The Secretary having been requested to read the Memorial, the following was submitted for the adoption of the Meeting.

TO THE HONORABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED  
KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN  
PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED,

The humble memorial of the  
undersigned Roman Catholic  
inhabitants of Madras,  
and the provinces subject  
to the Presidency of Fort  
St. George, in the East  
Indies.

Humbly Sheweth,—1.—That your memorialists are all of  
the Roman Catholic religion, professing and believing in one  
and the same faith.

2.—That many of your memorialists are persons of dis-  
tinction, moving in the higher spheres of society, and feel the  
want about to be complained of, equally, with their brethren  
who walk in the humbler shades of life.

3.—That your memorialists have always been, and are at  
present steadfast in their allegiance to the Crown of Great  
Britain; and have invariably proved themselves faithful and  
loyal subjects, ever since the establishment of British rule in  
this quarter of the globe.

4.—That your memorialists have felt deeply and yet borne  
patiently, the extensive evils which have hitherto resulted from  
the want of a Catholic Priesthood well initiated into English  
literature, to afford religious instruction, and inculcate the prin-  
ciples of morality, into the minds of the numerous flock entrusted  
to their spiritual care.

5.—That the English language is, the only language suffi-  
ciently familiar to your memorialists, and is more commonly if  
not chiefly used by them, in all their public and private rela-  
tionships.

6.—That the Catholic Priesthood of this place, is almost  
exclusively composed of Clergymen of the Italian and French  
nations, and of natives of Goa, (the metropolis of Portuguese  
India,) who speak Portuguese fluently, but who are not ac-  
quainted with the English language to any degree to enable  
them to extend the sphere of their spiritual usefulness to that  
large fold of Christians, which has been committed to their  
charge; and who now look up to your Honorable House for  
the realization of one of the most ardent wishes they have ever  
entertained.

7.—That a great portion of your humble memorialists is composed of East Indians, who living under the English Government, and knowing that one of the chief requisites in them for being enabled to aspire to offices which are to constitute the sources of their livelihood is, an acquaintance with the language of those under whose auspices they thrive, neglect the study of the Portuguese language, and make the English chiefly the medium of communication.

8.—That for the want of Ministers who can impart the comforts of religion, through the means of the only language which is so generally understood, numerous Catholics live in a state of irreligion; and, at the awful moment of death, quit this earthly abode without any of those spiritual graces, so necessary to their eternal salvation.

9.—That your memorialists though at present excluded from the enjoyment of similar privileges, view with pleasure and heartfelt gratitude, those acts of His Majesty's and the Honorable Company's Governments, which afford the means of moral and religious instruction to British subjects in India, who are of the Protestant and Presbyterian faith, through the channel of a well educated and well maintained English Clergy; and your memorialists go pregnant with the most sanguine hope that, the same benevolence and liberality which have induced those Governments to bestow such a blessing on one portion of their subjects, will also induce those to extend it to the other, who have done nothing to lower themselves in the scale of comparison, with their at present more favoured fellow subjects, or to forfeit their right to an equal share of indulgence and protection, from those whom they acknowledge as their legitimate rulers.

10.—That your memorialists in conclusion, beg to state that, the grievances they now complain of, have been witnessed and borne testimony to, by several European travellers of great knowledge and experience, who have visited India, and have always felt for the unhappy situation of the Catholic people in this part of the world, as regards their spiritual welfare.

11.—That your memorialists humbly pray therefore that your Honorable House will of its wanted liberality and justice be pleased to take your memorialists' case into due consideration, and supply the want they at present so much feel and lament, by causing Roman Catholic Clergymen to be sent out from the United Kingdom, and maintained in India; thereby extending to your memorialists advantages similar to those al-



ready conceded to their Protestant and Presbyterian brethren, who are both together by far less numerous than your memorialists are.

And your memorialists as in duty bound will ever pray.

The 1st resolution, viz., "That the memorial now read be approved and adopted," was moved by Mr. M. Peryra, seconded by Mr. D. Gomes, and carried unanimously.

Mr. T. G. Clarke next addressed the chair. He commenced by observing that the resolution he shall now have the honor to submit to the meeting for adoption, was only put into his hands that morning. He came therefore before them not so fully prepared as he could wish. Indeed, Sir, proceeded this speaker, the object for which this meeting has been convened—as a true Catholic I declare it is paramount to the fleeting and transitory concerns of time—it has a reference to the happiness of man in this life and in that which is to come! Judge, then, Sir, what must be the state of my feelings, when I cannot do justice to *this* subject, commensurate to its vast magnitude and importance. I however feel satisfied so far, that you have anticipated the greater part of what I had to say on the subject, and it only now remains for me to congratulate the Catholic community on the prospect which the present proceedings offer, of their realizing at a no distant period the unanimous wish of the great body of the Catholic persuasion. The motion which has been put into my hands I can have no objection whatever to propose to this assembly for adoption. The support of Government to our memorial may be fairly anticipated. Time was, Sir, when to be a Catholic was to be an outcast and a refuse of society. But the same principles which have produced those astonishing revolutions in the political sentiments of mankind, which are considered justly the glory and boast of the present age, have also chased from the haunts of civilization the spirit of intolerance and persecution; and, Sir, as an example of the triumph of principle over prejudice. I refer this meeting to that clause in the present Charter, which provides at the expense of the State, religious instruction for all sorts and denominations of Christians. I have never, Sir, taken any active interest in the political discussions of the times. I now step forward purely in the sacred cause of religion, which is the paramount duty of every man to promote. But I have silently watched, Sir, the progress of political events, and I declare it as the honest conviction of my mind, that no country—no clime—no people in modern or ancient

times have lived and flourished under so liberal a rule as that of the Honorable East India Company. The same spirit and liberality pervade and give life to the whole machinery of Government both at home and abroad, and whatever others may say to damp the ardour of our expectations, this community which owes much to the administration under whose fostering care it has hitherto flourished, will support me when I assert that no reasonable request of ours—forming as we do a part of the great body of British Indian subjects—can meet with any other result than a hearty and cheerful compliance. Fully impressed, Sir, with these sentiments, I beg to propose—

2d.—That this meeting deems it incumbent on the Catholic community prior to the submission of their memorial to Parliament, that Government be respectfully solicited to give their undertaking that aid and support necessary to ensure success."

The above resolution was seconded by Mr. J. D'Vaz, and unanimously carried.

On the motion of Mr. G. R. Mayers, seconded by Mr. E. D. Arachy, it was unanimously resolved,

3rd.—That a Standing Committee be formed for the transaction of future business, and that, it be designed "The Catholic Memorial Committee."

Mr. P. C. Cassin moved, seconded by Mr. Baptist, and unanimously resolved,

4th.—That the Standing Committee consist of the following gentlemen, among whom a President and Secretary be chosen" ; viz.

Mr. A. K. Bantleman,

„ R. Scawen,

„ D. Gomes,

„ M. Pereyra,

„ P. D'Celes,

„ G. R. Mayers,

Mr. A. D'Silva,

„ T. G. Clarke,

„ E. Bilderbeck,

„ A. Defries,

„ L. D'Fries, and

„ F. D'Monte.

On the motion of Mr. A. Rodrigues, seconded by Mr. Texeira, it was unanimously resolved,

5th.—That Mr. P. C. Cassin's name be added among the Committee."

Mr. F. D'Monte at this stage of the proceedings stepped forward and stated that, the proposed address to Government was ready for submission to the meeting. The address was put in and read.

On the motion of Mr. P. Paten, seconded by Mr. M. James, it was unanimously resolved,

6th—"That the Letter to Government be approved and adopted."

On the motion of Mr. Rencontre, seconded by Mr. Gilles, it was unanimously resolved,

7th—"That a deputation from among the Catholic body wait on H. Chamier, Esq. Chief Secretary, with the address to Government."

On the motion of Mr. Texeira, seconded by Mr. D'Arachy it was unanimously resolved,

8th—"That the following gentlemen be requested to wait on the Chief Secretary with reference to the last resolution :

Mr A. K. Bantleman,  
,, R. Scawen,  
,, D. Gomes,  
,, M. Pereyra,  
,, P. D'Celes,  
,, G. R. Mayers,

Mr. A. D'Silva,  
,, B. Paten,  
,, T. G. Clarke,  
,, P. C. Cassin,  
,, M. James, and  
,, F. D'Monte.

On the motion of Mr. D'Rozario, seconded by Mr. Texeira, it was unanimously resolved,

9th.—"That the thanks of this meeting be offered to those gentlemen, who prepared the Memorial, and who have voluntarily and zealously undertaken the cause of the Catholic community."

On the motion of Mr. Santineer, seconded by Mr. D'Sena it was unanimously resolved,

10th —"That the thanks of the meeting be proffered to Arthur Rowlandson, Esq. Sheriff of Madras, for his kindness in convening the same."

On the the motion of Mr. F. D'Monte, seconded by Mr. T. G. Clarke, it was unanimously resolved,

11th.—"That the thanks of the meeting be proffered to Messrs. Towend and Co. for their kindness in allowing it the use of their room."

On the motion of Soondaroy Moodelly, (a highly respectable Native Catholic,) seconded by Mr. D. Gomes, it was unanimously resolved, and carried by acclamation,—

12.—"That the thanks of the meeting be offered to Mr. A. K. Bantleman for his able conduct in the chair.—*Madras Herald, June 7.*



REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF A MEETING  
HELD AT MUSSOORIE, RELATIVE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CITY AND GENERAL SEMINARY OF EDUCATION AT BUDRAJ.

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The gentlemen residing at Mussoorie and Landour are earnestly solicited to attend a public meeting at the house of Major Oliver at Mussoorie, at 12 o'clock on the 19th instant, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of forming a town, public seminary of education, and a club house at Budraj, for the general benefit of society at large. Plans and proceedings will be submitted at the meeting.

Mussoorie, 9th May, 1834.

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In consequence of the above requisition a public meeting took place at the house occupied by Major Oliver on the 19th instant.

Colonel T. Young having taken the chair, a prospectus of a plan for the formation of a town and public seminary was laid before the meeting.

PROSPECTUS.

It is proposed that a general seminary of education be instituted at Budraj to be denominated the "United Service Institution." The reasons which render this mountain more eligible than others are, first, its vicinity to water carriage, its facility of ascent, and the advantage which it holds out for the settlement of artisans. The Jumna is navigable from near the base, the ascent is easy, and a carriage may be prepared such as to bring the produce of the plains in the course of six hours up to the place selected for the institution. The height of the mountain according to Captain Herbert is 7,500 feet, and the plain selected may be reckoned at 7,300. Iron works are now carried on at its foot near the ghaut, and large quantities of timber are annually exported from thence to the different stations on the banks of the Jumna. The rapid fall of the river also affords a power of manufactories beyond what may be required for a long period, while a road may be cut along the course of the Jumna by which the raw materials of the Hymalyas may be brought to this spot or to the plains. For the above purpose the first step appears to be to found an English town for officers and European artisans. The ground being taken, the portion for the institution to be first selected, the remainder intended for streets to be planned out and plac-

ed under the management of owners of allotments. The town to be named after Lord Brougham the ardent and indefatigable supporter of extended measures for the dissemination of knowledge and improvement. Each street as it is commenced, to receive the name of a distinguished living individual who may appear to have made the most important discoveries in the arts and sciences; the whole regulations of the new city to be vested in the owners of allotments at first as a general assembly; secondly, as separate committees; and as the number increases, through means of representatives.

The proprietors of the allotments shall agree under such penalties as may hereafter be determined on, to build a house of such materials, size, front, and form as may be settled on when planning out the streets, to be completed under certain penalties within a given time, or funds for the purpose of fulfilling the engagement secured in the hands of the building committee.

The same committee who will be appointed by the general assembly of owners of allotments, to be likewise agents for the sale or letting of houses and each owner, renter, or temporary resident within the township, shall sign an agreement to subject themselves to such regulations as the general assembly of proprietors may from time to time deem expedient. A register office to be established for all servants within the limits of the townships, as well as for the sale or transfer of standing property; also of births, deaths, and marriages. The proprietors in each street may form separate bodies for lighting and watering their respective divisions, the minority to be governed by the majority. Public works to be as speedily commenced, two of which may be mentioned as instances,—a United Service Club House and a Hospital for Infants.

In whatever way the funds are raised for the former, the first object should be to place it on such an economical plan as would induce the greater number of individuals to take advantage of it. The second is to make every individual pay a percentage over and above the actual expences, the proceeds of which fund should be applied to a Museum, Library, or other public purposes; in a word, to cause each institution to produce another. The Hospital for Infants to be established, if possible, during the present season, and such arrangements made through the aid of the medical officers at intermediate stations, that a child on being taken ill during the unhealthy months may be consigned to the charge of from one medical man to another

until its arrival by dawk at the sanatorium. This being intended as an English city a number of objects must be at once determined on, as these improvements which may be easy at the commencement will become daily more difficult with the encreasing population and conflicting interest of the community. The first point would appear to be the expediency of teaching each child of a certain age, within the limits of the township, to read and write the English language; 2dly, the improvement of the servant will engage the attention of the assembly. In order that artisans may follow their business with advantage, it is indispensably necessary that these should possess honest assistance and that a reasonable quantity of works should be obtained at the least possible expense. For this purpose industry, honesty, and economy must be fostered from the first commencement of the city, and regulations enacted and persevered in, notwithstanding the numberless difficulties which will undoubtedly attend so important a reform. English or European artisans to be procured according to the extent of capital and advantages the situations hold out. Encouragement to be given so as to induce these to embark in their several pursuits, on condition of teaching their different trades to a certain number of apprentices, who shall be bound to serve them for definite periods. A board of trade to be established for the encouragement and protection of new trades and undertakings. The president of the council to draw up for public information a detail of the progress of the city, and of all regulations which the assembly may from time to time deem it necessary to enact. Assemblies or committees of proprietors to be public, and the attendance thereon of members considered paramount, compared with every other pursuit. A charter to be as soon as possible solicited from the Government, and such other assistance with regard to public roads, &c. as may be deemed advisable.

The public seminary of education to be, as far as possible, on the plan of that proposed by the Agra Committee in their report regarding the Military Orphan Institution. There should however be, as soon as possible, five boarding houses for the pupils. No. 1 for infants of both sexes, from birth till five years of age. Nos. 2 and 3 for male and female respectively under ten years of age. Nos. 4 and 5 for young men and young women respectively above ten years of age. The boarding masters and mistress to have the charge of food, clothing of the children, to watch over their morals, but saving to superintend the performance of their task, not to be



employed as teachers in the institution. The servants to speak the French and English languages. The control to be vested in shareholders; the executive management in the resident shareholders in the city, and a *Senatus Academicus*. The shareholders to contribute 120 Rs. by monthly instalments of 10 Rs; each proprietor of allotment in the city possessing a vote, and each parent who may have a child at the institution shall for the time being possess shares for each child so sent for education, that is to say, the management of the institution shall, as far as possible, be placed under the parents of the pupils. An annual lottery to take place, the profits of which to be solely directed to the benefit of the institution. An urgent appeal to be likewise addressed on the above subjects to the Board of Control, soliciting that the Government may be authorized to aid us in promoting the above object, and to authorize the Government to pay such a salary as will induce one of the first scientific men in Great Britain to come out for the purpose of being at the head of the institution. The patronage to remain with the home Government, and the individual to be relieved every 5 years. This person besides being president of the *Senatus Academicus* to superintend all scientific enquiries in the Hymalya mountains, and with the assistance of the other officers to publish a report of the same annually for the information of the world.

Dr. Henderson here rose and addressed the meeting as follows:

Gentlemen,—You have already perused a rude outline of the means recommended for your consideration with a view to the formation of a town and public seminary of education at Budraj. The general details, which must afterwards require to be extensive and minute, will be gradually prepared as required, but there is one portion which demands your immediate attention, viz. the tenure of fixed or landed property; the leading principles on which I found my proposal are, first, unanimity is power; secondly, that that power is increased by concentration. In an enterprize like the present to commence aright is easy, but to commence on the contrary with a view of afterwards reforming, would evidently have the effect of raising obstacles in our path, to overcome which would speedily be found impracticable. My first proposal is by far the most important, forming the basis of liberty and opening a way for the correction of errors and for steady progressive improvement. I propose that the general assembly be supreme, and that the

votes in it be vested in the owners of the permanent houses. The vote to be inalienable from the estate, the privilege to remain however dormant, should a jury or arbitration determine that the individual was or had rendered himself unfitted for holding a place in the assembly. I here submit to you the rough outline or draft of an allotment tenure, and trust the certificate which binds the individual to submit in all cases while residing within the limits of the township, to abide by the decision and regulations of the general assembly, will meet with your approval and support, it is the only portion of the scheme which I should wish to remain permanent, all other portions I trust to see in a constant state of modification and improvement. Not only should owners of temporary leases be called on to enter into a similar agreement, but all others residing within the limits of the township should be required to register themselves under the same bond of union. With such a power what may we not accomplish, without it the whole scheme becomes almost as a vision, or at least, its accomplishment could scarce be anticipated within the brief span of human existence. The measure is easy at the commencement, and I trust, we shall be able to show the power that can emanate from a few combined in an enterprize from which general utility may be expected.

The second description of allotment for temporary or thatched houses requires likewise your attention. Were the ground permanently given way to individuals for the above purpose, it would interfere with regularity; concentration would not take place, and as before remarked in the ratio of concentration, so must be the power. Provisions increase in price in the inverse ratio of concentration, and the obstacles to manufacturing do the same, still on the other hand, temporary habitations may at the commencement of the town be for long extremely useful to the community, provided they be considered in all cases merely as temporary. In particular I would recommend them for the seminary, considering that every rupee expended on fixed buildings for that purpose as detracting from the power of placing the proposed institution on an independent and efficient foundation. Build I would say for the day, considering each house or apartment as necessarily to be removed when time has been allowed to shew the extent required. First, prepare the essential portions of an institution, and instead of expending money on buildings which would afterwards be found insufficient for your purpose, collect

teachers, pupils, books, or whatever is necessary for instruction, and when you are at length called on to erect permanent structures, you will find far less difficulty in collecting the capital required and completing your object than in raising your present temporary habitations, however rude and inadequate they may appear to be. When you have collected your pupils —when you can estimate exactly what rent you can afford to give for capital, will not Government come forward to lend you the amount that may be necessary, or will not capitalists be induced to invest their funds in erection of buildings, which would afford them an adequate and certain return for the amount invested?

Recurring again to the object of temporary buildings as residences for the inhabitants. I propose that the owners should have no vote in the assembly, unless likewise possessed of an allotment in the regular streets; that only leases of fifteen years be granted, but that should the ground not be required for public purposes, at the expiry of that period a further lease of fifteen years on the same terms may be granted, no renewal however of these leases should be valid until within six months of the expiry of the lease, for it is unjust that the present members of the general assembly should take from their successors the power of making such improvements as they may deem requisite, their information being improved by time.

The lease may be resumed for public purposes by the general assembly or their delegated authorities, within the term of fifteen years, on paying the value of the property which is to be assessed by arbitration, the individual being at liberty, should he dislike the valuation, to remove the materials. At the termination of the lease the materials to belong to the renter, and to be removed by him within two months, should he not have received a renewal of the lease; otherwise to be sold for his benefit.

The building committee to prepare such terms for the fulfilment of the lease as from time to time may be deemed expedient.

Proposals of weekly markets, bazars, shops, factories, &c. will soon require minute attention; but more particularly the regulations intended to be adopted with regard to trade.

The settlement of weights, measures, and currency must



likewise be speedily settled. Indeed the regulation with regard to the above ought to be as speedily as possible be made public for the merchants and tradesmen. Credit should be real, and neither doubtful or fictitious. In order to render the greatest quantity of capital available for commercial purpose, all impediments preventing its being applied direct, and not through the agency of a third party should be removed, adjustment of differences should be made easy, rapid, cheap, and certain. I repeat, credit should be real, not fictitious, the necessity of secrecy in trade is a prejudice requiring to be exploded. The solvency of a firm ought to be put to the test at any time under certain regulations. Books might be balanced yearly, and assessors elected who should declare on honor, annually that they consider the individual solvent or the contrary. With a certificate of insolvency, demands for cash payment which the individual could not with advantage comply with, without a sacrifice of property to the injury of his creditors; might be legally suspended; the creditor in such cases receiving adequate remuneration for the delay. In cases of insolvency, by proper regulations, accounts might be settled on the spot without references to the Supreme Court. Firms or trading bodies should only be answerable for the amount of their shares, but the managing partners should be liable to the other shareholders for the proper employment of their funds, and in cases of failure, such managing partners should require to be absolved by a jury before being considered free from this claim. Disputes of persons within the township should be settled by assessors or arbitration, and residents beyond the township should be able to claim the same privilege on assenting to abide by the decision, indeed this should be a preliminary agreement before opening accounts with persons beyond the township.

I now beg to submit to you a portion of the correspondence which has already passed on this subject. The letter from Colonel Young claims your first attention. I feel extremely anxious that we should possess a certain quantity of the ground at the highest ghāt of the Jumna, which I consider to be Nyhur. Boats come up to this place; the water is deep; but the stream contains a number of rocks and is in some places very rapid, requiring considerable care in the navigation. We also ought to possess a considerable portion of the Jumna above this, for factories; here no steam engines

a e called for, a power far beyond what will be necessary, is at command, and available at all seasons. This subject however must be submitted to a committee; and I trust Colonel Young will not delay putting us in possession of such ground as may be required, removing the doubts which might sometime hence arise from some expressions contained in his communication.

Colonel Young's letter and the following draft of tenure were then submitted to the meeting.

*Tanna Toongan, 4th May, 1834.*

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge your letter under date the 28th ultimo, requiring a public document from me, such as will enable you and individuals combined with you to commence building and other operations, towards the completion of public spirited and praise worthy objects, of which you have favored me with an outline, and I beg to assure you in reply, that every assistance which in my public capacity I can afford shall be cheerfully granted.

At present I can only say that you possess the right exercised by others of taking in any quantity of ground which is not already occupied for the purpose of cultivation or as *gotes* or grazing land; should either of them come within the limits of your proposed boundary on the Budraj hill, it will be requisite for you to enter into a written agreement with the zumeendars to whom the land at present belongs, which should be sent to my office at Deyrah along with the zumeendar for the purpose of being registered. As known all the waste land in the Dhoon, of which the southern face of Budraj forms a part, belongs to Government, I have the power of letting it to you, on the moderate terms of the existing settlement (detailed in the margin) of which seven years are still unexpired. In consideration however of the laudable purposes for which the ground is required, the great advantages which its successful establishment would ensure to Government as well as to society at large, and calculating the heavy outlay which it would in its infancy entail on its public spirited originators, I should consider it my duty in forwarding your plans and wishes to Government, to recommend that a portion of ground sufficient for the purpose you propose, be granted in perpetuity either rent free or on very moderate terms. I expect to reach Deyrah about the 15th instant, when I shall be

happy to furnish you with any further information you may deem requisite.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,  
T. YOUNG, Lieut. Col. Agt.

1st year  $\frac{1}{2}$  an anna per bazar catchee.

2nd year 1 anna.

3rd ditto  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ditto.

4th ditto 2 ditto, at which it remains till the expiration of the settlement.

*Draught of a tenure of allotment.*

A. P. has signed and registered before us an agreement of which the following is a copy, and has received from us the allotment No. —, in ——— streets on the conditions hereafter detailed.

*Copy of the agreement.*

A. B. hereby binds himself, his heirs, executors, &c. to abide by the voice of the general assembly or their deputed authorities, in every thing connected with his property within the limits of the township, in every thing connected with his own conduct, while residing within the aforesaid limits, and that he shall consider it is his bounden duty to support the authority of the said assembly by every legal means, he also agrees that no transfer, temporary or permanent of the fixed property within the said limits shall take place, or be considered valid without the individual to whom the property may be intended to be transferred, having previously entered into a similar agreement.

Witness his signature,  
A. B.

C. D. } Trustees for granting allotments.  
E. F. }

*Terms on which the allotment is granted.*

A. B. his heirs and successors is to commence building a house on allotment No.—, street ———, with a front of the materials, size, &c. and in the situation pointed out in the plan furnished him by the allotment trustees on or before the ———, or deposit the sum of Rs. ———, before the ———, with the allotment trustees for the above purpose; otherwise the property to be forfeited.

2d.—A. B. is to have half finished the above house, furnishing a certificate from the allotment trustees to that effect, or to have deposited a sum with the allotment trustees for the



above purpose, otherwise to pay a fine of Rs. ———, and should the certificate not be furnished to the delegated authorities within three months from the above date, the grant to be forfeited and the materials sold for the benefit of the proprietor, deducting the above fine.

3d.—A. B. is to have completed the above house, furnishing a certificate to that effect from the allotment trustees to authorities delegated from the assembly, or to have deposited a sum with the allotment trustees for the above purpose, within a period of ———, or to pay a fine of rupees ———.

An additional fine of rupees ——— shall be levied for every two months delay, and should any of these fines remain unpaid for four months, the building at the same time not having been completed the materials collected shall be sold for the benefit of the proprietor, the fines being previously collected from the produce of the estate.

4th.—A land rent of rupees ———, shall be paid.

5th.—A. B. his heirs or successors possessing the above property, having previously entered into the agreement of which the above is a true copy, shall have one vote in his own person, at first as member of the general assembly while residing within the limits of the township, unless he be considered an unfit individual to sit in that assembly; when a jury of citizens may render the claim dormant until the property shall have passed into other hands, should however the general assembly at any time consider their numbers too large and agree to diminish them by the election of representatives. A. B. is to possess a vote for these, not subject to the previous limitation of lying dormant, but the representative chosen may, at any time be removed from the assembly by the above process; viz by a verdict of a jury of citizens duly elected by the authority of the general assembly.

6th.—In all matters connected with lighting the streets, bringing water, &c. the allotment to be subjected to the orders of the general assembly, or the delegated authority of a committee composed of the whole of representatives from the street owners.

Dr Henderson's letter to the Bishop of Calcutta was then read.

My Lord,—The subject on which I write will I feel assured, be considered as a sufficient apology for addressing you, and also for obtaining your powerful support and assistance. Our object is to establish a public seminary of education on

the mountains, beside the nearest navigable point of the Jumna, for the children of European officers, such as was proposed for the Orphan School some time since. The general outline of education will probably be the same as that recommended in the report of the Agra Committee, modified according to the means and circumstance at command. Different boarding masters to be attached, under persons whose business shall be to watch over the food, morals, cloathing, &c. of the children. The first boarding masters or mistress to be for infants from birth to 3 years of age, the 2d and 3d for boys and girls respectively under 10, and 4th and 5th, for young men and young women respectively above that age. The management to be lodged in shareholders, say of 120 rupees each; shares to be transferable: but individuals to possess a share for each child at the institution. Thus the power will be lodged in the father of families, the executive in a committee resident on the spot and a Senatus Academicus. The superintendent of the institution if possible to be a salaried servant of the Government; a man of science selected from the first class in England, as an instance I would mention Dalton. In an unexplored country like the Himalayah mountains, such an individual with proper assistance and support, would an hundred fold repay the expence which would be necessarily incurred.

Regarding religion I would propose that the pupils be brought up in the tenets of their fathers; those of the Church of England should consequently be considered as under your Lordship. The boarding masters to attend to whatever regulations in the subject you might judge expedient. Each sect however, in proportion to their numbers and the means at command, to be as soon as possible furnished with a pastor. I am of course anxious to know whether I may expect the aid of the Government, not that I should ask for it at present, but that I might submit, step by step, the means it may be necessary to take for carrying the plan into execution.

Perhaps the Government might transfer the school for native doctors to this place; anatomy can only be studied with advantage in a cold climate while the hospital of Landour is available for practice. It is my desire to establish this season a hospital here for infants, for instance a child is dangerously ill during the unhealthy months at Cawnpore and is sent by dawk to hills; the Surgeon at Minpooree to receive it during the day, and in the same way Surgeons at Allyghur, Bocludshire, Meerut, and Soharanpore to protect it until its arrival at

the hills. In this manner I conceive a large proportion of the mortality may be avoided. Pardon the abruptness of my communication, sanguine, and earnest in my pursuits I address myself to you, as one who will cast forms aside and enter with the same spirit into my views for the accomplishment of a noble object.

I remain, your Lordship's most obedient servant.

J. HENDERSON, *Surgeon*.

Budraj, near Landour, April 25, 1834.

The Revd. Mr. Proby then rose and addressed the meeting.

Mr. President,—Permit me to say a few words in answer to Doctor Henderson. Gentlemen,—I think, that is I am sure, the proposition by Doctor Henderson is very praiseworthy. I have been in the country nine years, and I intend to fix my residence for life here (loud cheers by Mr. Torrens.) Though I have many, that is some friends in England, the casualties of late have been very great. I like this country, having been 8 years in this country. I have a partiality for it, and if they would pay me, I should like to go to Budraj as it is all the same where I go, provided I am paid (Loud and repeated cheering.) The regulations proposed by Mr. Henderson appear very excellent, but some of them too deep for my comprehension. I am a very simple man, and have not given the subject that consideration which Mr. Henderson has. I do not see why these regulations should not be applied immediately to Mussoorie. (Loud cheering.)

Gentlemen, I have made out some memorandums regarding Budraj, which if you will allow me, I shall read to you (Hear, hear, by Mr. Torrens.)

*Memorandums for Budraj.*

A man cannot live in the wilderness on air, neither can he subsist on pleasant prospects without bread, the staff of life ; I would therefore wish to know what a man is to do at Budraj. I have a bungalow at Mussoorie and none at Budraj. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. (Loud and general cheering.)

Gentlemen,—I do not wish that this meeting should disperse without doing some thing, and therefore I propose, for the benefit of Mussoorie, that a subscription be immediately opened to make pukka reservoirs for water.

Doctor Gray, Assistant Surgeon Deyrah, rose to state that he considered it very extraordinary that Mr. Henderson



in his letter to the Lord Bishop had not explained the whole of his plans, and trusted that that gentleman would be able to give a satisfactory explanation of his reasons for so doing.

Mr. Henderson replied that he had communicated only those parts of the scheme which were within the department of the Lord Bishop, further he had not deemed it necessary of expedient.

Mr. Gray then wished to know how it was possible to find inhabitants for the new city.

An officer stated in reply that that question appeared extraordinary. Since Mussoorie had been founded, that from personal inspection the ground was better suited than Mussoorie or Landour, that stone and water were procurable, and brick and mortar could be manufactured in an exactly similar manner to that adopted at Mussoorie.

Mr. Fraser remarked, you land-holders at Mussoorie have come here for the purpose of opposing this scheme because you dread the consequence of its success. I too am a land-holder, I come here to support it.

The Revd. Mr. Proby having now submitted his motion of thanks to the meeting, the chairman objected, until Mr. Henderson's proposition, regarding which the meeting was called, should be first decided on. Mr. Henderson's first proposition was then read.

Proposition No. 1 being put by Dr. Henderson, seconded by Major Oliver, no votes were given *pro* or *con*, on which Mr. Proby's amendment "That the meeting do vote on the feasibility of the plan as proposed by Dr. Henderson being put, the show of hands was 9 for and 16 against. The question as to the practicability of the undertaking being thus negatived, the further propositions were of course quashed.—*Mofussul Ukhbar, May 31.*

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## THE DURRUMTOLLAH BAZAR.

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The want of a proper, cleanly, commodious and easily accessible Meat, Fish, and Vegetable Market in Calcutta; has been a subject of frequent and just complaint, but hitherto no plan of a feasible or plainly practicable character has been submitted for remedying the deficiency.

The locality of the present Market is allowed on all hands to be exceedingly inconvenient for the public in general, and it is well known to be kept in such a filthy state that but few

can venture to visit it, or walk through its disgusting lanes for the purpose of making up the day's bazar. This being notoriously the case, it is to be hoped that the following plan will be found to be sufficiently simple and practicable to meet with such general encouragement, as may secure to the Inhabitants of Calcutta an airy, clean, and conveniently situated Market. The circumstances of the times are such that it must be very desirable for most people to be able to choose their own bazar instead of entrusting the task to knavish Kansamahs who are generally in league with some of the Bazar Bunneahs and Sircars to cheat them. By attention on this head, there can be no doubt that a third at least of the daily expense to which families are put, through the roguery of their own Servants, would be saved. It is therefore proposed, in accordance with the wish expressed by several influential Members of Society, to circulate the following Prospectus for general consideration :—

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*Prospectus for Establishing a well Regulated Meat and Vegetable Market on the plan and principles of the celebrated new Market of St. John's, Liverpool, as far as applicable to this Country.*

1st.—That in order to secure as much as possible the combination and good will of the European community to the success of the undertaking, it is proposed to divide the whole property, ground, buildings, &c. into shares and to diffuse the interest in the concern as extensively as possible to fix the amount of each share so low as Sicca Rupees 125.

2nd.—The situation of the Market would be that piece of ground at the corner of Durrumtollah Street and Chowringhee Road, which its central position between Calcutta and Chowringhee, and the great command of water it possesses from the large Tank and aqueduct, renders the most eligible spot perhaps in the whole city for such an establishment; it consists of 6 beegahs of ground on which are 3 ranges of godowns on the Durrumtollah road and a long range on the Chowringhee road including a small range just now building. The centre is occupied by a columned building for a Fish Market with one adjoining; one-half of which is on columns and is intended for Vegetable and Fruit stalls and half is made into godowns; 4 long ranges of thatched sheds with covered passages and well beaten mud floors for the Meat stalls, 2 long

double ranges of tiled houses for Rice Merchants, Fowl sellers, Moodies and the various other occupants of a Native Bazar, and contains in all 139 godowns and 6 small door shops varying in size from 15 by 9 to 6, feet square; 95 tiled godowns 18 feet by 9 to 7 feet by 6, 72 stalls for Buchers 8 feet by 8½, 24 stalls for Fowls, &c. 6 by 7½, Fish Market with terraced floor 71 feet by 63, Vegetable and Fruit market 71 feet by 33, and 4 Bakers houses each 24 feet by 14, and an upper room over the centre godowns for an Office.

3rd.—The property has been surveyed and valued by competent persons at Sicca Rupees 1,35,000 calculating original purchase money, the improvements and additions now in progress for the purposes of the Bazar, and first risk. This would make the number of subscribers necessary to fill up the scheme 1080, but the proprietor himself is willing to retain in his own hand 480 leaving 600 to be filled up.

4th.—That the management of the Bazar shall be entrusted to a Committee, chosen by the shareholders, assisted by a Clerk of the Market and proportionate native establishment to be determined upon hereafter by the Committee.

The present rent of the Bazar is about Sicca Rupees 500 per mensem from which are to be deducted the expenses of establishment and taxes. The former does not exceed 50 Rupees a month for the time being, but of course must be increased as the business extends; but the latter is very heavy 2,000 Rupees annally to Government together with the assessed taxes at 5 per cent. on the rents and ground rent tax to the Collector; these two latter are however charged in error as by the terms of the lease from the Company to the original founder of this Bazar, Mr. W. Smoult, it was evidently meant that the annual payment of Sicca Rupees 2,000 should exempt from further taxation and include all demands as to taxes, fines, duties, &c. the present proprietor has represented the case to the Board of Revenue and is assured from several quarters that his view of the matter is correct, and that either the lease will be given up and only the usual assessed taxes and ground rent charged as on other properties, or that these will be included in the stipulated annual Sum of Sicca Rupees 2,000.

Mr. Rowe the person employed in executing the building and arranging the drains, &c. of the Bazar says he will have every thing completed by the 1st September next, on which date the proprietorship of shares would commence and



by which time little fear is entertained but all the available shops and stalls will, if not actually engaged at least be well advanced towards it, and that the rent then might safely be averaged at 800 Rupees a month: but notwithstanding this the shareholders must not expect a clear return for their capital in the way of interest of money for the first year or two; the revenues of the Bazar for that period, will in a great degree be required by the management for establishing the undertaking on a firm footing; the immediate benefit resulting to the proprietors and society would be the possession of a well regulated and clean Market to obtain supplies from. When in full operation the monthly receipts may be reckoned upon at 1,200 Rupees which would then, besides attaining the object so long desired of a commodious and convenient Market, yield to each shareholder a good interest for the amount of his share. The common native system of advances has been steadily resisted (except on very particular occasions and then only with good and available security), but still inducements have been and must be held out to new tenants; such as foregoing rent for a few months, giving a small present when loss was clearly shown, &c. and it is proposed to pursue the same method hereafter, but these and other details must necessarily be left to the Committee of Management. The first thing to be done is to have the requisite number of shares filled up; when that is nearly done a Meeting of proprietors would be called, the Committee nominated and the other arrangements gone into.

*Calcutta, 4th July, 1834.*



## **GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATIONS, &c.**

### **ORDERS BY THE HON'BLE THE VICE-PRESIDENT IN COUNCIL.**

**JUDICIAL AND REVENUE DEPARTMENT, 21<sup>ST</sup> FEBRUARY, 1834.**

The Honorable the Vice-President in Council is pleased to make the following appointments:

Moulavee Neamur Khan, Sudder Ameen Zillah Behar

The following Officers have obtained leave of absence from their stations:

Mr. W. M. Dixon, Assistant under the Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit of the 1<sup>st</sup> or Moorshedabad Division for fifteen days, on private affairs, in extension of the leave granted to him on the 20<sup>th</sup> ultimo.

Mr. C. Macintyre, Assistant Surgeon, attached to the civil station of Akrah for one month, on private affairs, in extension of the leave granted to him on the 18<sup>th</sup> November last.

The leave of absence granted to Mr. C. Madden, Assistant Surgeon of Tuttehpore, for nine months, on medical certificate, is cancelled at the request of that Officer.

**3<sup>D</sup> MARCH, 1834.**

The following Officers have obtained leave of absence from their stations:

Mr. G. A. Bushby, Secretary to the Sudder Board of Revenue in the Lower Provinces, for one month, on private affairs.

Mr. C. F. Thompson, Civil and Session Judge of Cawnpore, for eighteen months, on medical certificate, to proceed to New South Wales.

**10<sup>TH</sup> MARCH, 1834**

The following Officers have obtained leave of absence from their stations:

Mr. H. P. Russell, Magistrate and Collector of Jessore, for ten days, on private affairs.

Mr. F. Louis, Head Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of Allahabad, for one month, on private affairs.

**17<sup>TH</sup> MARCH, 1834.**

The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following appointments:

Mr. James Davidson to officiate as Collector of Allyghur.

Mr. Thomas Hoseason to officiate as a Magistrate of the town of Calcutta.

The following officers have obtained leave of absence from their stations:

Mr. A. Smith, Assistant Surgeon of the civil station of Jessore, for eight days, on private affairs.

Mr. John Colvin, M. D., Assistant Surgeon of the civil station of Goruckpore, for one month, in extension of the leave granted to him on the 28<sup>th</sup> January last, preparatory to his applying for permission to proceed to Europe on furlough.

**24<sup>TH</sup> MARCH, 1834.**

The Hon'ble the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following appointment:

Mr. S. T. Cuthbert to officiate as an additional Judge of Zillah Behar.

The following Officers have obtained leave of absence from their stations:

Mr. T. Richardson, Magistrate of the 24-Pargunnahs and Superintendent of the Allypore Jail, for ten days, on medical certificate. Mr. A. F. Donnelly has been appointed to officiate as Magistrate of the 24-Pargunnahs and Superintendent of the Allypore Jail, during Mr. Richardson's absence.

Moulavee Abdoosunnud, Principal Sudder Ameen at Midnapore, for one week.

The Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council is pleased to determine, that Gholam Ablas, late Darogah of the Town of Burdwan, who has been convicted and sentenced by the Session Judge of that district for bribery and extortion, shall under clause 3d, section VI. Regulation XVIII. 1817, be declared incapable of serving Government in future in any public capacity.

**31<sup>ST</sup> MARCH, 1834.**

The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following appointments:

Mr. J. H. Patton to officiate as Civil and Session Judge of Beerbhoom.

Mr. W. J. H. Money ditto as Magistrate and Collector of Beerbhoom.

The following Officers have obtained leave of absence from their Stations:

Mr. C. Smith, Additional Judge of Chittagong, to the 11<sup>th</sup> instant, on medical certificate, in extension of the leave granted to him on the 4<sup>th</sup> November last.



Mr. W. St. Q. Quintin, Head Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of Sarun, for 24 days, in extension of the leave granted to him on the 12th August last.

Captain R. Wroughton, Revenue Surveyor of Muttra, for 5 months, on Medical Certificate, to proceed to the Hills.

Moulavee Shooqooddeen Ullee Khan, Principal Sudder Ameen of Sarun, from the 15th April to the 10th May next.

C. MACSWEEN, Secy. to Govt.

**FORT WILLIAM, GENERAL DEPARTMENT, 21TH FEBRUARY, 1834.**

Mr. H. T. Prinsep to officiate as Chief Secretary to Government, during the absence of Mr. C. Macsween from the Presidency on public duty.

Mr. Nathaniel Smith embarked on furlough for Europe on board the private ship *Protector*. The vessel was left by the Pilot at sea on the 20th instant.

Sir Charles D'Oyly, Bart., has obtained an extension of the leave granted to him under the Orders of Government of the 10th instant, for a farther period of fifteen days.

Mr. Sullivan J. Becher having exceeded the period within which, under the Orders of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, he ought to have qualified himself in the Native languages for the Public Service, has been ordered to return to England.

3D MARCH, 1834.

Mr. John Hunter, First Deputy Collector of Customs of Calcutta, is permitted to proceed to China for the recovery of his health, and to be absent on that account for a period of eight months.

The Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following appointments :

Mr. R. Walker to officiate as First Deputy Collector of Customs during Mr. Hunter's absence.

Mr. A. F. Donnelly to officiate as Second Deputy Collector until the return of Mr. Bracken.

Mr. Robert Ellis Cunliffe, acting Magistrate and Collector of Chittagong, is permitted to proceed to Europe for the benefit of his health.

10TH MARCH, 1834.

Mr. James B. Ogilvy is appointed to officiate as an Assistant to the Collector of Government Customs at Calcutta until further orders.

Mr. Charles Whitmore, Assistant under the Commissioner of the 16th or Chittagong Division, is permitted to proceed to Europe for the benefit of his health.

Mr. James Davidson, of the Civil Service, has reported his return from Europe by the private ship *Alfred*, which vessel reached the Sand Heads on the 29th ultimo.

17TH MARCH, 1834.

Mr. Robert Ellis Cunliffe embarked on sick certificate for Europe on board the *Roxburgh Castle*. The vessel was left by the Pilot at sea on the 15th instant.

Sir Charles D'Oyly, Bart., has obtained an extension of the leave granted to him under the Orders of Government of the 21th ultimo for a further period, viz. the 15th proximo.

21TH MARCH, 1834.

Mr. Francis Anstruther Dalrymple, Writer, is permitted to proceed to Europe for the benefit of his health.

31ST MARCH, 1834.

Mr. C. F. Thompson embarked on board the private ship *Atlas*. The vessel was left by the Pilot at sea on the 22d instant.

Mr. Charles Whitmore embarked, on sick certificate, for Europe, on board the private ship *Zenobia*. The vessel was left by the Pilot at sea on the 22d instant.

Mr. T. Plowden, Salt Agent of the 21 Pergunnahs, has obtained leave to be absent from his office for a period of one month from this day, on account of private affairs.

The extension of leave of absence granted under the Orders of Government dated the 17th instant, to Sir Charles D'Oyly, Bart., for a further period, viz. the 15th proximo, has been cancelled at his request from the 29th instant, the date on which he resumed charge of his office.

Mr. C. Macsween, Chief Secretary to Government, returned to the Presidency on the 27th instant.

Mr. J. Davidson, Assistant to the Governor General's Agent at Hazareebaugh, is appointed ex-officio a Deputy Opium Agent of the Behar Division.

H. T. PRINSEP, Sec. to Govt.

**FORT WILLIAM, POLITICAL DEPARTMENT, 27TH FEB. 1834.**

Captain Thoresby made over charge of the Agency at Moorsshedabad to Lieutenant Colonel Cobbe on the 18th instant.

6TH MARCH, 1834.

Captain F Jenkins received charge of the office of Agent to the Governor General on the North East Frontier, from Mr Robertson, on the 28th Feb. 1834.

13TH MARCH, 1834.

Major Low received charge of the Lucknow Residency from Capt Paton on the 1st March 1834.

Further extension of leave is granted to Dr. Ginders, from 7th March to 16th April, on account of ill health.

20TH MARCH, 1834.

Mr. John Bax, of the Bombay Civil Service, has been appointed by the Right Honorable the Governor General to be Resident at Indoor in the room of Mr. Martin.

25TH MARCH, 1834.

Mr. Gorton made over charge of the Benares Agency to Mr G. Manwaring on the 15th March.

Mr Assistant Surgeon Fullarton, of Goalpara, proceeded to England on the French ship *Victorine*, which vessel was left by the Pilot on the 18th March.

C. E. FREVILLYAN, Depy. Secy. to the Govt.

**ECCLESIASTICAL.  
ARCHDEACONRY OF CALCUTTA.**

The Honorable the Vice President in Council having been pleased to notify the following preferments, the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop has in accordance therewith granted his license to officiate to the respective parties, namely:

The Reverend Henry Pratt to officiate as Curate and Chaplain of the Church and Station of Benares, now temporarily filled by the Reverend William Smith; and

The Reverend Thomas Edward Allen Chaplain of Hazareebagh.

The Lord Bishop has also appointed the Reverend Henry Pratt, Surrogate at Benares for granting Marriage Licences.

By order of the Lord Bishop, dated at Calcutta, this 28th day of February, 1834.

W. H. ABBOTT, Registrar.

Ecclesiastical Registry Office, 3, Chowringhee.

**FORT WILLIAM, ECCLESIASTICAL DEPARTMENT, 24TH FEB. 1834.**

The Reverend A Macpherson embarked on furlough for Europe on board the private ship *Albatross*. The vessel was left by the pilot at sea on the 15th instant.

The Reverend Charles Rawns embarked on furlough for Europe on board the private ship *Protector*. The vessel was left by the pilot at sea on the 20th instant.

3D MARCH, 1834.

The Rev. Edward White, Joint District Chaplain at Cawnpore, is permitted to be absent from his station from the 20th ultimo to 20th of April next, for the purpose of visiting Nussierabad on urgent private affairs.

10TH MARCH, 1834.

The Rev. T. Dealty, Joint Chaplain at the Old Church, is permitted to be absent from his station for six weeks, commencing from the 26th ultimo.

The Reverend T. E. Allen, District Chaplain at Hazareebagh, is permitted, under medical certificate, to remain at the Presidency, for one month.

31ST MARCH, 1834.

The Rev. Henry Hutton, District Chaplain at Dum Dum, is permitted to be absent from his station from April 1st to May 1st.

The leave of absence granted, under the Orders of Government dated the 10th instant, to the Rev. T. Dealty, Joint Chaplain at the Old Church, for six weeks, has been cancelled from the 27th instant, the date on which he resumed charge of his duties.

H. T. PRINSEP, Sec. to Govt.

## GENERAL ORDERS BY THE HONORABLE THE VICE-PRESIDENT IN COUNCIL.

FORT WILLIAM, 1ST MARCH, 1834.

No. 69 of 1834.—Surgeon William Mitchelson, of the Medical Department, is permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough, on medical certificate.

No. 70 of 1834.—Captain William Henry Wake, of the 4th Regiment Native Infantry, is permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough, on account of his private affairs.

6TH MARCH, 1834.

No. 71 of 1834.—The Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council is pleased to make the following promotion :

21st Regt N. I.—Ensign Thomas James to be Lieut., from the 27th Feb. 1834, vice C. Cook transferred to the Invalid Establishment.

The undermentioned Officer is brought on the effective strength of the Infantry on the Establishment, from the date expressed opposite to his name :

Infantry.—Ensign Thomas Charles Birch, from the 29th January 1834, in succession to Major A. Wight retired.

The following Medical Officer has obtained leave of absence in the Judicial and Revenue Department, under date the 24th Feb. 1834 :

Assistant Surgeon C. Macintyre, attached to the civil station of Akvab, for one month, on private affairs, in extension of the leave granted to him on the 18th November last.

*Erratum.*—In General Orders No. 67, of the 27th Feb. 1834, for Letter from Court of Directors "No. 92," read Letter "No. 93." The Order Books to be corrected accordingly.

No. 72 of 1834.—The Hon'ble the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following appointments :

Surgeon Joseph Langstaff, 2d Member, to be 1st Member of the Medical Board, and Surgeon John Swiney, M. D. 3d Member, to be 2d Member of the Medical Board from the 25th Feb. 1834, in succession to J. MacDowel retired.

Rank is assigned to the undermentioned Officers from the dates expressed opposite to their names :

Engineers.—2d-Lieutenants William Thomas Bunce, and Charles Lewis Spitta, 22d Dec. 1832.

Cavalry.—Cornet Arthur Wellington Chicheley Plowden, 1st Dec. 1833.

Infantry.—Ensign Arbuthnot Dallas, 16th Sept. 1833; Ensign George Thomas Hamilton, Ensign Arthur Mitford Becher, and Ensign Frederick Davot Atkinson 29th Oct. 1833; Ensign Walter Stanhope Sherwill, 8th Jan. 1834; Ensign Clare Sewell Salmon, (not arrived,) and Ensign William Young Siddons, 10th Jan. 1834; Ensign James Thompson, 15th Jan. 1834.

Surgeon Charles Bransby Francis, of the Medical Department, is permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough, on medical certificate.

*Erratum.* In General Orders No. 24, of the 22d January last, for "Assistant Apothecary Hugh Carroll to be Steward," read "to be Apothecary," and for "Assistant Apothecary Francis Valley to be Apothecary," read "to be Steward." The Order Books to be corrected accordingly.

No. 73 of 1834.—Captain John Hævning Vanrenen, of the 25th Regt N. I., is permitted, at his own request, to proceed on furlough to the Cape of Good Hope, for three years, instead of to Europe, on account of his private affairs.

13TH MARCH, 1834.

No. 74 of 1834.—The Hon'ble the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following temporary appointment :

Lieut. Norman Chester MacLeod, of the Corps of Engineers, to act as an Assistant Engineer to the Dehly Division, in the room of Lieut. Fagan, on leave.

The undermentioned Officer is promoted to the rank of Capt by Brevet, from the date expressed opposite to his name :

32d Regt. N. I.—Lieut. Charles Haldane, . . . . 6th Feb. 1834.

Mr. Clare Sewell Salmon is admitted to the Service, in conformity with his appointment by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, as a Cadet of Infantry on this Establishment, and promoted to the rank of Ensign. Rank was assigned to Mr. Salmon in General Orders No. 72, of the 6th instant.—Date of arrival at Fort William, 7th March, 1834.



Captain Joseph Barnard Smith, of the 63d Regt. N. I., has returned to his duty on this Establishment, without prejudice to his rank, by permission of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors.—Date of arrival at Fort William, 7th March, 1831.

Captain James Johnston, of the 74th Regt. N. I. and Junior Assistant to the Agent to the Governor General in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories is permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough on account of his private affairs.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence, on medical certificate.

Capt. James Colley Tudor, of the 46th Regt. N. I. and Sub Assistant Commissary General, from the 15th March to the 1st Dec. next, to visit the Hills North of Deyrah

Capt. Robert Rush Margrave, of the 25th Regt. N. I. for two years, to proceed to Van Dieman's Land and the Cape of Good Hope.

Lieut. Thomas Walker, of the 1st Regt. N. I., and 2d in Command of the 4th Local Horse, for eight months, to proceed to Singapore and China.

The unexpired portion of the leave of absence granted to Lieut. John Woodburn, of the 44th Regt. N. I., in General Orders No. 45, of the 19th March, 1833, is cancelled from the 17th ultimo.

The leave of absence to New South Wales, granted to Lieut. Thomas Lucas Egerton, of the 68th Regt. N. I., in General Orders No. 22, of the 23d January last, is cancelled at the request of that Officer.

Major John Grant, of the 68th Regt. N. I., having been declared incapable of performing the active duties of his profession, is, at his own request, transferred to the Invalid Establishment.

No. 75 of 1831.—The undermentioned Officers are brought on the effective strength of the Infantry on this Establishment, from the dates expressed opposite to their respective names:

Infantry.—Ensign Thomas Tudor Tucker, 13th Feb. 1831, in succession to Lieut. Col. P. Stirling retired.

Ensign Arbuthnot Dallas, 13th Feb., 1834, in succession to Capt. R. B. Burton retired.

Lieut. Robert William Palm, of the 5th Regt. N. I., is permitted, at his own request, to resign the service of the Honorable Company.

Conductor Thomas Martin, of the Ordnance Commissariat Department, being declared incapable of performing the active duties of his profession, is transferred to the Pension Establishment on the Invalid pay of his rank.

#### 20TH MARCH, 1834.

No. 76 of 1831.—The Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council is pleased to make the following promotions and appointment:

5th Regt. N. I.—Ensign John Bascombe Locke to be Lieutenant, from the 13th March 1834, vice R. W. Palm resigned.

68th Regt. N. I.—Captain Robert Delamain to be Major, Lieutenant Thomas Lucas Egerton to be Captain of a company, and Ensign Henry Lancelot Bigge to be Lieutenant, from the 13th March 1834, in succession to J. Grant transferred to the Invalid Establishment.

Assistant Surgeon John Wilkie, M. D., to officiate in medical charge of the civil station of Dinagepore, vice A. Smith appointed to the station of Jessore.

Captain Gavin Ralston Crawford, of the Regiment of Artillery, and Principal Assistant to the Governor General's Agent in the Saugor and Nerbuddah Territories, is permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough, on medical certificate.

The following promotions are made in the Ordnance Commissariat Department:

Acting Conductor J. Law to be Conductor, and Serjeant Major Joseph Vyall, of the 44th Regt. N. I. to be Sub Conductor, from the 13th March 1834, in succession to T. Martin transferred to the Pension Establishment.

No. 79 of 1834.—Lieut. Bradshaw Yorke Reilly, of the Corps of Engineers, Executive Engineer of the 13th or Rajpootana Division of Public Works, has leave of absence to visit the Presidency from the 25th March to the 25th Dec. 1834, preparatory to applying for furlough to Europe.

The permission granted to Lieut. Charles Ekins, of the 7th Regt. L. C. in General Orders No. 10, of the 10th Jan. last, to proceed to Europe on furlough, via Bombay, is cancelled.

The unexpired portion of the leave of absence granted to Surgeon Thomas Erskine Dempster, of the Medical Department, in General Orders No. 141, dated the 15th Sept. 1832, is cancelled from the 19th ultimo.

25TH MARCH, 1834.

No. 80 of 1834.—The extension of the leave of absence granted to Lieut. Col. Adam Duffin, of the 2d Regt. Light Cavalry, as published in General Orders No. 64, of the 18th May last, is further prolonged to the 13th ultimo.

The following Medical Officers have obtained, in the Judicial and Revenue Department, under date the 17th instant, leave of absence from their stations:

Assistant Surgeon A. Smith, attached to the civil station of Jessore, for eight days, on private affairs.

Assistant Surgeon John Colvin, M. D., attached to the civil station of Gorruckpore, for one month, in extension of the leave granted to him on the 28th January last, preparatory to his applying for permission to proceed to Europe on furlough.

Private John Lawrence, late of His Majesty's 44th Regiment, is permitted to remain in India, and draw the modified rate of pension of ten (10*d.*) pence per diem, according to the terms of his service and discharge.

No. 81 of 1834.—It having been reported to Government that Ensign John Chetwood Thompson, of the 63d Regt. N. I., has left India without leave, that Officer is suspended from the Service of the Honorable Company, until the pleasure of the Honorable the Court of Directors shall be made known.

No. 82 of 1834.—The Honorable the Vice-President in Council is pleased, under instructions from the Honorable the Court of Directors, to direct that the following modified form of Affidavit, to be subscribed to by the Executive Officers of the Department of Public Works, be published for general information and guidance:

FORM.

I, \_\_\_\_\_, Executive \_\_\_\_\_  
or \_\_\_\_\_ Division of the Department of Public Works, do hereby make oath and solemnly swear, that from the \_\_\_\_\_ to the \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_ 183\_\_\_\_, inclusive, I have not derived, nor will I derive, any profit or emolument whatsoever from my situation, either directly or indirectly, beyond such as have been duly authorized by Government and the regular salary allowed me as Executive Officer, and that the rates charged by me for labor and materials were the lowest that could be obtained, with reference to quality.

Sworn before me, this \_\_\_\_\_  
day of \_\_\_\_\_ 183\_\_\_\_.

Ex.

Dirn. of  
Public Works.

Magistrate.

No. 83 of 1834.—The Hon'ble the Vice President in Council is pleased to direct, that General Order No. 30, of the 29th January last, declaring Adjutants and Quarter Masters ineligible to the charge of Troops and Companies, be considered applicable to the Staff Officers of the European Brigades of Horse and Battalions of Foot Artillery, and the Hon'ble Company's European Regiment.

No. 84 of 1834.—The Hon'ble the Vice President in Council is pleased to direct, that the Material Equipment of Horse and Foot Artillery Batteries shall in future consist as follows:

Horse Artillery Troops.—Four R. P. 6 pounder brass guns with carriages; two R. P. 21-pounder brass howitzers with carriages; eight R. P. ammunition carriages with limbers; one store cart with limber.

Foot Artillery Batteries.—Four R. P. 9-pounder brass guns with carriages; two R. P. 24-pounder brass howitzers with carriages; six R. P. ammunition carriages with limbers; one store cart with limber.

J. STUART, Depy. Secy. to Govt. Mily. Dept.

## GENERAL ORDERS

BY MAJOR-GENERAL J. WATSON, C. B.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 1st March, 1834.*

The Delhi Garrison Order of the 31st ultimo, directing the undermentioned individuals, of the late Pioneer Corps, to do duty with the Sappers and Miners, is confirmed: Sergeants John Gordon Crouch and James Cooper.

Tent Lascars Mattadeen, Goolamee, Tackoorie, and Jhollee.

Puckallies Mhosum and Fall Khan.

The following Promotions are made:

56th Regt N. I. --Jemadar Buctour Doobie to be Subadar, and Havildar Nundah to be Jemadar, from the 24th December 1833, vice Kunnie Doobie deceased.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence:

Division Staff--Captain T. R. Fell, A. D. C. to Major General Sir J. W. Adams, K. C. B., from 3d May to 3d November, on private affairs.

2d Troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery--Captain T. Croxton, from 15th February to 30th November, to visit the Hills North of Devrah Dhoon, on medical certificate.

3d Troop 2d Brigade Horse Artillery-- Captain G. G. Denniss, from 1st April to 30th November, to visit the Hills North of Devrah Dhoon, on medical certificate.

49th Regt. N. I.--Lieutenant H. Stone, from 1st February to 1st April, to remain at Dacca, on private affairs.

Nusseree Battalion--Lieutenant and Adjutant C. O'Brien, from 15th February to 25th March, to remain at Loodianah, on medical certificate.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 3d March, 1834.*

The leave of absence granted in General Orders of the 23d December last to Surgeon J. Eckford, of the 12th Regiment N. I., is cancelled at his request.

With reference to the Government General Orders No. 17, of the 6th ultimo, the Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased to assign rank to the undermentioned Native Doctors, from the dates specified opposite to their names:

Shaikh Warris Alee, Assistant Teacher to the Native Medical Institution, 1st January, 1826.

Pursun Sing, (now with the 13d Regt. N. I.) Assistant Teacher to the Native Medical Institution, 2d February, 1826.

Raun Fshwar Awusthee, Assistant Teacher to the Native Medical Institution, 1st January, 1828.

*Head Quarters, Calcutta, 4th March, 1834.*

Lieutenant Colonel B. Roope's Regimental Order of the 26th ultimo, appointing Lieutenant J. Drummond to act as Adjutant to a Wing of the 19th N. I., proceeding by water to Benares on Escort duty, is confirmed.

Bombardier T. Ellis, of the 4th Company 5th Battalion Artillery, is transferred to the Town Major's List, and appointed a Laboratory Man in the Expense Magazine at Dum Dum, from the 1st instant, vice Speir removed to the Commissariat Department.

Gunner William Aislalie, of the Model Department at Dum-Dum, is remanded to the Regiment of Artillery.

The Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased to direct, that the following General Order, which was issued to His Majesty's Regiments in India, on the 1st ultimo, be published to the Army:

*Head Quarters, Calcutta, 1st February, 1831.*

### GENERAL ORDER.

No. 770 --At a General Court Martial, held at Cawnpore on the 17th day of September, 1833, Private Robert Bruce Reid, of His Majesty's 16th Regiment of Light Dragoons, was arraigned on the following charges:--

1st Charge.--"With having, at Cawnpore, on or about the 8th day of August 1833, feloniously and falsely made, or forged a certain paper, purporting to be a certificate of leave, signed by Captain Edward Guest, and Troop Sergeant Major Edward Little, of His Majesty's 16th Lancers, for him, the said Private Robert Bruce Reid, (therein styled Private Robert Reid) Private William Nicholson and Private John



Palmer, all of His Majesty's 16th Lancers, to receive from William Marshall, Merchant, of Cawnpore, six (6) dozen of Beer, which said false and forged paper is as follows :

' MR. MARSHALL,

Privates Robert Reid, William Nicholson, and John Palmer to receive 6 dozen of Beer from your Establishment, the same to be paid by them jointly on the 15th of this month.

(Signed) EDWD. GUEST, Captain

(Signed) E LITTLE, Tp. S. M.

' Cawnpore, 8th August, 1833.'

with intent to defraud the said William Marshall.

*2d Charge.*—"With having, at the same time and place, feloniously offered, or uttered as true, the above paper, knowing the same to be false and forged, with the intention to defraud the said William Marshall."

Upon which charge the Court came to the following decision :

*Finding.*—"The Court, upon the evidence before them, are of opinion, that the prisoner, Private Robert Bruce Reid, of His Majesty's 16th Regt. Light Dragoons, (Lancers) is guilty of the 1st charge alleged against him, with exception of the words 'feloniously' and 'with intent to defraud the said William Marshall,' of which it acquits him. Also that the prisoner is guilty of the 2d charge, with exception of the 'felonious uttering with the intention to defraud the said William Marshall,' of which it acquits him.

"The Court, under consideration of its not having been satisfactorily proved to it that the prisoner had not undergone a portion of the punishment awarded to him, by the Commanding Officer of his Regiment, for the same offence, and from its having been proved that the prisoner was released and performed his duty as a Soldier during two days, and was then a second time confined for the same offence, refrains from passing any further sentence on him."

*Revised Finding* --"That, on the 1st Charge, he the prisoner, Private Robert Bruce Reid, of His Majesty's 16th Lancers, is guilty of having falsely made the paper set forth in the charge against him, but does acquit him of the whole and every other part of the same

"That, on the 2d charge, he is guilty of offering it as true, he knowing the same to be false, but does acquit him of all and every other part of it.

"The Court having found the prisoner guilty to the above extent does sentence him to solitary imprisonment for the space of one (1) calendar month, in such place as His Excellency the Right Honorable the Commander in Chief may be pleased to direct."

Not confirmed,

(Signed) W. C. BENTINCK, Commander in Chief.

The prisoner is to be immediately released and directed to return to his duty.

By order of His Excellency the Right Honorable the Commander in Chief.

(Signed) R. FORRENS, Colonel, Adj. Genl. H. M. Forces in India.

The Presidency Division Order of the 1st instant directing Assistant Surgeon C. Griffiths, attached to the 10th, to assume medical charge of a Wing of the 19th Regt. N. I., proceeding by water to Benares on Escort duty, is confirmed.

The Benares Division Order of the 23d ultimo, directing Assistant Surgeon D. Butler, M. D., of the civil station of Ghazeepore, to afford medical aid to the detachment of the 66th Regt. N. I., on duty at that post, during the absence of Assistant Surgeon Thompson, is confirmed.

Bombardier Peter Doyle, of the 4th, and Gunner Alexander Mackay, of the 5th Battalion Artillery, are promoted to the rank of Sergeant, and transferred to the Town Major's List, for the purpose of filling vacancies in the Establishment of the Garrison of Fort William.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence :

7th Battalion Artillery—Colonel W. Hopper, from 1st March to 1st September, on medical certificate.

6th Regt. Light Cavalry—Captain R. L. Anstruther, from 10th March to 10th September, to visit Tirhoot, on medical certificate.

58th Regt. N. I.—Captain C. E. Davis, from 1st March to 1st June, to remain at the Presidency, on private affairs.

Engineers—Supernumerary 2d Lieutenant L. Hill, from 25th March to 25th September, on private affairs.

Engineers—Supernumerary 2d Lieutenant J. Trail, from 2d March to 2d November, to visit Simla, and its vicinity, on medical certificate.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 5th March, 1834.*

The Major General Commanding the Forces is pleased to make the following appointment :

24th Regt N. I.—Lieutenant John Caulfield Hanynngton to be Adjutant, vice Singer promoted.

Assistant Surgeon J. C. Smith, who was directed in General Orders of the 11th January last to proceed to Benares and place himself under the orders of the Superintending Surgeon of that Division, is appointed to do duty with His Majesty's 3d Buffs at Ghazee pore.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence :

3d Troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery—Lieutenant J. Trower, from 5th March to 15th April, to proceed to the Sand Heads, on private affairs.

5th Battalion Artillery—2d Lieutenant R. R. Kinleside, from 1st March to 1st May, on private affairs to visit Berhampore.

50th Regt N. I.—Lieutenant F. Trimmer, from 1st March to 30th March, in extension, to enable him to rejoin his Regt.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 6th March, 1834.*

The Bhaugulpore Station Order of the 15th ultimo, directing Assistant Surgeon J. Innes, M. D., of the civil station, to perform the medical duties of the Hill Rangers, vice Webster proceeded on leave, is confirmed as a temporary arrangement.

The appointment of Gunner Clowsley to be Chaplain's Clerk at Cawnpore, which was notified in General Orders of the 3d ultimo, is to have effect from the 5th of December last, the date on which he entered on the duties of that situation.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 7th March, 1834.*

The Major General Commanding the Forces is pleased to direct, that whenever an officer succeeds to the Command of a Division, District, Field Force, or Station, a report of the circumstance is to be made to Head-Quarters.

The leave of absence granted to Ensign N. Palmer, of the 51th N. I. in General Orders of the 26th ult. is to commence from the 22d Feb. instead of the 3d March, as therein specified.

Conductor J. Smith, of the Ordnance Department, is posted to the Magazine of Fort Cornwallis, and will proceed to join by the earliest opportunity.

Private Edward McAleer, of the European Regt. is transferred as a Gunner to the Regt. of Artillery, and directed to be sent to join the 3d Troop 3d Brigade of Horse Artillery at Muttra.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 8th March, 1834.*

The Cawnpore Division Order of the 25th ult. appointing Assistant Surgeon A. McKean to the medical charge of the 70th N. I. at Banda, vice Assistant Surgeon Agnew, of the 6th Light Cavalry, directed to rejoin his Regiment, is confirmed.

Captain T. Bolton's Station Orders of the 19th ultimo, directing Assistant Surgeon A. Keir, M. D., to receive medical charge of the Detachment of the 47th Regt. N. I. and of the Troops at Secrota, and directing Lieut. H. Hunter, of the 58th Regt. N. I. to continue to act as Adjutant to the detachment at that Station, are confirmed.

The following removals and postings will take place in the Subordinate Medical Department :

Apothecary James Dick, lately attached to the Medical Depôt at Agra, is appointed to the Hospital of His Majesty's 26th Foot at Meerut, vice O'Brien.

Apothecary John Douglas, from His Majesty's 38th Foot, to His Majesty's 3d Buffs, at Ghazee pore.

Apothecary James Concannon, from the 4th Battalion Artillery, to his Majesty's 38th Regt. at Berhampore, vice Douglas.

Apothecary Henry Watson to the 1th Battalion Artillery at Dum-Dum, vice Concannon.

Apothecary Hugh Carroll to continue attached to the Convalescent Depôt at Landour.

Apothecary Francis Pingault to the Garrison Hospital, Chunar.

Apothecary John Wilson to do duty with the 2d Brigade Horse Artillery at Cawnpore, during the absence on leave of Apothecary McDonald.

Assistant Apothecary Charles James Woodward to His Majesty's 38th Regt. at Berhampore.

Assistant Apothecary William George Carrison to the Artillery at Dum-Dum.

Assistant Apothecary John Harris Peter to the Artillery at Dum-Dum.

Assistant Apothecary John Silk to His Majesty's 16th Foot at Cawnpore.

Assistant Apothecary Samuel Slater to the General Hospital.

Assistant Apothecary James George Scott to the Artillery at Dinapore.

Assistant Apothecary Thomas Bean to the Artillery at Kurnaul.

Assistant Apothecary Francis O'Sullivan to the General Hospital.

Assistant Apothecary James Freame to His Majesty's 11th Light Dragoons at Meerut.

Assistant Apothecary George Bayley to do duty under the Superintending Surgeon at Meerut.

Assistant Apothecary Michael Maher to do duty at the General Hospital.

Assistant Apothecary Abraham Beatson to the Artillery at Kurnaul.

Assistant Apothecary John Robison to do duty under the Superintending Surgeon at Meerut.

Assistant Apothecary John Taylor to His Majesty's 26th Foot at Meerut.

Steward James Bain to His Majesty's 16th Foot at Cawnpore.

Steward Francis Valley to do duty under the Superintending Surgeon at Cawnpore.

Steward William Bond to remain with the Artillery at Mhow.

Steward George William Harding to do duty under the Superintending Surgeon at Benares.

Steward David Nixon to do duty under the Superintending Surgeon at Cawnpore.

Assistant Steward Richard Rivers to do duty at the General Hospital.

Assistant Steward John Bensley to do duty under the Superintending Surgeon at Cawnpore.

Assistant Steward James Parnell to do duty under the Superintending Surgeon at Cawnpore.

On the arrival of Apothecary Concannon at Berhampore, Assistant Steward Edward Kew and Hospital Apprentice George Cockburn, now with His Majesty's 38th Foot, will proceed to the Presidency, and place themselves under the orders of the Officiating Superintending Surgeon.

The usual Annual Committees will assemble on the 1st proximo, at the Head Quarters of Divisions and Districts, for the examination of such Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers and Men of the Native Army, as may be deemed unfit for the active duties of a Soldier.

*Circular Letter of 10th March 1830; G. O. 11th March 1832; and 3d para. G. O. 21st March 1833.* The attention of Committees and of Commanding Officers is requested to the Letter and General Orders noted in the margin; and in transferring Men of Local Corps, Committees will be guided by Government

General Orders No. 9, of the 2d May, No. 78, of 31st July 1823, and No. 17, of 16th January 1834; and they will also recollect, that the interdiction to the transfer of Commissioned and Non Commissioned Officers to the Pension Establishment no longer exists.

With reference to the 3d and 4th paragraphs of General Orders of the 11th March, 1832, no man whose claim to pension is doubtful, is to be struck off the strength of his corps, until the receipt of Orders regarding him from Head Quarters.

The Pension Rolls required by the instructions circulated with the letter of the 10th March 1830, to be forwarded to the Fort Adjutant of Monghyr for Registry, will, in future, be transmitted to the Adjutant of Native Invalids at Allahabad for that purpose.

The General Officer Commanding the Presidency Division will exercise his discretion, with reference to the situation of the Cantonment from which the Men Invalided may have come, in directing them to return to the Head Quarters of their Regiments, or in retaining them at Barrackpore, under the charge of the Superintendent and Pay Master of Native Pensioners, until finally transferred.

Cornet E. K. Money, of the 2d Light Cavalry, is removed from the appointment of Interpreter and Quarter Master to the Regiment.

#### *Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 10th March, 1834.*

Surgeon J. Eckford, of the 12th Regiment Native Infantry, will officiate as Superintending Surgeon at Allahabad, during the absence on leave of Superintending Surgeon Tweedie, and whilst Superintending Surgeon Smith may remain in charge of the Cawnpore Circle of Medical Superintendence, or until further orders.

This order is to have effect from the 1st instant, the date on which Superintending Surgeon Tweedie quitted the Cawnpore Division.

Quarter Master Sergeant George Black, of the Kemaon Local Battalion, is appointed Sergeant Major to that Corps, vice Grainger promoted to Sub-Conductor.

The following Non-Commissioned Officers of the late Corps of Pioneers are appointed Quarter Master Sergeants to the Corps specified opposite to their respective names, and directed to proceed and join:

Quarter Master Sergeant William Oman to the 68th Regt. N. I. at Mynpoorie, vice Rooney remanded to the European Regiment.

Quarter Master Sergeant James Cooper to the Rangurh Local Battalion, vice Hawthorne deceased.



Quarter Master Sergeant Robert Ross to the 11th Regt. N. I. at Chittagong, vice Buchanan appointed to the Department of Public Works.

Quarter Master Sergeant Edward Kavanagh, now doing duty with the Nusseree Battalion, to the Kemaon Local Battalion vice Black appointed Sergeant Major.

The undermentioned Hospital Apprentices, who were appointed in General Orders by the Commander in Chief, of the 16th June 1830, 19th December 1831, and 27th January 1833, having failed to report themselves to the Superintending Surgeon within whose Circle of Superintendence they are severally residing, are struck off the List of Subordinate Medical Servants, from this date :

George Francis Records, ——— O'Brien, James Ellis, Charles Ollenback, and John Howe

The following Individuals are appointed Hospital Apprentices, and directed to report themselves to the nearest Superintending Surgeon, who will direct them to do duty with the Hospital in which their services may be most required, and include them in their next Monthly Returns. Such of the Apprentices as do not report themselves within three months from this date, will be struck off.

Daniel Dutton, John Watkins, W. H. Byrne, John McClatchey William Watson, Henry Freeman, Henry Gordon, John Dunn, William Dudley Sault, Robert Collins, George Mylne, John Overitt, John Augustus Hyde Bachman, Samuel Valentine Foy, John Bonner Hauly, Thomas Snook, James Bowser, Hugh Callaghan, James Thompson, and James Giddens.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence :

1st Company 2d Battalion Artillery—1st Lieutenant J. R. Revell from 19th Feb. to 19th Feb. 1835, to visit Simla, on medical certificate.

1st Regt. Light Cavalry—Cornet V. F. T. Turner, from 2d March to 1st Jan. 1835, in extension, to remain in the Hills, on medical certificate.

12th Regt N. I.—Lieutenant J. Remington, from 15th March to 15th May, in extension, to enable him to rejoin.

54th Regt N. I.—Lieutenant D. Shaw, from 30th November 1833 to 4th February, in extension, to enable him to rejoin.

72d Regt. N. I.—Ensign G. H. Rose, from 5th March to 5th April, to visit the Presidency, on medical certificate, preparatory to applying for leave to proceed to Sea.

2nd Regt N. I.—Surgeon J. Henderson, from 15th March to 31st Dec. 1835, to visit the Himalya Mountains, on medical certificate.

Subordinate Medical Department - Apothecary C. Fox, from 29th November 1833 to 15th June, to remain at the Presidency, on medical certificate, and to enable him to rejoin His Majesty's 16th Foot at Cawnpore.

#### *Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 11th March, 1834.*

The Dinapore Division Order of the 1st instant, directing the following removals of Native Doctors, is confirmed :

Pursad Sing, from the 56th Regt. N. I. to the Nepaul Residency, vice Achumbeet Sing, from the latter to the former.

The following removals and postings of Medical Officers will take place :

Surgeon W. S. Charters, M. D. (on furlough) from the 26th to the 40th Regt. N. I.

Surgeon B. Butt, M. D. (new promotion) to the 26th Regt. N. I.

Surgeon H. H. Wilson, (on furlough) from the 20th to the 46th Regt. N. I.

Surgeon J. Dalrymple (new promotion) to the 20th Regt. N. I.

Assistant Surgeon B. C. Sully, M. D. (on furlough) from the 47th to the 8th Regt. N. I.

Assistant Surgeon T. Clemishaw, at present in Medical charge of the 47th Regt. N. I., is posted to that corps.

Assistant Surgeon J. Barber is posted to the 12th Regt. N. I., and directed to join.

Assistant Surgeon R. B. Cumberland, who was appointed in Presidency Division Orders of the 29th Sept last to the medical charge of the 34th Regt. N. I., is posted to that Corps.

Ensign F. Adams is, at his own request, removed from the 37th to the 24th Regt. N. I.

#### *Head Quarters, Calcutta, 12th March, 1834.*

The Meerut Division Order of the 25th ultimo, directing Assistant Surgeon J. Murray, M. D., attached to the Horse Artillery at Meerut, to proceed to Agra, and do duty with His Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, is confirmed.

The Benares Division Order of the 3d instant, directing Assistant Surgeon G. C. Rankin, of the 38th Regt. N. I., to receive medical charge of the Artillery at Secrole from Assistant Surgeon Esdalle, appointed to the civil station of Azimghur, is confirmed.

The Sirhind Division Order of the 27th ultimo, directing Quarter Master Sergeant William Oman, of the late Corps of Pioneers, to do duty with the 8th Regt. N. I., is confirmed.

A European General Court Martial is to be assembled at Meerut at such time as the Major General Commanding the Division may direct, for the trial of Veterinary Surgeon J. T. Hodgeson, attached to the Hauper Stud, and such other prisoners as may be brought before it.

The Major General will nominate the President and Members, and the Deputy Judge Advocate General of the Division will conduct the proceedings.

Sub Conductor G. Grainger (new promotion) is posted to the Arsenal, Fort William, and directed to join without delay.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence :

10th Regiment Native Infantry—Captain J Swetenham, from 15th January to 20th February, in extension, to remain at Barrackpore, and enable him to rejoin.

Medical Department—Assistant Surgeon J. Wilkie, M. D., from 8th March to 8th April, to remain at the Presidency, on private affairs.

#### *Head Quarters, Calcutta, 12th March, 1834.*

The following Promotions are made :

48th Regt. N. I.—Jemadar Emambuccus to be Subadar, and Havildar Suddhun to be Jemadar, from the 5th January 1834, vice Keerut Sing deceased.

The undermentioned officers have leave of absence :

3d Regt. Light Cavalry—Lieut. H. Marsh, from 15th March to 15th Dec. on medical certificate, to visit the Hill Provinces North of Deyrah Dhoon.

5th Regt. Light Cavalry—Capt. W. Buckley, from 12th Feb. to 1st Nov. on medical certificate, to visit Simla.

20th Regt. N. I.—Ensign A. B. Morris, from 19th Feb. to 19th April, to remain at Bareilly, on medical certificate.

26th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. Col. M. C. Webber, from 15th Feb. to 15th Dec., to visit Simla and its vicinity, on medical certificate.

64th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. C. H. Burt, from 1st April to 1st Aug. to visit the Presidency for the purpose of appearing before the College of Examiners.

69th Regt. N. I.—Ensign J. Clarke, from 5th March to 5th Jan. 1834, to visit Simla, on account of his health.

Brigade Staff—Capt. H. Hay, Major of Brigade, Rohilkund, from 15th March to 15th Nov. on medical certificate, for the purpose of visiting the Hill Provinces in the vicinity of Mussoorie.

Brigade Staff—Brevet Major E. A. Campbell, Major of Brigade, Meerut, from 15th March to 15th Nov. on medical certificate, to visit the Hill Provinces North of Deyrah Dhoon.

4th Troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery—2d-Lieut. A. Broome, from 1st March to 1st Dec., on medical certificate, to visit the Hills North of Deyrah.

1st Regt. Light Cavalry—Capt. G. R. Crommelin, from 1st March to 30th Nov. to visit Simla, on medical certificate.

Cavalry—Supernumerary Cornet E. Harvey, (doing duty with 1st Light Cavalry,) from 5th April to 5th Oct. to visit Simla, on medical certificate.

The Major General Commanding the Forces is pleased to make the following appointment :

58th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. N. A. Parker to be Adjutant, vice Lumsdaine appointed Aid de-Camp to Brigadier General W. Richards, c. b.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence :

1st Regt. N. I.—Lieut. Interpreter and Quarter Master Y. Lamb, from 1st March to 15th May, in extension, for the purpose of joining his corps at Neemuch.

16th Regt. N. I.—Ensign G. H. Davidson, from 11th Feb. to 11th April, to remain at Dinapore, on private affairs.

#### *Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 14th March, 1834.*

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence :

66th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. T. E. Egerton, from 13th March to 13th March 1835, to visit the Hills West of the Jumna, on medical certificate.

1st Brigade Horse Artillery—Assistant Surgeon W. E. Watson, from 1st April to 1st November, to visit the Hills North of Deyrah, on medical certificate.

7th Regt. Light Cavalry—Lieut. D. Wiggins, from 1st March to 1st June, in extension, to remain at the Presidency, on private affairs.

8th Regt. Light Cavalry—Major F. J. Spiller, from 15th Jan. to 15th July, to visit the Presidency, on private affairs.

1st Regt. N. I.—Capt. R. H. Miles, from 15th to 1st Sept. to visit the Presidency, on medical certificate, preparatory to applying for furlough.

31st Regt. N. I.—Lieut. R. Menzies, from 22d March to 22d May, to visit Berhampore, on private affairs.

63d Regt. N. I.—Capt. J. B. Smith, from 7th April to 7th August, to visit Berhampore, on private affairs, previous to rejoining his corps.

*Head Quarters, Calcutta, 15th March, 1834.*

The Major General in Command of the Forces, with the sanction of Government, is pleased to grant to the Native Army the indulgence of leave of absence, from the 1st proximo, under the following restrictions and limitations. Where circumstances may prevent this indulgence from being granted to the full extent authorized, a report is to be made to Head-Quarters.

To the Troops stationed in Arracan and Assam, at Dacca and Chittagong, leave is granted to the extent of 4 Native Officers and 24 Non-Commissioned Officers per Regiment, and 15 Privates per troop or company;—to cease on the 1st January 1835.

To all other Corps in the Presidency Division, except those enumerated above, to Corps in the Saugor Division, in the Malwa, Meywar and Rajpootana Field Forces, and in the Sind Division, leave is granted to the same number;—to cease on the 15th November next.

To the Hill Corps stationed at Subathoo, Deyrah, and in Kemaon, leave is to be granted to the same number;—to cease on the 15th December next.

To the Troops of the Line stationed in Kemaon, leave is to be granted to the same number, from the 15th October next to the 15th April 1835.

To the Corps stationed in the Dinapore, Benares and Cawnpore Divisions, at Allahabad, and in the Meerut Division, (excepting Kemaon) leave is granted to 3 Native Officers and 16 Non Commissioned Officers per Regiment, and 10 Privates per troop or company, until the 15th October next.

Commanding Officers will be careful that leave is granted with strict regard to priority of claims, and will limit the time granted to individuals, with reference to the distance of their homes, and the nature of their business, so as to allow as full a participation as possible in the indulgence.

Officers and men going on furlough are to be reminded of the penalties attached to the overstaying of their leave, as well as the necessity of giving notice to their Regiments, if sickness should detain them at their homes.

The General Order of the 28th April 1810, containing precautionary directions to Native Troops when travelling to or from their Regiments, is to be particularly explained to the officers and men of every Regiment previous to their departure on leave.

The attention of Commanding Officers is directed to General Orders of the 19th ultimo, regulating the mode of granting the leave now authorized, as regards Non Commissioned Officers.

The Cawnpore Division Order of the 2d instant, directing, on the arrival of the 47th Regt. at Secroa, Asst. Surgeon A. Keir, M. D., now in medical charge of the troops at that station, to proceed to Futehghur, and take medical charge of the 1st N. I., during the absence on leave of Surgeon J. S. Foke, is confirmed.

The Presidency Division Order of the 12th instant, appointing Lieut. J. J. Grant of His Majesty's 38th Regt. of Foot, to officiate as Deputy Judge Advocate, and conduct the proceedings on the trial of Privates Bernard Coyle and Patrick Prendergast, of His Majesty's 38th Foot, is confirmed.

The leave of absence, for three months, granted to Lieut. and Adjutant O. W. Span of the 53d Regt. N. I., in General Orders of the 20th Nov. 1833, is to commence from the 25th Jan. last, instead of the date therein specified.

The services of Hospital Apprentice John Linton being no longer required at the Lunatic Asylum, he is directed to join and do duty in the General Hospital.

Subadar Jyndur Sing, of the 58th Regt. N. I., having been pronounced unfit for further service by a Special Invaliding Committee, is to be transferred to the Pension Establishment from the 1st proximo.

Quarter Master Sergeant William Henry Crutchfield, of the 36th N. I., having been reduced to the ranks by the Sentence of a Court Martial, is remanded to the Regt. of Artillery as a Gunner, and directed to rejoin the 3d company of the 1st battalion at Mhow.

Sergeant George Allsop, of the late Corps of Pioneers, now doing duty with the 36th Native Infantry, is appointed Quarter Master Sergeant to that Regiment, vice Crutchfield.

Quarter Master Sergeant James Gray, of the 30th Regt N. I. is removed to the Kemaon Local Battalion, vice Kavanagh, who is transferred from the latter to the former.

The following promotions are made :

2d Regt. N. I.—Jemadar Sheikh Hingun to be Subadar, from the 15th February 1834, vice Cheerunjee Oustee deceased.



Havildar Andin Sing to be Jemadar, from the 16th Feb. 1834, vice Sherick Hingun promoted.

Mohur Sing, Suwar, of the 4th Local Horse, having been examined by a Special Medical Committee, and reported unfit for further service, is to be transferred to the Pension Establishment from the 1st proximo.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence :

35th Regt N. I.—Surgeon J. M. Todd, from 1st April to 1st August, in extension, to proceed on the river, and eventually to Cherra Ponjee, on medical certificate.

65th Regt. N. I.—Ensign C. I. Harrison, from 12th March to 12th Aug. to remain at the presidency, for the purpose of appearing before the College Examiners.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 17th March, 1834.*

With reference to Government General Orders No. 170 of the 26th November, and General Orders by the Commander in Chief of the 2d Dec. last, the following abstract of the transfers of the Native Commissioned, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Privates of the late Pioneer Corps, is published for the information of all concerned.

<i>Transferred to the</i>						<i>Subbada's.</i>	<i>Jemada's</i>	<i>Havildars</i>	<i>Nevks.</i>	<i>Buglers.</i>	<i>Privates.</i>
Sappers and Miners,....						5	28	27	30	7	422
1st Regiment Native Infantry,....						0	0	0	0	0	8
3d ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	4
7th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	17
8th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	6
10th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	1
14th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	7
15th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	8
17th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	1
20th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	1
22d ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	5
23d ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	8
27th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	1
28th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	9
30th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	1
32d ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	1
36th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	2
39th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	2
40th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	7
42d ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	40
45th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	6	0	17
48th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	5
52d ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	8
53d ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	10
54th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	4
56th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	1
57th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	2
58th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	1
59th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	10
61st ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	1
62d ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	1
66th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	1
69th ditto ditto,....						0	9	0	0	0	3
71st ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	2
74th ditto ditto,....						0	0	0	0	0	6
Political Agent at Subathoo,...						0	0	1	1	0	10
Pension Establishment,....						3	2	10	7	1	32

The Supernumerary Tindal, Tent Lascars and Bheesties, of the late Pioneer Corps, are to be accounted for in the 4th page of the Monthly Returns of the Corps with which they have been appointed to do duty; and Officers Commanding Corps of the Line at and above Allahabad, are directed to apply to the General Officers Commanding the Meerut and Sahind Divisions, and the Officers Commanding the Malwah and Rajpootana Field Forces, for the transfer of men to fill vacancies that may occur in those grades.

*Head Quarters, Calcutta, 18th March, 1834.*

The Artillery Division Order issued on the 1st instant by Major G. E. Gowan, appointing 2d Lieut. A. Huish, of the 4th Troop 3d Brigade, to act as Adjutant to the Meywar Division of Artillery, during the absence on leave of Lieut. Wilson, is confirmed.

The Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased to make the following appointments :

30th Regt. N. I. Lieut. D. Downes to be Adjutant, vice Laurence proceeded on furlough.

62d Regt. N. I.—Lieut. W. M. Ramsay to be Interpreter and Quarter Master

The Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased to make the following removals and postings in the Medical Department :

Surgeon F. E. Dempster, from the 62d to the 50th Regt. N. I. at Barrackpore.

Surgeon G. Angus (on furlough) to the 24th Regt. N. I.

Assistant Surgeon A. Bryce, M. D., from the 50th Regt. N. I. to the 3d Troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery at Dum Dum, vice Hait.

Assist. Surg. J. Menzies (on furlough) to the 2d Regt. N. I.

Assist. Surg. H. Donaldson, M. D., (on furlough) to the 15th Regt. N. I.

Assist. Surg. F. Furnell (on furlough) to the 17th Regt. N. I.

Assist. Surg. R. Fullarton, M. D., (on furlough) to the 20th Regt. N. I.

Assist. Surg. A. Thompson (on furlough) to the 21st Regt. N. I.

Assist. Surg. C. B. Handyside, M. D., (on furlough) to the 49th Regt. N. I.

Conductor T. Martin of the Invalid Pension Establishment, is permitted to reside and draw his stipend at Monghyr.

supernumerary Ensign C. S. Salmon is, at his own request, directed to join and do duty with the 24th Regt. N. I. at Barrackpore.

Gunner Mathew Hemsworth, laboratory man in the Expense Magazine, is promoted to the rank of Sergeant.

Gunner Robert Ross, laboratory man in the Cawnpore Magazine, is promoted to the rank of Sergeant.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence :

18th Regt. N. I.—Surg. H. F. Hough, from 24th March to 1st June to remain at the Presidency, on private affairs.

20th Regt. N. I.—Ensign C. Rattray, from 26th Feb. to 30th March, to remain at Bareilly on private affairs.

60th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. T. Riddell, from 15th April to 15th August, to visit Bareilly on private affairs.

*Head Quarters, Calcutta, 19th March, 1834.*

It having been recently brought to the notice of the Major General in Command of the Forces that certain Officers Commanding Corps, which moved in the course of the present relief, failed to comply with the General Order of the 25th Nov. 1809, and to report to the General Officer Commanding the Division to which they were proceeding, the date of their departure from their old stations, as well as their weekly progress, the Major General is pleased to call the attention of officers to this order, and to enjoin a more strict observance of its provisions in future.

Major D. Harriott's Regimental Order of the 1st instant, appointing Cornet A. Hall to act as Adjutant to the 5th L. C., vice Lieut. E. M. Blair permitted to resign the acting appointment, and during the absence on leave of Lieut. A. Wheatly, is confirmed.

The Major General Commanding the Forces is pleased to make the following appointment :

5th Regt. L. C.—Cornet C. M. Gascoyne to be Interpreter and Quarter Master, from the 1st instant, vice Lieut. Bott permitted to resign the appointment.

Assist. Apothecary John Marshall is removed from His Majesty's 49th Regt. of Foot, and appointed to the Dispensary in the Garrison of Fort William.

Assist. Apothecary Samuel Slater is appointed to the Hospital of His Majesty's 49th Foot, vice Marshall.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 20th March, 1834*

Major J. Dunlop's Regimental Order of the 27th ultimo, appointing Ensign R. Shaw to act as Interpreter and Quarter Master to the 23d Native Infantry, vice Platt promoted, is confirmed as a temporary arrangement.

The Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased to make the following appointment :

6th Regt. Light Cavalry.—Cornet W. J. E. Boys to be Interpreter and Quarter Master, vice Lieutenant Barton, who has been permitted to resign the appointment.

The undermentioned Officer has leave of absence :

Medical Department—Assistant Surgeon A. Gilmore, M. D., (late in medical charge of the Ramgurni Battalion,) from 7th March to 7th May, to visit the Presidency, on medical certificate, preparatory to applying for furlough.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 21st March, 1834.*

The Kurnaul Station Orders of the 10th instant, directing all Reports of the station to be made to Lieutenant Colonel F. D. Stuart, of the 10th Regt. Light Cavalry, during Major General Sir J. W. Adams' absence on a tour of inspection, and appointing Lieutenant R. Canley, Interpreter and Quarter Master of the 10th Regiment Light Cavalry, to officiate as Station Staff, are confirmed.

Sub-Lieutenant and Deputy Commissary P. Allen, of the Ordnance Department, is directed to join the Magazine at Allahabad, to which he stands posted.

The undermentioned Officer has leave of absence :

7th Regiment Light Cavalry—Lieutenant C. Ekms, from 13th January to 13th May, to visit the Presidency, on medical certificate.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 22d March, 1834.*

The Neemuch Station Order of the 1st instant, appointing Lieut. and Adjutant H. W. Burt, of the 46th Regt. N. I., to act as Major of Brigade to the Meywar Field Force, until the arrival of Lieut. Hamilton appointed to officiate, vice Dawkins, is confirmed.

Col. J. Robertson's Regimental Order of the 1st instant, appointing Ensign J. F. Erskine to act as Adjutant to the 46th N. I., vice Burt, is confirmed.

The leave of absence, for ten months, granted in General Orders of the 13th instant, to Lieut. Col. M. C. Webber, of the 28th Regt. N. I., is to be considered as having commenced on the 4th instant, instead of the 15th ultimo.

Lieut. Col. W. B. Walker, of the Invalid Establishment is appointed to the Command of the European Invalids at Chunar, and directed to join.

This cancels the appointment to that situation of Lieut. Col. C. H. Lloyd, announced in General Orders of the 1st ultimo.

The Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased to make the following appointment :

2d Regt. Light Cavalry.—Cornet J. S. G. Ryley to be Adjutant, vice Lieut. Lawrence, who has been permitted to resign the appointment.

Lieutenant A. Tucker, of the 9th Regiment Light Cavalry, is permitted, at his own request, to resign the appointment of Interpreter and Quarter Master of the Corps.

Ensign J. S. Davidson, of the 72d Regt. N. I. having been declared by the College Examiners to be qualified for the duties of Interpreter, is exempted from further examination in the native languages.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence :

General Staff—Brigadier R. Patton, C. B., Commanding in Oude, from 15th March to 15th November, to proceed to Almorah, on medical certificate.

1st Battalion Artillery.—1st Lieutenant A. Cardew, from 25th March to 25th April, to visit Arrah, on private affairs.

5th Regiment L. C.—Assistant Surgeon A. Crighton, M. D., from 31st March to 30th September, to visit the Presidency, on medical certificate.

10th Regt. N. I.—Ensign C. J. Richards, from 11th February to 11th May, to remain at Khvok Phoo, in Arracan, on private affairs.

6th Regt. N. I.—Captain the Hon'ble W. Hamilton, from 17th March to 17th September, to remain at the Presidency, on private affairs.

Hill Rangers—Assist. Surgeon W. B. Webster, from 31st March to 20th April, in extension, to enable him to rejoin his corps.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 25th March, 1834.*

To enable Commanding Officers to judge of the expediency of authorizing advances of pay, which are occasionally applied for, on account of small Guards and Escorts under the Command of Native Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers, the Major General is pleased to direct; that the date to which the men are paid, shall invariably be inserted in the Command certificates.

The Benares Division Order of the 11th instant, appointing Assistant Surgeon J. Barber, of the 12th Regiment Native Infantry, to officiate as Assistant Garrison Surgeon at Ghunar, is confirmed.

The Benares Division Order of the 15th instant, appointing Assistant Steward James Parnell to proceed to Cherra Poonjee with a party of sick men from the 1st company 1st battalion of Artillery, is confirmed.



The District Order by Brigadier W. Burgh, under date the 15th instant, appointing Captain S. L. Thornton, of the 13th Native Infantry, to act as Major of Brigade to the Troops serving in Rohilcund, during the absence on leave of Brigade Major Hay, is confirmed.

The Agra Garrison Order of the 15th instant, appointing Assistant Surgeon J. Murray, M. D., doing duty with his Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, to the medical charge of the 28th Regiment Native Infantry, consequent on the departure of Surgeon J. Henderson, on leave, is confirmed.

Sergeant Patrick Fleming, laboratory man in the Rajpootana Magazine, is appointed Park Sergeant, vice Crawford deceased.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence :

2d Regiment Light Cavalry—Lieutenant Colonel A. Duffin, from 13th February to 15th March, to enable him to join his Regiment.

29th Regt. N. I. — Lieut. G. W. Williams from 15th April to 15th August, to visit Dinapore, on medical certificate.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 26th March, 1834.*

The Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased to appoint Colonel H. Thomson, of the 6th Regt. Light Cavalry, to the Command of the Troops in Oude, during the absence on leave of Brigadier Patton, C. B. or until further orders.

Pensioned Drummer Bucksey, who was transferred to the Invalid Pension Establishment in General Orders of the 28th December 1830, is permitted, with the sanction of Government, to reside and receive his stipend at Dinapore, instead of Moughyr.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence :

General Staff—Major General Sir J. W. Adams, K. C. B., Comg. Sirhind Division, from 15th April to 3d May, to visit Simla, on private affairs.

17th Regt. N. I. — Ensign J. S. D. Fulloch, from 21st March to 21st May, to remain at the Presidency, on urgent private affairs.

52d Regt. N. I. — Captain E. Auberjonois, from 15th March to 15th March 1835, to visit the Hill Provinces in the vicinity of Simla, on medical certificate.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 27th March, 1834.*

William Henry Ewart and Henry Coles are appointed Hospital Apprentices, to fill vacancies in the Subordinate Medical Department, occasioned by the death of Apprentice Henry Gordon and the resignation of Acting Assistant Apothecary J. W. Linton.

ERRATUM.—In General Orders of the 19th instant, removing Assistant Apothecary J. Marshall from H. M's 19th Foot, for "appointed to the Dispensary in the Garrison of Fort William," read "appointed to the General Hospital." The Order Books to be corrected accordingly.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 29th March, 1834.*

On the arrival at Cawnpore of the Detachment of Artillery Drafts under the command of Lieutenant C. E. Mills, Assistant Surgeon J. H. Dallas, M. D., now in medical charge of the party, will proceed to Saugor, and do duty under the Superintending Surgeon of that division.

Bombardier Harry Stanley, who was appointed an Assistant Overseer in the Department of Public Works, in Government General Orders No. 156, of the 31st Oct. last, is promoted to Sergeant.

The undermentioned officer has leave of absence :

31th Regt. N. I.—Ensign E. Blenkinsop, from 24th March to 30th June, to visit Balasore, on medical certificate.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 31st March, 1834.*

The Meerut Division Order of the 20th instant, appointing Capt. J. Hewett, of the 52d Regt. N. I., to act as Major of Brigade to the Troops at Meerut, during the absence on leave of Brigade Major Campbell, or until further orders, is confirmed.

The leave of absence granted in General Orders of the 25th ultimo to Lieut. J. C. Lumsdaine, Aide-de-Camp to Brigadier General W. Richards, C. B., Commanding the Dinapore Division, is cancelled at his own request.

Sergeant Patrick Harrington, of the Arsenal, Fort William, having been examined and pronounced unfit for further active duty by a Special Medical Committee, is to be sent to join the Garrison Companies at Chunar.

The Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased, with the sanction of Government to assign rank to the undermentioned Native Doctors, educated at the Native Medical Institution, from the dates specified opposite to their respective names :

Baeneo Singh,.... 27th May 1826  
Hosain Bukhsh,.... 17th August 1826.

Baeneo Singh and Hosain Bukhsh are directed to do duty under the Superintending Surgeon at Saugor.

The undermentioned Pupils from the Native Medical Institution having been examined by the Medical Board, and found qualified, are admitted into the Service as Native Doctors, from the 28th February last, and disposed of as follow :

Choarey Lall, to do duty under the orders of the Superintending Surgeon at Dinapore.

Shalkh Hahee Bukhsh, to the establishment employed under Ensign Nicolson, Principal Assistant to the Governor General's Agent at Hazareebangh.

Shalkh Ahmud Alee, to do duty under the orders of the Superintending Surgeon at Cawnpore.

By order of Major General Watson,

J. R. LUMLEY, Colonel, Adjt. Genl. of the Army.

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## **GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATIONS, &c.**

### **ORDER BY THE HONORABLE THE VICE PRESIDENT IN COUNCIL.**

**JUDICIAL AND REVENUE DEPARTMENT, THE 7TH APRIL, 1834.**

The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following appointments :

Mr. H. S. Ravenshaw, Assistant under the Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit of the 1st or Meerut Division.

Mr. S. J. Beecher, ditto ditto of the 11th or Patna Division.

Mr. H. M. Elliott to officiate as a Deputy Collector in Meerut.

The order of the Commissioner of the 13th or Allipore Division, dated the 5th instant, directing Mr. A. F. Donnelly to resume charge of the office of Magistrate of the 24-Pergunnahs and Superintendent of the Allipore Jail, until further orders, has been approved.

The following officers have obtained leave of absence from their stations :

Mr. J. A. Pringle, Civil and Session Judge of Moorshedabad, to visit the Presidency, on medical certificate, preparatory to applying for leave to proceed to sea. Mr. W. M. Dixon, Assistant under the Commissioner of the Moorshedabad Division, has been directed to receive charge from Mr. Pringle of the current duties of the Civil and Session Judge's office.

Mr. W. P. Okeden, Magistrate and Collector of the Southern Division of Moradabad, for 25 days, on private affairs, in extension of the leave granted to him on the 28th January last.

Mr. W. St. Q. Quintin, Head Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of Sarun, for 3 months, on private affairs, in extension of the leave granted to him on the 31st ultimo.

Mr. W. F. Thompson, officiating Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Hurrannah, for a fortnight, on private affairs, in extension of the leave granted to him on the 10th Feb. last.

**14TH APRIL, 1834.**

The following officers have obtained leave of absence from their stations :

Mr. R. Walpole, a Judge of the Courts of Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut at the Presidency, for eighteen months, on medical certificate, to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope.

Mr. H. Walters, Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit of the 16th or Chittagong Division, and Commissioner of Arracan, for six weeks, on medical certificate. Mr. J. J. Harvey has been appointed to officiate as Commissioner during the absence of Mr. Walters, and Mr. G. A. C. Plowden to officiate as Magistrate and Collector of Chittagong during Mr. Harvey's employment as Commissioner.

The Order of Mr. G. Stockwell, Commissioner of the 4th or Moradabad Division, directing Mr. R. K. Clarke to officiate as Collector and Magistrate of the Southern Division of Moradabad, until the return of Mr. Okeden, has been approved.

**21ST APRIL, 1834.**

The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following appointments :

Mr. W. Cowell to officiate as an additional Judge of Zillah Bareilly.

Mr. A. Smelt to officiate as Civil and Session Judge of Moorshedabad.

Mr. C. C. Jackson to officiate as Magistrate and Collector of Moorshedabad.

The following officers have obtained leave of absence from their stations :

Mr. D. Pringle, Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of the Central Division of Cuttack, for a fortnight, on private affairs, in extension of the leave granted to him by the Commissioner on the 17th ultimo.

Mr. C. C. Jackson, Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Moorshedabad, for a fortnight, on private affairs, in addition to the time allowed to join his station.

**28TH APRIL, 1834.**

The following officers have leave of absence from their stations :

Mr. N. J. Halbed, Special Commissioner under Regulation III., 1828, and officiating Judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut at the Presidency, for 18 months, on medical certificate, to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope.

Mr. C. Smith, additional Judge of Chittagong, for 6 weeks, on medical certificate.

Mr. J. A. Pringle, Civil and Session Judge of Moorshedabad, for 18 months, on medical certificate, to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope.

Mr. H. Walters, Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit of the 16th or Chittagong Division, and Commissioner of Arrakan, for 18 months, on medical certificate, to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope.



Mr. W. H. Martin, Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Furreedpore, for 2 months, on medical certificate. The Commissioner of the 15th or Dacca Division will make arrangements for relieving Mr. Martin.

Mr. H. Kean, M. D., Assistant Surgeon, attached to the civil station of Moorsheadabad, for 10 days, on private affairs.

C<sup>o</sup> MACSWEEN, Secy. to Govt.

#### **FORT WILLIAM, GENERAL DEPARTMENT, 31st MARCH, 1834**

Mr. G. H. Smith is appointed to officiate in charge of the Customs in the Northern Dooab and Delhi Division.

7TH APRIL, 1834.

Mr. W. Bracken, head Assistant to the Collector of Calcutta Customs, has obtained an extension of the leave granted to him under the orders of Government of the 21st January last, for a period of ten days.

Mr. Edward Stirling is permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough.

Mr. F. A. Dalrymple embarked on sick certificate, for Europe, on board the private ship *Hindustan*. The vessel was left by the pilot at sea on the 2d instant.

Mr. Sullivan J. Brecher having passed an examination on the 1st instant, and being reported qualified for the public service by proficiency in two of the Native languages, the orders which were issued on the 24th February last for that gentleman's return to Europe are revoked.

Mr. H. S. Ravenshaw, Writer, is reported qualified for the public service by proficiency in two of the Native languages.

14TH APRIL, 1834.

The extension of leave of absence granted under the Orders of Government of the 7th instant, to Mr. W. Bracken, Head Assistant to the Collector of Government Customs at Calcutta, for a period of ten days, has been cancelled at his request from the 7th instant, the date on which he resumed charge of his office.

28TH APRIL, 1834.

Mr. C. C. Jackson is appointed to officiate as Collector of Government Customs at Moorshedabad, until further orders.

Mr. Edward Stirling embarked on furlough for Europe on board the steamer *Forbes*. The vessel was left by the pilot at sea on the 16th instant.

H. T. PRINSEP, Secy. to Govt.

#### **FORT WILLIAM, POLITICAL DEPARTMENT, 3D APRIL, 1834.**

Captain D. Bruce resumed command of the Palace Guards at Delhi on the 10th March.

Assist Surgeon Spry, Civil Surgeon at Hutta, permitted to proceed to the Presidency for the purpose of applying for leave to proceed to sea on account of ill health.

10TH APRIL, 1834.

Cornet J. D. Macnaghten received charge of the Harowtee Agency from Mr. Wilkinson on the 8th March, 1834.

21TH APRIL, 1834.

Mr. John Bax received charge of the Residency at Indoor from Captain Robinson on the 8th instant.

On the 3d instant Major Edward John Honeywood was appointed Superintendant of the Mysoor Princes, in succession to Major Caldwell proceeded to Europe.

C. E. TREVELYAN, Depy. Secy. to the Govt.

#### **FORT WILLIAM, LAW DEPARTMENT, 28TH APRIL, 1834.**

Mr. John Cochrane, Standing Counsel to the Hon'ble Company, is permitted to proceed to the Sand Heads, and to be absent from his office for three weeks, from the 27th instant, for the benefit of his health.

H. T. PRINSEP, Sec. to Govt.

### **ECCLLESIASTICAL.**

#### **FORT WILLIAM, ECCLESIASTICAL DEPARTMENT, 7TH APRIL, 1834.**

The Reverend T. E. Allen, District Chaplain at Hazareebaugh, has obtained an extension of the leave granted to him under the orders of Government of the 10th ultimo, for a further period of one month.

28TH APRIL, 1834.

The Reverend T. E. Allen, District Chaplain at Hazareebaugh, who, under the orders of the 7th instant, obtained an extension of leave for a further period of one month, reported his arrival at Hazareebaugh on the 21st instant.

H. T. PRINSEP, Sec. to Govt.

## GENERAL ORDERS

BY THE HONORABLE THE VICE PRESIDENT IN COUNCIL.

FORT WILLIAM, 30 APRIL, 1834.

No. 85 of 1834.—The Hon'ble the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following Appointments :

Assistant Surgeon Robert Barclay Duncan to the Medical duties of the Civil Station of Agia.

Assistant Surgeon James Esdaile, M. D., to the Medical duties of the Civil Station of Azimghur.

Assistant Surgeon Henry Taylor to the Medical duties of the Civil Station of Mynpoore, retaining his present charge.

The following temporary Appointments are confirmed :

Lieutenant John Fordyce, of Artillery, and Lieutenant James Nathaniel Rind, of the 37th Regt N I, as Assistant Revenue Surveyors.

Major Edward John Honeywood, of the 7th Regt. Light Cavalry, as Superintendant of the Mysore Princes, in succession to Major Caldwell, proceeded to Europe.

Lieutenant Charles Digby Dawkins, of the 2nd Regt. Light Cavalry in Command of the Governor General's Body Guard, vice Major Honeywood.

Lieutenant John Hamilton, of the 9th Regt. Light Cavalry, as a Major of Brigade on the Establishment, vice Lieutenant Dawkins.

The Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following temporary Appointments :

Captain Charles Coventry, of the 32d Regt. N. I., to officiate as Deputy Pay Master at Nusseerabad, vice Captain J. Fagan, promoted to a Regimental Majority.

Assistant Surgeon William Brook O'Shaughnessy, M. D., to officiate in Medical Charge of the Civil Station of Gyah, until further Orders.

The following Promotion and Arrangement are made by the Vice President in Council :

70th Regt. N. I.—Supernumerary Lieut. Douglas Truscott Caddy is brought on the effective strength of the Regiment, from the 15th December, 1833, vice Lieut. J Robertson deceased.

Ensign Francis Jeffreys to be Lieut. from the 13th March, 1834, vice Lieut. and Brevet Captain the Hon'ble P. C. Sinclair deceased.

The undermentioned Officer is brought on the effective strength of the Infantry on this Establishment, from the date expressed opposite to his name :

Infantry.—Ensign George Thomas Hamilton, from the 27th February, 1834, in succession to Lieut. C. Cook transferred to the Invalid Establishment.

Subadar Mirza Munower Beg, of the 5th Regt. Light Cavalry, is promoted to the rank of Subadar Major in that Regt. from the 17th ultimo, vice Boedun Khan deceased.

30 APRIL, 1834.

No. 86 of 1834.—The Troop of Horse Artillery at Dum Dum being considered as permanently attached to the station, the separate Bazar Establishment of one Muttsuddee and one Weighman, hitherto drawn for it, in conformity with General Orders No. 40, of the 24th Feb. 1826, is to be discontinued from the 1st proximo.

10TH APRIL, 1834.

No. 87 of 1834.—Lieut. Alexander Webster, of the 43d Regiment N. I. is permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough, on account of his private affairs.

The leave of absence granted to Lieut. C. J. Lewis, Deputy Assistant Commissary General, in General Orders No. 27, of the 29th January last, is cancelled from the 26th ultimo.

The leave of absence granted to Mr. John Henry Warner, Executive Officer 4th Division of Public Works, in General Orders No.—of the 13th February last, is extended to the 15th instant.

Assistant Surgeon Henry Harpur Spry, Civil Surgeon at Hutta, has been permitted, in the Political Department, under date the 8d instant, to visit the Presidency, for the purpose of applying for leave to proceed to sea, on medical certificate.

No. 88 of 1834.—The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following promotion in the Medical Department :

Assistant Surgeon Donald Butter, M. D., to be Surgeon, from the 25th February 1833, vice McDowell retired.

No. 89 of 1834.—The following Officers have leave of absence :

Major M. Ramsay, of the 24th Regt. N. I. Assist. Superintendant of Canals in the Western Provinces, to reside in the Hills, from the 15th March to the 15th Nov next, on medical certificate.

Lieut. B. Y. Reilly, of the Corps of Engineers, Executive Engineer of the 13th or Rajepootanah Division of Public Works, to reside in the Hills, from the 25th April to the 1st July next, previously to visiting the Presidency, which he has been permitted to do in General Orders No. 79, of the 20th ultimo.

Lieut. Reilly will deliver over charge of the Division to Lieut. Fagan, of Engineers, as a temporary arrangement.

#### 17TH APRIL, 1834.

No. 90 of 1834.—The undermentioned officers are brought on the effective strength of the Infantry on this establishment, from the dates expressed opposite to their names :

Infantry.—Ensign Arthur Mitford Becher, from the 18th March 1834, in succession to Major J. Grant transferred to the Invalid Establishment.

Ensign Frederic Dayot Atkinson, from the 13th March 1834, in succession to Lieut. R. W. Palin resigned.

Ensign Walter Stanhope Sherwill, from the 13th March 1834, in succession to Lieut. and Brevet Capt. the Hon'ble P. C. Sinclair deceased.

The unexpired portion of the extension of six months' leave of absence granted by the Bombay Government, to Ensign Charles Arthur Morris, of the 29th Regt. Bengal N. I., to proceed thence to sea, confirmed by the Supreme Government in General Orders No. 156, of the 31st October 1833, is hereby cancelled from the 20th of February last, the date of that officer's return to Fort William.

Mr. Apothecary Peter O'Brien, of the Subordinate Medical Department, has been permitted by Government, in the General Department, to accept the situation of Head-Assistant to the Calcutta Native Hospital, in the room of Mr Mathew Barrett resigned.

No. 91 of 1834.—The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following promotions, the date of which will be adjusted hereafter :

Infantry.—Lieut.-Col. Thomas Newton to be Colonel, vice Col. Goddard Richards deceased.

Major George Peter Wymer to be Lieut.-Col., vice Lieut.-Col. Thomas Newton promoted.

61st Regt N I.—Capt. William Gregory to be Major, Lieut. John Macdonald to be Captain of a Company, and Ensign James Charles Innes to be Lieut., in succession to G P Wymer promoted.

Capt John Jones, of the 46th Regt. N. I., and Lieut. John Loftus Tottenham, of the 3d Regt. Light Cavalry, have returned to their duty, on this Establishment, without prejudice to their rank, by permission of the Honorable the Court of Directors:—Date of arrival at Fort William, 15th April 1834.

The undermentioned Officers are permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough :

Lieut.-Col George Hunter, C B., of the 74th Regt. N. I., and Lieut. Charles Ekins, of the 7th Regt. L. C. on medical certificate.

Assist. Surgeon John Colvin, M. D., of the Medical Department, attached to the Civil Station of Goruckpore, on account of his private affairs.

No. 92 of 1834.—The Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following temporary appointment.

Veterinary Surgeon H. C. Hulse, attached to the 10th Regt. Light Cavalry, to officiate as Veterinary Surgeon to the Haupper Stud, during the absence of Veterinary Surgeon Lindsay, or until further orders.

#### 24TH APRIL, 1834.

No. 94 of 1834.—The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to direct, that the following paragraph of a Military letter from the Honorable the Court of Directors, No. 96, dated the 23d October 1833, be published in General Orders :

" Having taken into our consideration the rates of pay at present allowed to Members of the Medical Board and to Superintending Surgeons when on furlough to Europe, we have resolved that, from the date of this despatch, Members of our several Medical Boards be allowed to draw the pay of Colonels of Infantry, and Superintending Surgeons the pay of Lieutenant-Colonels of Infantry, whilst on furlough under the Regulations of the Service."

No 95 of 1834.—The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to direct, that the following paragraphs (1 and 3) of a Military letter from the Honorable the Court of Directors, No. 96, dated the 6th November 1833, be published in General Orders :



Para. 1 " We have permitted Surgeon Walter Glass, late of your Establishment, to retire from the Service : his retirement takes effect from the 29th August 1833.

3 We have permitted Captain George Forster, of your Establishment, to remain twelve months longer in this country.

No. 96 of 1834.—The Vice President in Council is pleased to direct that the following paras. (3 to 5) of a Military letter from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, No. 97, dated the 6th Nov. 1833, the provisions of which are applicable to the three Presidencies, be published in General Orders :

Para. 3. " We direct that fees upon commissions granted by his Majesty to the Company's officers, shall be hereafter collected by, and credited to, Government in the same manner as the fees on Company's commissions are now collected and credited, and that the salary to be hereafter granted to the Military Secretary of the Commander in Chief, be two thousand two hundred and fifty Rupees, (2,250) per month, in lieu of fees and all other emoluments.

4. We observe a great discrepancy in the rates of fees levied from officers of the same rank at our several Presidencies, and that those rates in most instances materially exceed the rates paid by officers of corresponding rank in his Majesty's Service

5. We therefore direct that the fees on commissions to be hereafter paid by the Company's officers at all the Presidencies, be the same as those charged to his Majesty's officers of corresponding rank, and that one moiety of those fees be charged for the Company's and the other moiety for the King's commissions."

No. 97 of 1834.—Under instructions from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council is pleased to direct, with reference to General Orders No. 198 A., of the 28th September, 1827, laying down a scale of pay and allowances for Veterinary Surgeons on this establishment, including those of his Majesty's Service, that the clause commencing with the words "but they &c" and ending with "individual" in paragraph 4, be cancelled. The Order Books to be corrected accordingly.

No. 98 of 1834.—The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following promotion :

67th Regiment Native Infantry.—Ensign George Isaac Hudson to be Lieutenant, from 18th April 1834, vice Lieutenant A. Kennedy deceased.

The undermentioned officer is brought on the effective strength of the Infantry on this establishment, from the date expressed opposite to his name :

Infantry.—Ensign Clare Sewell Salmon, from the 18th March 1834, vice Ensign E. H. Showers deceased.

The leave of absence granted to Lieutenant George Turner, of the 38th Regt. N. I., in General Orders No. 56, of the 6th April 1832, is extended to the 15th instant.

The Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following appointment in the Ordnance Commissariat Department :

Sub-Conductor George Forrest to be acting Conductor, vice Luke Keelan promoted to full Conductor in General Order No. 50, of the 18th February last, in succession to Leith deceased.

No. 99 of 1834.—The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following adjustment of rank :

<i>Corps.</i>	<i>Rank and names.</i>	<i>To rank from.</i>	<i>In whose room.</i>
Infantry.	Colonel T. Newton, ....	19th Oct. 1833.	Col. G. Richards deceased.
Ditto.	Lieutenant-Colonel C. F. Wild,		
24th Regt. N. I.	Major M. Ramsay, ....		
Ditto.	Captain A. S. Singer, ....		
Ditto.	Lieut. A. Q. Hopper, .....	17th Jan. 1834.	Lieut. Colonel T. Taylor retired.
Infantry.	Lieut. Col. G. P. Wymer ....		
61st Regt. N. I.	Major W. Gregory, .....		
Ditto.	Captain J. Macdonald, .....		
Ditto.	Lieutenant J. C. Innes, .....		

The leave of absence granted to Captain John Satchwell, Assistant Commissary General, in General Orders No. 27 of the 29th January last, is cancelled from the 25th ultimo.

J. STUART, Depy. Secy. to Govt. Milly. Dept.

## GENERAL ORDERS

BY MAJOR GENERAL J. WATSON, C. B.

*Head Quarters, Calcutta, 2d April, 1834.*

The Cawnpore Division Order of the 21st ultimo, appointing Captain J. C. C. Gray, of the 21st Regiment Native Infantry, to officiate as Deputy Judge Advocate to a European General Court Martial ordered to be assembled at Cawnpore, for the trial of Private George Macdonald, of His Majesty's 16th Foot, or such other Prisoners as may be brought before it, is confirmed.

The Regimental Order by Lieut. Col. T. D. Stenart, Commanding the 10th Light Cavalry, under date the 18th ultimo, appointing Lieut. T. F. B. Beatson to act as Adjutant to that Corps, is confirmed.

The Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased to make the following promotions:

*5th Regiment Light Cavalry.*—Jemadar Mahobnt Sing to be Subadar, and Havildar Shaick Boodoo to be Jemadar, from the 17th March 1834, in succession to Boodun Khan deceased.

The undermentioned officers have leave of absence:

Engineers.—2d Lieut. G. H. Fagan, (attached to the Delhi Division Department of Public Works,) from 20th March to 20th Sept. to visit Neemuch, on private affairs.

Right Wing European Regt.—Lieut. C. Jorden, from 15th April to 5th September, to visit Dacca, on private affairs.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 4th April, 1834.*

Lieut. J. Hamilton, of the 9th Regt. Light Cavalry, who has been appointed a Brigade Major on the Establishment, in Government General Orders No. 85, of the 3d instant, is posted to the Meywar Field Force.

Capt. W. Glasgow, of the Invalid Establishment, is permitted to reside at Serampore, and draw his allowances from the Presidency Pay Office.

*Head Quarters, Calcutta, 5th April, 1834.*

Lieut. F. Wallace, of the Invalid Establishment, is permitted, until further orders, to reside at Butool, and draw his allowances from the Benares Pay Office.

The undermentioned officers have leave of absence:

European Invalids—Lieut. Col. W. B. Walker, from 15th Feb. to 1st August, in extension, to remain at the Presidency, on medical certificate.

Engineers—Lieut. J. R. Oldfield, (attached to the 13th division Department of Public Works,) from 5th March to 5th March 1835, to visit Simlah, on medical certificate.

26th Regt N. I.—Surgeon B. Burt, M. D., from 20th March to 20th April, in extension, to remain at the presidency, on private affairs.

Subordinate Medical Department.—Assist. Apothecary W. Brookes, Foot Artillery, Cawnpore, from 15th April to 15th October, to visit the presidency, on private affairs.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 7th April, 1834.*

The Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased to direct that the following General Order which was issued to His Majesty's Regiments in India on the 4th instant, be published to the Army:

*Calcutta, 4th April, 1834.*

### GENERAL ORDER.

No. 785.—At a General Court Martial re-assembled at Secrole, Benares, on Thursday, the 13th day of February 1831, Ensign Conyngham Montgomery, of His Majesty's 3d Regt. (or Buffs) was arraigned on the following Charge:—

*Charge.*—"Ensign Conyngham Montgomery, of His Majesty's 3d Regt (or Buffs) placed in arrest and charged.

"With conduct disgraceful to an Officer, in having been drunk on duty under arms, on the evening of the 2d of December 1833, at Berhampore, on occasion of the parade of the Regiment for the inspection of the Major General Commanding the Division."

Upon which Charge the Court came to the following decision:

*Finding.*—"The Court, upon the evidence before it, finds the prisoner Ensign Conyngham Montgomery, of His Majesty's 3d (or Buffs) Regt. guilty of the charge preferred against him.

**Sentence.**—"The Court sentences the prisoner Ensign Conyngham Montgomery, of His Majesty's 3d (or Buffs) Regt. to be cashiered."

(Approved,)

(Signed) W. C. BENTINCK, Commander in Chief.

Ensign Conyngham Montgomery is to be struck off the strength of His Majesty's 3d (Buffs) Regt. on the day on which the sentence of the General Court Martial shall be made known to him.

By order of his Excellency the Right Honorable the Commander in Chief,

(Signed) R. TORRENS, Col. Adjt. Genl. H. M. Forces in India.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 8th April, 1834.*

Major J. Grant, of the Invalid Establishment, is appointed to the Command of the European Invalids at Chunar, during the absence on leave of Lieut.-Col. W. B. Walker.

Major Stirling, on being relieved, will re-join his own Regt., the 74th N. I. at Mirzapore.

The Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased to make the following Appointments :

**10th Regt. Light Cavalry.**—Lieut. T. F. B. Beatson to be Adjutant vice Mellish resigned.

**Arracan Local Battalion.**—Lieut. J. H. Tilson, of the 66th Regt. N. I., (at present serving with the Arracan Local Battalion,) to be Adjutant, vice Duff deceased.

Ensign G. H. Davidson, of the 16th, is, at his own request, removed to the 72d Regt. N. I., as junior of his rank.

Assistant Surgeon W. Rait, proceeding to Cawnpore in Medical charge of a Detachment of His Majesty's Troops, is directed, on his arrival there, to place himself under the orders of the Superintending Surgeon of the Cawnpore Division.

Apothecary John Douglas is removed from His Majesty's 3d Buffs, and directed to continue doing duty with the 2d Brigade Horse Artillery, during the absence of Apothecary D. McDonald, or until further orders.

Apothecary Charles Fox is removed from His Majesty's 16th Foot, and posted to His Majesty's 3d Buffs at Ghazepore, vice Douglas.

Apothecary John Wilson, who was directed to do duty with the 2d Brigade Horse Artillery in General Orders of the 8th ultimo, is posted to His Majesty's 16th Foot at Cawnpore vice Fox.

Assistant Apothecary John Silk is removed from His Majesty's 16th Foot, and directed to join and do duty with the 2d Brigade Horse Artillery at Cawnpore.

Assistant Apothecary Charles Permien is removed from the Artillery, and posted to His Majesty's 16th Foot at Cawnpore, vice Silk.

Steward James Bain is removed from His Majesty's 16th Foot, and directed to join and do duty with the 2d Brigade Horse Artillery at Cawnpore.

Steward David Nixon is posted to his Majesty's 16th Foot, vice Bain.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 9th April, 1834.*

The Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased to direct that the following General Order which was issued to His Majesty's Regiments in India on the 8th instant, be published to the Army :

*Calcutta, 8th April, 1834.*

GENERAL ORDER.

No. 787.—At a General Court Martial, assembled at Agra on the 13th day of January, 1834, Bugler Michael Sale, No. 218, of No. 2 or Captain Barker's Company, H. M. 13th Light Infantry, was arraigned on the following charges :—

1st charge.—"First instance. For ill treating Goopie, camp follower, on the morning of the 14th of October, 1833.

"Second instance. For making use of highly abusive language to Lance Serjeant McEntyre, when in the execution of his duty, on the same day.

2d charge.—"For mutinous conduct, as set forth in the following instances :

"First instance. In having struck Serjt. Henry Haslem, of No. 6 or Capt. Tronson's Company, H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry, a violent blow on the head when in the execution of his duty, on the morning of the 14th of October 1833, and made use of highly abusive language to the said Serjeant.

"Second instance. For having struck Serjeant John Hallisay, of No. 4 or Capt. Fothergill's Company, H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry, a violent blow on the head, when in the execution of his duty as Serjeant of the Main Barrack Guard, on the morning of the 14th October, 1833."

Upon which charges the Court came to the following decision :—

**Opinion.**—"The Court having maturely weighed and considered the evidence adduced in support of the prosecution on each charge, together with what the prisoner has brought forward in his defence, are of opinion, that he is guilty of the first instance



of the first charge; that he is guilty of the second instance of the first charge; that he is guilty of the first instance of the second charge; with the exception of the words 'violent on the head, and when in the execution of his duty;' that he is guilty of the second instance of the second charge.

*Sentence.*—"The Court having found the prisoner Bugler Michael Sale, No. 218, of No. 2 or Captain Barker's Company, His Majesty's 18th Light Infantry, guilty of the first charge in both instances; guilty of the second charge in both instances, with the exception of the words 'violent on the head,' and 'when in the execution of his duty;' in the first instance of the second charge, which being in direct breach of the Articles of War; do, by virtue thereof, sentence him, the prisoner Bugler Michael Sale, No. 218, of No. 2 or Captain Barker's Company, His Majesty's 18th Light Infantry, to suffer solitary confinement for the term of twelve calendar months."

Approved,

(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Major Genl. in Command of the Forces.

REMARKS BY THE MAJOR GENERAL COMMANDING THE FORCES.

In consideration of the prisoner's long confinement, and of the improper and irritating conduct pursued towards him, while taking to the Guard room, the Major General in command of the Forces remits the punishment.

By order of Major General Watson,

(Signed) R. TORRENS, Col. Adj. Genl. H. M. Forces in India.

By order of Major General Watson,

J. R. LUMLEY, Col. Adj. Genl. of the Army.

*Head Quarters, Calcutta, 9th April, 1834.*

The Regimental Order by Lieut. Col. G. Cooper, commanding the 31th N. I. dated the 2d instant, appointing Lieut. W. Gibb, of that corps, to act as Adj. to the 4 companies of the Regt. proceeding on escort duty with treasure, is confirmed.

The Major General in command of the Forces is pleased to make the following promotion:

7th Regt. N. I.—Havildar Meeran Sing to be Jemadar, from the 17th March 1834, vice Gungraj Sing deceased.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 10th April, 1834.*

Sergeant Joseph Dutton, of the Pension Establishment, is permitted to reside and draw his stipend at Moughyr, instead of at Benares.

The undermentioned officers have leave of absence:

55th Regt. N. I.—Capt. J. Scott, from 1st April to 10th May, to visit Calcutta, on private affairs.

33d Regt. N. I.—Lieut. P. Mainwaring, (attached to the Sylhet Light Infantry, from 25th April to 25th May,) in extension, to remain at the Presidency, for the purpose of appearing before the Examiners of the College of Fort William.

8th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. A. Ramsay, from 1st March to 15th August, to remain at Barrilly, on medical certificate.

56th Regt. N. I.—Ensign C. D. Bailey, from 27th Jan. to 1st May, to remain at the Presidency, for the purpose of undergoing an examination in the College of Fort William.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 11th April, 1834.*

The Sirhind Division Order of the 27th ultimo, directing Lieut. J. F. Bradford, of the 1st Light Cavalry, to continue to act as Interpreter and Quarter Master of the 9th Regt. Light Cavalry, is confirmed.

A European General Court Martial will assemble at Meerut at such time as Major General the Honorable J. Ramsay, commanding that Division, may direct for the trial of Lieut.-Col. John Hunter, of the 56th Regt. N. I., lately commanding the 71st Regt. N. I., and all such prisoners as may be brought before it.

Brigadier E. Cartwright is appointed President, and Major General Ramsay will be pleased to nominate the Members, and direct the Deputy Judge Advocate General of the Division to conduct the proceedings.

The officer commanding the Sirhind Division will be pleased to detach, on Major General the Honorable J. Ramsay's requisition, such number of field officers and Captains as the Major General may judge necessary to complete the Court.

The undermentioned officers have leave of absence:

14th. Regt. N. I.—Surgeon J. Duncan, from 25th March to 1st July, to remain at Cawnpore, on medical certificate. N. B. This cancels the unexpired portion of the leave of absence granted to him in General Orders of the 28th December last, to enable him to rejoin his corps.

3d Regt. N. I.—Surgeon W. Grime, from 1st April to 1st September, to visit the Presidency, on medical certificate, preparatory to submitting an application for leave to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope.

6th Regt. Light Cavalry—Cornet G. Scott, from 1st April to 1st January 1835, to visit the Hill Provinces North of Deyrah, on medical certificate.

42d Regt. N. I.—Lieut. W. P. Meares, from 20th March to 5th November, to visit the Hills in the vicinity of Simla, on medical certificate.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 11th April, 1834.*

The Major General in command of the forces is pleased to direct, that the following General Order, which was issued to His Majesty's Regiments in India, on the 9th instant, be published to the Army:

*Calcutta, 9th April, 1834.*

**GENERAL ORDER**

No. 788.—At a General Court Martial, assembled at Meerut on the 13th day of January 1834, Private John Green, of Captain John Jenkins's Troop, His Majesty's 11th Regt. of Light Dragoons, was arraigned on the following charge:

*Charge.*—"For highly unsoldier-like conduct, in drawing his sword, and attempting to injure Lance Corporal Frederick Meredith, by making several cuts at him, when in the execution of his duty, on or about 5 o'clock on the evening of the 6th instant—being in breach of the 11th Article of War, and subversive of good discipline."

Upon which charge the Court come to the following decision:

*Finding.*—"The Court having duly weighed the evidence for the prosecution, together with what the prisoner has urged in his defence, is of opinion, that the prisoner is guilty of the crime laid to his charge, with the exception of the words 'attempting to injure,' of which it acquits him."

*Sentence.*—"The Court having found the prisoner Guilty of so much of the crime laid to his charge, sentences him, Private John Green, of H. M.'s 11th Regt. of Dragoons, to suffer solitary imprisonment for the period of six (6) calendar months, at which time and place as His Excellency the Right Honorable the Commander in Chief may be pleased to direct."

Approved; but in consideration of the prisoner's length of confinement, remit the punishment awarded.

(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Major Gen. in Command of the Forces.

Before the same Court Martial, on the 20th Jan. 1834, Private Patrick Crowe, of No. 6 (or Capt. J. Pigott's) Company, H. M.'s 26th (or Cameronian) Regt. was arraigned on the following charge:—

*Charge.*—"For mutinous conduct, in having, at Meerut Barracks, on the 18th of December 1833, seized a stone or brick, and violently, and with malicious intent, struck Color Sergeant Thomas Calder, he being in the execution of his office, whereby the Sergeant was severely cut in the head; the same being contrary to the Mutiny Act and the Articles of War."

Upon which Charge the Court came to the following decision:

*Finding.*—"The Court having duly weighed the evidence for the prosecution, together with what the Prisoner has urged in his defence, is of opinion, that he is Guilty of the crime laid to his charge."

*Sentence.*—"The Court having found the Prisoner Guilty of the crime of which he is charged, Sentences him, Private Patrick Crowe, of His Majesty's 26th (or Cameronian) Regiment, to suffer solitary imprisonment for the period of eighteen (18) calendar months, at such time and place as His Excellency the Right Honorable the Commander in Chief may be pleased to direct."

Approved: the imprisonment to be calculated from the date of the Sentence.

(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Major Genl. in Command of the Forces.

By order of Major General Watson,

(Signed) R. TORRENS, Col., Adjt. Genl. H. M. Forces in India.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 12th April, 1834.*

The Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased to direct, that the following General Order, which was issued to His Majesty's Regiments in India, on the 10th instant, be published to the Army:

*Calcutta, 10th April, 1834.*

**GENERAL ORDER.**

No. 789.—At a General Court Martial, assembled at Agra on the 13th day of January 1834, Private Robert Scott, No. 124, of No. 7 or Captain Sutherland's Company, His Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, was arraigned on the following Charge:—

*Charge.*—"For unsoldier like conduct, in having been asleep on his post between 2 and 3 o'clock on the morning of the 21st October 1833."

Upon which charge the Court come to the following decision :

*Finding.*—"The Court having maturely weighed and considered the evidence in support of the Prosecution, together with the Prisoner's defence, are of opinion, that he, the Prisoner, Private Robert Scott, No. 124, of No. 7 or Captain Sutherland's Company, His Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, is guilty of the charge preferred against him which being in breach of the Articles of War, do sentence him, the Prisoner Private Robert Scott, No. 124, of No. 7 or Capt. Sutherland's Company, His Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, to suffer solitary confinement for the term of (6) six calendar months."

Approved: the punishment remitted.

(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Major Genl. in Command of the Forces.

By order of Major General Watson,

(Signed) R. TORRENS, Col. Adj. Genl. H. M. Forces in India.

By order of Major General Watson,

J. R. LUMLEY, Col., Adj. Genl. of the Army.

The Battalion Order issued by Lieut. Col. J. A. Biggs, Commanding the 2d Battalion of Artillery, under date the 28th ultimo, appointing 1st Lieut. W. O. Young to act as Adjutant and Quarter Master to the Battalion is confirmed as to a temporary arrangement.

*Head Quarters, Calcutta, 15th April, 1834*

The Dinapore Station Order of the 7th instant, directing Major J. Thomson, of the 81st Regt. N. I., to remain at Dinapore, pending the dissolution of the European General Court Martial, of which he is President, is confirmed.

The leave of absence, for four months, granted to Lieut.-Col. G. Hunter, C. B., of the 74th Regt. N. I., is to have effect from the 11th ultimo, instead of the date specified in General Orders of the 26th Feb. last.

Lieut. C. Griffin, of the 51st Regt. N. I. is permitted to visit Simla, instead of the Hill Provinces North of Deyrah, as notified in General Orders of the 4th Jan. last.

Assist. Surgeon C. McCurdy, now at the General Hospital, is appointed to the medical charge of a detachment of his Majesty's 88th Foot, proceeding from Fort William to Berhampore by water; and after performing this duty, he will proceed to Agra, and place himself under the orders of the Superintending Surgeon of that circle.

Mr. McCurdy is directed to report himself to the Brigade Major King's Troops in Fort William.

That part of General Orders of the 8th ultimo, posting Assistant Apothecary F. O'Sullivan, on his promotion, to the General Hospital, is cancelled, and that individual will continue as heretofore attached to the Dispensary in the Garrison of Fort William.

The undermentioned officer has leave of absence:

65th Regt. N. I.—Assistant Surgeon M. Richardson, M. D., from 15th March to 15th December, to visit the Hill Provinces North of Deyrah Dhoon, on medical certificate.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 16th April, 1834.*

The Meerut Division Order of the 27th ultimo, directing the undermentioned Staff Sergeant, Native Doctor, Lascars and Puckallie, late of the 2d company of Pioneers, to do duty with the corps specified opposite to their respective names, is confirmed.

Sergeant Robert Ross, with the 71st Regt. N. I., Meerut.

Peerbuccus, Native Doctor, with the Sirmoor Battalion, Deyrah Dhoon.

Buxoolah Khan, Lascar, with the 39th Regt. N. I., Delhi.

Buldee, Lascar, with the 62d Regt. N. I. Loodianah.

Reslie, Puckallie, with the 1st Regt. Light Cavalry, Meerut.

The Dinapore Division Order of the 6th instant, appointing Lieut. and Adjutant T. Lysaght, of the European Regt., to officiate as Deputy Judge Advocate General to a Court Martial ordered to assemble at that station is confirmed.

The leave of absence granted to Captain R. L. Anstruther, of the 6th Regt. Light Cavalry, in General Orders of the 4th ultimo, is cancelled at his request.

Assistant Surgeon M. McN. Hind is appointed to the medical charge of the 65th Regt. N. I. at Mhow, during the absence on leave of Assistant Surgeon M. Richardson, M. D., or until further orders.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 17th April, 1834.*

Assistant Surgeon D. MacNab, M. D., is removed from 32d, and posted to the 3d Regt. N. I. at Nasseerabad.

Assistant Surgeon James Bruce, at present attached to the 57th N. I., is posted to the 28th Regt., and directed to join that corps at Agra.

Assistant Surgeon J. Murray, M. D., on being relieved from the medical charge of the 28th Regt. will rejoin the 1st Brigade Horse Artillery at Meerut.



The Major General in command of the Forces is pleased to make the following promotions:

58th Regt. N. I.—Jemadar Pulwan Sing to be Subadar, from the 26th March 1834, vice Subadar Lola Thakoor Persad deceased.

Havildar Bustee Dooby to be Jemadar, from the 26th March 1834, vice Jemadar Pulwan Sing promoted.

Jemadar Ramasur Sing to be Subadar, from the 1st April 1834, vice Subadar Jyndur Sing invalided.

Havildar Ramsawuck Sookni to be Jemadar, from the 1st April 1834, vice Jemadar Ramasur Sing promoted.

The undermentioned officer has leave of absence:

63d Regt. N. I.—Captain N. Lewis, from the 15th June to 30th October, to visit Bauleah, on private affairs.

The Major General in command of the Forces is pleased to direct, that the following General Order, which was issued to His Majesty's Regiments in India on the 11th inst., be published to the Army:

*Calcutta, 11th April, 1834.*

**GENERAL ORDER.**

No. 790.—At a General Court Martial, assembled at Berhampore on Tuesday the 4th day of March, 1834, Private John McCormick, No. 5 company His Majesty's 38th Regiment, was arraigned on the following charge: viz.

*Charge.*—"With having, when paraded with a drill squad, at Ghazeepore, on the morning of the 23d of Nov. 1833, struck, with his firelock, Drill Corporal Anker, of the same Regt., his superior officer, in the execution of his office; in breach of the articles of war."

Upon which charge the Court came to the following decision:

*Finding.*—The Court, upon the evidence before them, are of opinion, that the prisoner Private John McCormick, of No. 5 company, His Majesty's 38th Regt., is guilty of the charge preferred against him.

*Sentence.*—"The Court sentence the prisoner Private John McCormick, of No. 5. company, His Majesty's 38th Regt. to suffer solitary imprisonment for the space of (12) calendar months, in such place as the authority confirming this sentence shall be pleased to direct."

Approved: the imprisonment to be calculated from the date of the sentence.

(Sgd.) JAMES WATSON, Maj. Genl. in command of the Forces.

Before the same Court Martial, on the same day, Private George Traine, No. 964, of H. M. 38th Regt. was tried on the following charge: viz.

*Charge.*—"With having, on the 31st of Dec. 1833, in camp at Quilwar Ghaut, repeatedly struck Serjt. Wm. Horton, of H. M. 38th Regt. his superior officer, in the execution of his office; in breach of the articles of war."

Upon which charge the Court came to the following decision:—

*Finding.*—"The Court, upon the evidence before them, are of opinion, that the prisoner Private George Traine, No. 964., of His Majesty's 38th Regt., is guilty of the charge preferred against him.

*Sentence.*—"The Court sentence the prisoner Private George Traine, No. 964, of His Majesty's 38th Regt., to be transported to New South Wales for the period of seven years."

Confirmed,

(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Maj. Gen. in command of the Forces.

The prisoner Private George Traine is to be sent to Calcutta, under a suitable escort, to be delivered into the charge of the Town Major of Fort William, for the purpose of being made over to the civil power.

Before the same Court Martial, on the 5th day of March 1834, private Peter Ferrick, of Capt. Matthews's company, of His Majesty's 38th Regiment, was tried on the following charge: viz.

*Charge.*—"With having, on the 2d of Jan. 1834, in camp at Munneeab, struck Sergeant John Cox, of His Majesty's 38th Regiment, his superior officer in the execution of his office; in breach of the articles of war."

Upon which charge the Court came to the following decision:

*Finding.*—"The Court, upon the evidence before them, are of opinion, that the prisoner private Peter Ferrick, of Captain Matthews's company, His Majesty's 38th Regiment, is guilty of the charge preferred against him.

*Sentence.*—"The Court sentence the prisoner Private Peter Ferrick, of Capt. Matthews's company, His Majesty's 38th Regiment, to suffer solitary imprisonment for the space of 12 calendar months, in such place as the authority confirming this sentence shall be pleased to direct.

Approved: but I remit six months of the imprisonment awarded.

(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Maj. Genl. in command of the Forces.

Before the same Court Martial, on the 5th day of March 1834, private Charles Jennens, of the light company of His Majesty's 38th Regiment, was tried on the following charge: viz.

*Charge*—"With disgraceful and highly insubordinate conduct, in having gone about the officers' quarters, at Ghazee pore, on the 22d of Dec. 1833, with a loaded firelock, in search of Capt. Lowth, of His Majesty's 38th Regiment, with intent to take his life; and in saying to Capt. Lowth, when on the way to the guard, on the same occasion, that 'it was a good job that he had not met him a little sooner, or he would have made him a corpse,' or words to that effect."

Upon which charge the Court came to the following decision:

*Finding.*—"The Court, upon evidence before them, are of opinion, that the prisoner private Charles Jennens, of the light company of His Majesty's 38th Regiment, is guilty of the charge preferred against him; but the Court find, that the offence was not committed on the 22d of December, but on the 22d of November 1833.

*Sentence.*—"The Court sentence the prisoner private Charles Jennens, of the light company, His Majesty's 38th Regt., to suffer solitary imprisonment for the period of two years, in such place as the authority confirming this sentence shall be pleased to direct."

Approved: reducing the solitary imprisonment to one year.

(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Maj. Genl. in command of the Forces.

By order of Major General Watson,

(Signed) R. TORRENS, Col, Adj. Gen. H. M. Forces in India.

By order of Major General Watson.

J. R. LUMLEY, Col., Adj. Gen. of the Army.

The Major General in command of the Forces is pleased to direct, that the following General Order, which was issued to His Majesty's Regiments in India, on the 12th instant, be published to the Army.

*Calcutta, 12th April, 1834.*

GENERAL ORDER.

No. 791.—At a General Court Martial, re-assembled on the 17th day of January 1834, Lance Corporal Charles James Swan, of Captain Blundell's troop, His Majesty's 11th Regiment of Light Dragoons, was arraigned on the following charge:

*Charge*—"For highly unsoldier-like conduct, in refusing to obey the lawful command of his superior officer, Sergeant John Gore, of the same regiment and troop, on or about (9) nine o'clock on the night of the 25th instant, in the barrack-room, and following up disobedience, by striking the said Sergeant Gore a violent blow with his fist, Sergeant Gore being then and there in the execution of his office; being in breach of the 11th and 12th articles of war, and subversive of good order."

Upon which charge the Court came to the following decision:

*Finding.*—"The Court having duly weighed the evidence for the prosecution, together with what the prisoner has urged in his defence, is of opinion, that he is guilty of the crime laid to his charge.

*Sentence.*—"The Court having found the prisoner guilty of the crime laid to his charge, sentences him, Lance Corporal James Swan, of His Majesty's 11th Regt of Dragoons, to suffer solitary imprisonment for the period of twelve (12) calendar months, at such time and place as his Excellency the Right Honorable the Commander-in Chief may be pleased to direct."

Approved: the imprisonment to be calculated from the date of sentence.

(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Maj. Gen. in command of the Forces.

By order of Major General Watson,

(Signed) R. TORRENS, Col. Adj. Gen. H. M. Forces in India.

By order of Major General Watson,

J. R. LUMLEY, Col. Adj. Genl. of the Army.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 18th April, 1834.*

The suspension from rank and pay for 12 months, to which Lieut. Samuel Boileau Gend, of the 1st Regt. Lt. Cavalry, was sentenced by a General Court Martial, having expired, he is directed to return to his duty.

The Major General in command of the Forces is pleased to make the following removals and postings:

Colonel (Brigadier General) J. N. Smith from the 40th to the 59th Regt. N. I.

Colonel F. Newton (new promotion) to the 40th Regt. N. I.

Lieut. Col. J. H. Cave (on furlough) from the 61st to the 40th Regt. N. I.

Lieut. Col. G. P. Wymer, (new promotion) to the 61st Regt. N. I.

The undermentioned officers have leave of absence :

3d Local Horse—Cornet E. I. Robinson, (2d in command,) from 15th April to 15th Jan. 1835, to visit Simla, on medical certificate.

Nusseree Battalion—Lieut. and Adjutant C. O'Brien, from 25th March to 20th April, in extension, to remain at Loodianah, on medical certificate.

• *Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 19th April, 1834.* •

The Major General in command of the Forces is pleased to make the following promotion :

28d Regiment Native Infantry.—Havildar Meer Peer Allee to be Jemadar, from the 26th February 1834, vice Rambuccas deceased.

The undermentioned officers have leave of absence :

12th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. J. S. Hodgson, from 15th May to 15th August, to visit Futtehgurh and its vicinity, on private affairs.

15th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. Interpreter and Quarter Master W. Hunter, from 15th April to 1st December, to visit the Hills North of Deyrah Dhoon, on medical certificate.

33d Regt. N. I.—Lieut. Interpreter and Quarter Master R. T. Sandeman, from 6th May to 6th August, in extension, to remain at the Presidency, on private affairs.

65th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. E. Jackson, from 1st May to 31st October, to visit Benares, on private affairs.

The Major General in command of the Forces is pleased to direct, that the following General Order, which was issued to His Majesty's Regiments in India, on the 15th instant, be published to the Army:

*Calcutta, 15th April, 1834.*

GENERAL ORDER.

No. 793.—At a General Court Martial, assembled at Barrackpore on Monday, the 10th day of February, 1834, Private Christopher Kelly, of His Majesty's 44th Regt. was arraigned on the following charge:—

*Charge.*—"Private Christopher Kelly, of Captain Ainsworth's company, His Majesty's 44th Regt. confined and charged with disgraceful conduct, in having, near Patna, on the 3d of January 1834, grossly and indecently assaulted Mrs. Mary Anne Fitzgerald, wife of Private Matthew Fitzgerald, of Brevet Major Kitson's company, His Majesty's 44th Regiment, in breach of the articles of war."

Upon which charge the Court came to the following decision:—

*Finding.*—"The Court, upon the evidence before them, are of opinion, that the prisoner Private Christopher Kelly, of Captain Ainsworth's company, His Majesty's 44th Regiment, is guilty of the charge preferred against him.

*Sentence.*—"The Court sentence the prisoner Private Christopher Kelly, of Captain Ainsworth's company, His Majesty's 44th Regt. to suffer solitary imprisonment for (9) nine calendar months, in such place as His Excellency the Right Honorable the Commander in Chief shall be pleased to direct."

Approved and confirmed,

(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Maj. Gen. in command of the Forces.

By order of Major General Watson.

(Signed) R. TORRENS, Col., Adj. Gen. H. M. Forces in India.

The Major General in command of the Forces is pleased to direct that the following General Order, which was issued to His Majesty's Regiments in India on the 17th inst, be published to the Army:

*Calcutta, 17th April, 1834.*

GENERAL ORDER.

No. 795.—At a General Court Martial, assembled at Meerut on the 3d day of March 1834, Private Thomas Clarkson, of Capt. M. White's troop, His Majesty's 11th Light Dragoons, was arraigned on the following charges:—

*First.*—"For highly unsoldier like conduct, in striking his superior officer, Lance Corporal McEwen, of the same troop, a violent blow with his fist, when in the execution of his office, on the evening of the 5th instant.

*Secondly.*—"Being drunk for stable on the evening of the 5th February 1834,—this being the eighth time within the last twelve months, thereby constituting an act of habitual drunkenness—the previous instances being as follows; viz. on or about the 7th February 1833, the 8th February, 5th April, 4th October, 6th October, 8th November and 2d December 1833.

"The whole being in breach of the 11th and 51st articles of war, and subversive of good order."



Upon which charges the Court came to the following decision :

*Finding* —“ The Court having duly weighed the evidence for the prosecution, together with what the prisoner has urged in his defence, is of opinion, that he is guilty of both the charges exhibited against him, and sentence him, Private Thomas Clarkson, of Captain M. White's troop, His Majesty's 11th Light Dragoons, to suffer solitary imprisonment for a period of (7) seven months ; and further, to forfeit his liquor money for a period of (6) six months.”

Approved and confirmed,  
(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Major Genl. in command of the Forces.  
By order of Major General Watson,  
\* (Signed) R. TORRENS, Col. Adj. Genl. H. M. Forces in India.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 21st April, 1834.*

The Major General in command of the Forces is pleased to direct that the following General Order which was issued to His Majesty's Regiments in India on the 18th instant, be published to the Army :

*Calcutta, 18th April, 1834.*

GENERAL ORDER.

No. 796 — At a General Court Martial re-assembled at Berhampore on Monday the 17th day of March, 1834, Private Bernard Coyle, of H. M.'s 38th Regt. was arraigned on the following charge :—

*Charge*.—“ For unsoldier-like conduct, in striking Serjt. George Moss, of the same Regt. a violent blow on the face, on the evening of the 23d inst. ; Serjt. Moss being his superior officer, in the execution of his office.”

Upon which charge the Court came to the following decision :

*Finding* —“ The Court upon the evidence before them, are of opinion, that the prisoner Private Bernard Coyle, of No. 1 company, H. M.'s 38th Regt. is guilty of the charge preferred against him.

*Sentence*.—“ The Court sentence the prisoner Private Bernard Coyle, of No. 1 company, His Majesty's 38th Regiment, to suffer solitary imprisonment for the period of 2 years, in such place as the authority confirming this sentence shall be pleased to direct.”

Approved : the imprisonment reduced to one year, calculated from the date of the sentence.

(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Major Genl. in command of the Forces.

Before the same Court, on the same day, Private Patrick Prendergast, of the Light Company, His Majesty's 38th Regt., was arraigned on the following charge :—

*Charge*.—“ For unsoldier-like conduct, in striking Sergeant Joseph Davis, of the same Regt., a violent blow on the head on the night of the 7th of March 1834 ; Sergeant Davis being his superior officer, in the execution of his office.

Upon which charge the Court came to the following decision :

*Finding*.—“ The Court, upon the evidence before them, are of opinion that the prisoner Private Patrick Prendergast of the Light Company, His Majesty's 38th Regiment, is guilty of the charge preferred against him.

*Sentence*.—“ The Court sentence the prisoner Private Patrick Prendergast to suffer solitary imprisonment for the period of (2) two years, in such place as the authority confirming this sentence shall be pleased to direct.”

Approved : the imprisonment reduced to one year.

(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Major General in command of the Forces.  
By order of Major General Watson,

(Signed) R. TORRENS, Colonel, Adj. Genl. H. M. Forces in India.  
By order of Major General Watson,

J. R. LUMLEY, Col. Adj. Genl. of the Army.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 22d April, 1834.*

Ensign C. L. Edwards is, at his own request, removed from the 24th, and posted to the 70th Regt. N. I. at Bandah, as junior of his rank.

Assist. Apothecary James Freame is removed from His Majesty's 11th Light Dragoons, and directed to remain and do duty with the 5th Battalion of Artillery at Agra.

Assistant Apothecary George Bayley, now doing duty at Meerut, is appointed to the Hospital of His Majesty's 11th Light Dragoons, vice Freame.

Private McGovern, of the European Regiment, having been sent to the Lunatic Asylum, in consequence of his being in a state of mental derangement, is to be struck off the strength of his corps, and placed on the Town Major's list.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 23d April, 1834.*

The Sirhind Division Order of the 8th inst., directing Assistant Surgeon H. Maclean, of the Mhairwarra Local Battalion, to continue in medical charge of the Nussery Battalion, during the indisposition of Surgeon J. G. Gerard, is confirmed.

*Head Quarters, Calcutta, 24th April, 1834.*

Lieut. G. W. Williams, of the 29th Regt. N. I., has permission to visit the Presidency, on medical certificate, instead of Dinapore, for the period specified in General Orders of the 25th ultimo.

Conductor E. Treston is, at his own request, removed from the Magazine at Agra, and appointed to the Delhi Magazine.

Sergeant Patrick Daly, Laboratory Man in the Arsenal of Fort William is transferred to the Army Commissariat Department, vice Rea promoted to Sub Conductor.

Staff Sergeant Edmond McGuire, of the 1st Troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery, is transferred to the Town Major's List, and appointed Cooper and Wheelwright to the Agency for Gun Carriages at Futtehgurh.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence:

8d Regt. L. C.—Lieut. G. A. Brownlow, from 20th June to 20th December, to visit the Presidency, on private affairs.

52d Regt. N. I.—Lieut. C. Darby, from 30th April to 30th Sept., to visit the Presidency, on medical certificate, preparatory to applying for furlough.

Ordnance Department.—Conductor E. Treston, from 1st May to 1st September, to remain at Agra, on private affairs.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 25th April, 1834.*

The Major General in Command of the Forces finds occasion to direct, that the copies of Division and Station Orders, as well as all other Documents transmitted to Head Quarters, shall be written in a clear legible manner, and that 3 lines shall not be comprised in a less space than one inch. Care is also to be taken, that the usual margin of about  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the breadth of the sheet be invariably preserved.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence:

Division Staff—Lieut. D. Ramsay, A. D. C. to Major General the Hon. J. Ramsay, from 16th April to 16th Oct. to visit Simla, on medical certificate.

21st Regt. N. I.—Lieut. G. Carr, from 15th June to 15th Dec. to visit the Presidency, on urgent private affairs.—N. B This cancels from the 4th instant, the leave granted to Lieut. Carr in General Orders of the 10th February last.

71st Regt. N. I.—Lieut. W. McGeorge, from 7th July to 1st Oct. in extension, to enable him to join his Corps at Meerut.

The Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased to notify for general information, that European soldiers transferred to the pension establishment, and permitted to remain and draw their Stipends in India, are not entitled to be provided with tonnage at the public expense, for their conveyance to the stations at which they may be desirous of residing.

The Sirhind Division Order of the 10th instant, directing Colonel W. C. Faithfull, C. B., of the 49th Regt. N. I., to proceed to Kurnaul, and assume command of that station and of the Sirhind Division, from the 18th instant, is confirmed.

Captain G. Thomson, of the 40th Regt. N. I., is permitted to visit the Presidency, on medical certificate, instead of the Hills North of Deyrah, for the period authorized in General Orders of the 21st February last.

The leave of absence granted to Lieut. C. Jordan, of the European Regt., in General Orders of the 2d instant, is cancelled at his request.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence:

21st Regt. N. I.—Lieut. O. Lomer, from 30th April to 1st December, in extension, to remain at Landour, on medical certificate.

26th Regt. N. I.—Surgeon B. Burt, M. D., from 20th April to 1st June, in extension, to remain at the Presidency, on private affairs.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 28th April, 1834.*

The Major General in command of the forces is pleased to direct, that the following General Order, which was issued to His Majesty's Regiments in India, on the 14th instant, be published to the Army:

*Calcutta, 14th April, 1834.*

GENERAL ORDER.

No. 792.—At a General Court Martial, assembled at Agra on the 13th day of January 1834, Private Patrick Murray, No. 679, of No. 6 or Captain Tinson's Company, His Majesty's 13th Regt. of Light Infantry, was arraigned on the following charges:

1st.—“For highly unsoldier like and disgraceful conduct, in having, at Agra, between the hours of 4 and 5 o'clock on the afternoon of the 11th October 1833, in the Barrack of the 13th Light Infantry, stolen, or aided and abetted in stealing, from Neeka Mull, a Native Cloth Merchant, a quantity of Handkerchiefs, the property of the said Neeka Mull.

2d.—“For having, on the occasion, and at the time as set forth in the first charge, violently assaulted and maltreated Neeka Mull, Native Cloth Merchant.”

Upon which Charges the Court came to the following decision :

*Opinion.*—"The Court having maturely weighed and considered the evidence adduced in support of the prosecution, together with the Prisoner's silence on his defence, are of opinion, that he, the Prisoner Private Patrick Murray, No. 679, of No. 6 or Captain Trouson's Company, His Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, is not guilty of the 1st charge ; that he is guilty of the 2d charge.

*Sentence.*—"The Court having found the Prisoner Guilty of the second Charge, do Sentence him; the Prisoner Private Patrick Murray, His Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, to suffer solitary confinement for the term of six Calendar months."

Approved: the imprisonment to be calculated from the date of the sentence.

(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Maj.-Gen. in command of the Forces.

By order of Major General Watson,

(Signed) R. TORRENS, Col. Adj. Gen. H. M. Forces in India.

By order of Major General Watson,

J. R. LUMLEY, Col. Adj. Genl. of the Army.

Lieut. Colonel P. LeFevre's Regimental Order of the 14th instant. appointing Lieut. J. T. Gordon to act as Interpreter and Quarter Master to the 15th N. I., during the absence on sick leave of Lieut. Interpreter and Quarter Master W. Hunter. is confirmed.

The undermentioned officers having been pronounced qualified in Persian and Hindoostanee by District Committees, are exempted from further examination, except that by the Examiners of the College of Fort William, which they are expected to undergo whenever they may visit the Presidency :

Lieut. J. J. Hamilton, 36th Regt. N. I.

Ensign F. E. Voyle, 89th Regt. N. I.

Lieut. H. Hollings, 66th Regt. N. I.

Lieut. J. Chilcott, 74th Regt. N. I.

Ensign D. T. Pollock, 74th Regt. N. I.

Conductor B. Murphy is removed from the Expense Magazine at Dum Dum to the Arsenal of Fort William, vice Conductor J. Smith removed to the Magazine at Fort Cornwallis, and directed to join.

The Major General in command of the Forces is pleased to sanction an exchange of stations between acting Conductor G. Forrest and Sub-Conductor C. Stout, the former is accordingly appointed to the Arsenal of Fort William, and the latter to the Magazine at Agra.

The undermentioned officer has leave of absence :

41st Regt. N. I.,—Lieutenant J. Cumberlege, from 12th April to 2nd May, to visit Benares and Mirzapore, on private affairs.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 29th April, 1834.*

The Loodianah Station Order of the 21st February last, directing Assistant Surgeon W. L. McGregor, M. D., of the 4th troop 2d brigade Horse Artillery, to afford medical aid to the 40th Regt. N. I., during the absence on duty of Surgeon A. Murray, M. D., is confirmed.

The Major General in command of the Forces is pleased to make the following appointment :

25th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. G. Miller to be Adjutant, vice Wilson proceeded to Europe on furlough.

Assistant Surgeon H. Maclean, of the Mhairwarra Local Battalion, now doing duty with the Nusseree Battalion, is directed to afford medical aid to the Civil and Military officers and their families residing at Simla, during the present season.

Assistant Surgeon A. Gilmore, M. D., is directed, at the expiration of his present leave, to proceed to Meerut, and place himself under the orders of the Superintending Surgeon at that station.

Sergeant Thomas Toulminge, attached to the Gun Powder Agency at Ishapore, is remanded to the Artillery, and directed to join the Head Quarters of the Regiment at Dum Dum.

The undermentioned officers have leave of absence :

3d Battalion Artillery—1st Lieut. H. Sanders, from 17th April 1834 to 17th January 1835, to proceed to the Hills North of Deyrah, on medical certificate.

Artillery— supernumerary 2d Lieut. T. J. W. Hungerford, attached to the 2d Co. 4th battalion, from 1st May to 1st November, to proceed to Allahabad and Agra, on medical certificate.

6th Regt.—Light Cavalry—Lieut. W. H. Hall, from 1st May to 31st October, to visit the Presidency, on private affairs.

2d Regt N. I.—Captain H. W. Farrington, from 30th April to 15th July, in extension, to remain at the Presidency, on medical certificate.

By order of Major General Watson,

J. R. LUMLEY, Colonel, Adj. Genl. of the Army.



## **GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATIONS, &c.**

### **ORDERS BY THE HONORABLE THE VICE PRESIDENT IN COUNCIL.**

**JUDICIAL AND REVENUE DEPARTMENT, THE 5TH MAY, 1884.**

The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following appointments :

Mr J. P. Grant, appointed to officiate as an Assistant to the Secretary to Government in the Judicial and Revenue Department.

Mr. T. J. C. Plowden, ditto as Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Meerut.

Mr R. H. P. Clarke, ditto ditto of Cawnpore.

Lieut J Anderson, of the Corps of Engineers, ditto as an Assistant Superintendent of Roads in the Coal Division of the Dehlee and Allahabad Road

Lieut. A. C. Rainey, 25th Regt. N. I., ditto as a junior Assistant to the Commissioner of Arrakan.

The order of Mr. P. E. Patton, Commissioner of the 13th or Bauleah Division, directing Mr. G. U. Yule, Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of Dinagepore, to proceed to Rungpore for the purpose of relieving Mr T. P. Marten from the charge of the current duties of the Civil and Session Judge's office at that station, is approved.

The following officers have obtained leave of absence from their stations :

Mr. A. Dick, Civil and Session Judge of Midnapore, for one month, on medical certificate. Mr. Dick will make over charge of the current duties of the office to any junior Assistant who may be at the station, or to Mr. D. J. Money.

Mr. D. Pringle, Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of the Central Division of Cuttack, for 15 days, on private affairs, in extension of the leave granted to him on the 21st ultimo.

Mr. C. Todd, Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of the Southern Division of Mooradabad, from 15th May to 15th October 1884, on medical certificate, to proceed to the Hills.

Cazee Mahomed Ally, Principal Sudder Ameen at Tipperah, for fifteen days.

The order of Mr. R. Lowther, Commissioner of the 6th or Allahabad Division, granting leave of absence to Mr. Colin Mackenzie, Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Cawnpore, for eight months, on medical certificate, to proceed to the Hills, is confirmed.

The order of Mr. T. A. Shaw, Judge of Chittagong, granting leave of absence for two months to Rae Pursanauth, Principal Sudder Ameen at Chittagong, on medical certificate, is confirmed.

**8TH MAY, 1884.**

Lieut. James Awdry, of the 55th Regt. N. I., appointed to officiate as an Assistant under Capt. T. Wilkinson, Agent to the Governor General, under Regulation XIII. 1883.

**12TH MAY, 1884.**

The following Officers has obtained leave of absence from his stations :

Mr. H. Atherton, Assistant under the Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit of the 3d or Furruckabad division, from 1st May to 15th December, 1884, on medical certificate, to proceed to the Hills.

**19TH MAY, 1884.**

The Honorable the Vice President in Council has been pleased to make the following Appointments :

Mr. H. Atherton, Assistant under the Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit of the 5th or Bareilly Division.

Lieut. A. Cunningham of the Corps of Engineers, to be an Assistant to the Executive Officer of the 5th Division.

Mr. C. R. Barwell to officiate as Special Commissioner under Regulation III. 1829, for the Division of Calcutta.

Mr. S. T. Cuthbert to officiate as Civil and Session Judge of Behar.

The following Officers has obtained leave of absence from their Stations :

Mr. W. Dent, Civil and Session Judge of Behar, for three months, on medical certificate.

Mr. R. Trotter, Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Behar, ordinarily stationed at Sherghotty, for six weeks, on medical certificate.

**26TH MAY, 1884.**

The Honorable the Vice President in Council has been pleased to make the following appointments :

Mr. F. O. Wells, Magistrate of the 24-Pergunnahs, Superintendent of the Allipore Jail and a Magistrate of Calcutta.

Mr. J. Maherly, an Assistant under the Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit of the 1st or Meerut Division.

Mr. G. D. Wilkins, ditto ditto 12th or Moughyr Division.

Mr. J. B. Ogilvy to officiate as Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Behar, ordinarily stationed at Sherghotty.

Mr. H. W. Torrens to officiate as Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Meerut.

The following Officers have obtained leave of absence from their stations :

Mr. T. C. Plowden, Head Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of Seharunpore, for two months, on medical certificate.

Mr. F. H. Brett, Assistant Surgeon, attached to the Civil Station of Moradabad, for two months, on private affairs.

The leave of absence, for one month, granted to Captain J. H. Simmonds, Revenue Surveyor at Azimgurh, on the 1st February last, is cancelled at his request.

C. MACSWEEEN, Sec. to Govt.

### FORT WILLIAM, GENERAL DEPARTMENT, 12TH MAY, 1834.

Mr. George Alexander, Deputy Secretary to Government in the General Department, is permitted to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, for the benefit of his health, and to be absent on that account for 18 months.

Mr. G. M. Batten to officiate as Deputy Secretary to Government in the General Department, from the date of Mr. Alexander's embarkation, until further Orders.

26TH MAY, 1834.

Messrs. J. Maberly and G. D. Wilkins, writers, have been reported qualified for the Public Service by proficiency in two of the Native Languages.

Mr. Thomas Church has reported his having assumed charge of the Incorporated Settlement of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore and Malacca, on the 18th ultimo, in accordance with his appointment dated the 1st February last.

H. T. PRINSEP, Sec. to Govt.

### FORT WILLIAM, POLITICAL DEPARTMENT, 1ST MAY, 1834.

Mr. H. S. Graeme, Resident at Nagpoor, embarked for England on the ship *Zenobia*, from Fort Saint George, on the 12th April last.

8TH MAY, 1834.

Lient.-Col. W. Morrison, C. B., has been appointed by the Governor General to be sole Commissioner for the Government of the territories of His Highness the Rajah of Mysore.

Major N. Alves assumed charge of the office of the Agent to the Governor General for the States of Rajpootana and Commissioner of Ajmer from Lieut. Col. Speirs on the 18th April, 1834.

15TH MAY, 1834.

Lient.-Col. Lockett to be Resident at Nagpur, in succession to Mr. Graeme.

Major N. Alves to be Agent to the Governor General for the States of Rajputanah and Commissioner for Ajmer.

22D MAY, 1834.

His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General was pleased, on the 14th ultimo, to appoint Mr. J. A. Casamajor, of the Madras Civil Service, to be Resident at Travancore.

C. E. TREVELYAN, Deputy Sec. to the Govt.

### FORT WILLIAM, FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT, 3D MAY, 1834.

Mr. F. Macnaghten, Government Agent, is permitted to be absent from his office for a period of ten days, from the 5th instant—Mr. Dorin will conduct the duties of the Government Agency Office during Mr. Macnaghten's absence.

H. T. PRINSEP, Secy. to Govt.

### FORT WILLIAM, LAW DEPARTMENT, 19TH MAY, 1834.

Mr. John Cochrane, Standing Counsel to the Hon'ble Company, reported his return from the leave granted on the 28th ultimo, and resumed the duties of his office on the 17th instant.

H. T. PRINSEP, Sec. to Govt.

# GENERAL ORDERS

BY THE HONORABLE THE VICE PRESIDENT IN COUNCIL.

FORT WILLIAM, 1ST MAY, 1834

No. 100 of 1834 —The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following promotion and alteration of rank :

Medical Department.—Assistant Surgeon James Duncan to be Surgeon, vice Surgeon Walter Glass, M. D., retired, with rank from the 25th Feb 1834, vice Surgeon J. McDowell retired.

\*Alteration of Rank—Surgeon B. Burt, M. D., to rank from 28th August 1833, vice W. Glass, M. D., retired.

Surgeon J. Dalrymple, ditto 20th September 1833, vice G. Waddell, M. D., deceased.

Surgeon D. Butter, M. D., ditto 1st Feb. 1834, vice C. Robinson retired.

The undermentioned officers of Artillery and Infantry are promoted to the rank of Captain by Brevet, from the dates expressed opposite to their respective names :

## Regiment of Artillery.

1st Lieut. William John Macvitie.....	6th April 1834.
1st Lieut. William Richard Maidman....	7th ditto ditto.
1st Lieut. Henry Rutherford.....	9th ditto ditto.
1st Lieut. Archdale Wilson.....	10th ditto ditto.
1st Lieut. Philip Jackson.....	11th ditto ditto.
1st Lieut. David Ewart.....	13th ditto ditto.
1st Lieut. Augustus Abbott.....	16th ditto ditto.
1st Lieut. Peter Arnold Torckler....	17th ditto ditto.
1st Lieut. George Simson Lawrenson..	18th ditto ditto.
1st Lieut. Proby Thomas Cantley.....	19th ditto ditto.
1st Lieut. Charles McMorine.....	20th ditto ditto.
1st Lieut. Charles Grant.....	22d ditto ditto.
1st Lieut. Hubert Garbett.....	23d ditto ditto.
1st Lieut. Charles Dallas.....	27th ditto ditto.
1st Lieut. Richard Horsford.....	29th ditto ditto.

21st Regt. N. I. — Lieut. Charles Farmer, from 17th April, 1834.

41st Regt. N. I. — Lieut. William Hamilton Halford, from 11th ditto ditto.

48th Regt. N. I. — Lieut. Frederick Coape Smith, from 17th ditto ditto.

Apothecary Daniel Hodgkinson is appointed to the Medical Depot at Agra, vice Apothecary O'Brien permitted to accept the situation of Head Assistant to the Native Hospital at Calcutta.

No. 101 of 1834 —The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following appointment :

Lieut. John Nixon Sharp, of the Corps of Engineers, to be an Assistant to the Executive Engineer of the 6th or Allahabad Division of Public Works.

The appointment of Lieut. Robert Samuel Master, of the Corps of Engineers, to be an Assistant in the Department of Public Works, in General Orders No. 194 of the 27th December last, is to have retrospective effect from the 15th October last.

The following promotions are made in the Subordinate Medical Department :

Hospital Apprentice Thomas Nulty to be Assistant Apothecary, from the 16th April, 1834, vice J. Freame deceased.

Hospital Apprentice Marcus Hackerdon to be Assistant Apothecary, from the 18th April, 1834, vice C. J. Woodward deceased.

7TH MAY, 1834.

No. 102 of 1834. —Assistant-Surgeon Henry Harpur Spry, attached to the civil station of Sangor, Huttara, and Rehly, under the Political Agency of the Sangor and Nerhudda Territories, is permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough on medical certificate.

8TH MAY, 1834.

No. 103 of 1834 —The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following promotions :

Infantry.—Major William White Moore to be Lieutenant Colonel, from the 30th April 1834, vice Lieut.-Col. T. C. Watson, deceased.

12th Regt. N. I. —Captain Ivie Campbell to be Major, Lieut. William Andrew Ludlow to be Captain of a company, and Ensign John Richard Abbott to be Lieutenant: from the 30th April, 1834, in succession to Major W. W. Moore promoted.



No. 104 of 1834.—The following temporary appointments were made in the Judicial Department :

5th May, 1834.—Lient. John Anderson, of the Corps of Engineers, to officiate as Assistant Superintendent of the Coal Division, Dehly and Allahabad Road, in the room of Mr. J. O. Becket, resigned.

Ensign Arthur Crowe Rainey, of the 25th Regt. N. I. to officiate, until further orders, as a Junior Assistant to the Commissioner of Amacan, in the room of Lient. Mackintosh, deceased.

8th May, 1834.—Lient. James Awdry, of the 55th Regt. N. I. to officiate, until further orders, as an Assistant under Capt. Wilkinson, Agent to the Governor General, under the provision of Regulation XIII. 1834.

10TH MAY, 1834.

No. 105 of 1834.—The Honorable the Vice-President and Deputy Governor has been pleased to nominate Capt. Louis Saunders Bird, of the 24th Regt. N. I. to officiate as Fort Adjutant of Fort William, vice Rowe, so long as his Corps may form a part of the troops furnishing the Garrison Guards, or until further orders.

15TH MAY, 1834.

No. 106 of 1834.—The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following Promotions.

*31st Regiment Native Infantry.*

Lient. Robert Menzies to be Captain of a Company, and Ensign William Phillip Hampton to be Lient. from the 8th May, 1834, in succession to J. W. Rowe deceased.

The undermentioned Officer is brought on the effective strength of the Infantry on this Establishment, from the date expressed opposite to his name :

*Infantry.*

Ensign William Young Siddons, from the 10th April, 1834, in succession to Lient. A. Kennedy deceased.

No. 107 of 1834.—Capt. James Gouldhawke, of the Invalid Establishment, is permitted to proceed to Europe, on furlough, for one year, without pay, on account of his private affairs.

Capt. William Foley, of the 10th Regt. N. I., Sub-Assistant Commissary General, has leave of absence from his Station, from the 20th April to the 1st August next, to visit the Presidency, on medical certificate.

19TH MAY, 1834.

No. 108 of 1834.—The pay, batta, and other allowances for April 1834, of the troops at the Presidency, and at the other stations of the Army, will be issued on or after Tuesday, the 10th proximo.

22D MAY, 1834.

No. 110 of 1834.—The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following Promotions and Alteration of Rank :

Infantry.—Lient. Col. William Nott to be Col., from 13th Jan. 1834, vice Col. P. Littlejoin, deceased.

Major Hugh Morrison to be Lient.-Col., vice Lient. Col. W. Nott promoted, with rank from the 30th April 1834, vice Lient.-Col. T. C. Watson, deceased.

47th Regt N. I.—Captain William Martin to be Major, Lient. William Abraham Smith to be Captain of a Company; and Ensign Henry Henchman to be Lient., from the 30th of April 1834, in succession to Major H. Morrison, promoted.

ALTERATION OF RANK.

Infantry.—Lient.-Col. G. P. Wymer.—61st N. I. : Major W. Gregory, Captain J. Macdonald, and Lient. J. C. Innes, to rank from the 13th January 1834, in the room of Lient.-Col. W. Nott, promoted.

Infantry.—Lient.-Col. W. W. Moore.—12th N. I. : Major J. Campbell, Captain W. A. Ludlow, and Lient. J. R. Abbott, to rank from the 17th January 1834, in the room of Lient.-Col. T. Taylor retired.

No. 111 of 1834.—The Hon'ble the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following Promotions :

66th N. I.—Lient. George Farmer to be Captain of a Company, and Ensign John Macdonald to be Lieutenant, from the 5th May, 1834, in succession to Capt. J. S. Browne, deceased.

The following appointment was made in the Political Department under date the 15th instant :

Lieut.-Col. Abraham Lockett, of the 59th N. I. to be Resident at Nagpore, in succession to Mr. Græme.

Lieut. George Griffiths, of the 13th N. I. is promoted to the rank of Captain by Brevet, from the 20th May, 1834.

The undermentioned Officer is brought on the effective strength of the Infantry on this Establishment, from the date expressed opposite to his name:

Infantry.—Ensign James Thompson, 16th April 1834, in succession to Colonel G. Richards, deceased.

1st Lieutenant Julius Brockman Backhouse, of the Regiment of Artillery, is permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough, on account of his private affairs.

The following Students of the Native Medical Institution, are admitted to the Service as Native Doctors, to fill existing vacancies: Shaikh Gholam- Alee, Laula Jhubboo Lall, Noor Khan, Mohammad Ibraheem, and Hosain Bukhsh.

No. 112 of 1834.—Native Doctor Chedi Ghir, whose services are no longer required with the Grand Trigonometrical Survey, is permitted to accept the situation of Head Native Doctor to the City Dispensary of Moradabad.

No. 113 of 1834.—The following students of the Native Medical Institution are admitted to the Service as Native Doctors, to fill existing vacancies:

Devi Lal; Brij Lal Singh; Bhowany Dheen; and Shaik Jan Moohummud.

20th May, 1834

No. 111 of 1834 — The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following appointment:

Brigadier Alexander Duncan, to the General Staff of the Army, with the rank of Brigadier General, from the 3d instant, in succession to Major General Sir J. W. Adams, K. C. B., whose tour on the Staff expired on that date.

No. 115 of 1834.—I. Major General Sir J. W. Adams, K. C. B., whose tour on the General Staff has expired having relinquished the Command of the Subind Division of the Army, the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council cannot allow the occasion to pass without some expression of the sense entertained by the Government of the merits evinced by that distinguished officer throughout an uninterrupted service of fifty three years' duration.

2. For his brilliant achievements in the field, Sir J. Adams has received, in addition to the acknowledgments of the Government, the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and, from his gracious Sovereign, the honors of the order of the Bath, first as a Companion, and afterwards as a Knight Commander.

3. In discharging the less imposing, but not less arduous duties which, in time of peace, devolve on an officer exercising an important command, Sir J. Adams has uniformly entitled himself to the confidence and approbation of the Government, and has conciliated the regard, while he has ensured the respect of his brethren in arms. He will ever be regarded as one of those who have been most conspicuous in the Indian Service, and have conferred additional honor on that Noble Army whose heroic exploits and zealous devotion have added a splendid empire to the dominions of their country.

No 116 of 1834.—The Hon'ble the Vice President in Council was pleased, in the Judicial Department, under date the 19th instant, to appoint Lieut. Alexander Cunningham, of the corps of Engineers, to be an Assist. to the executive officer of the 5th division department of public works

The undermentioned officers have returned to their duty on this establishment, without prejudice to their rank, by permission of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors:

Captain Thomas-McKenzie Campbell, of the 29th Regt. N. I.: date of arrival at Fort William, 24th May, 1834

Assistant Surgeon William Miller Buchanan, M. D., of the Medical Department: ditto, 24th May, 1834.

No 117 of 1834.—The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following promotions:

68th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. Edward Jackson, (deceased,) to be Captain of a Company, and Ensign Robert Molesworth Gurnell to be Lieut., from the 13th May, 1834, in succession to Captain G. H. M. Dalby, deceased.

Lieut. Christopher Simson Maling to be Captain of a Company, and Ensign Stephen Nation to be Lieut., from the 23d May, 1834, in succession to Captain E. Jackson, deceased.

Captain George Dempster Johnstone, of the 25th Regt. N. I., has returned to his duty on this establishment, without prejudice to his rank, by permission of the Honorable the Court of Directors: date of arrival at Fort William, 28th May, 1834.

The following appointment is made in the Ordnance Commissariat Department:

Sub-Conductor Gerard Irvine to be Acting Conductor, vice J. Law, promoted to full Conductor in General Orders, No. 78. dated the 20th March last, in succession to T. Martin, transferred to the pension establishment.

Mr. John Duncan is appointed an Assistant Overseer in the department of public works, on the salary allowed for that rank, and attached to the 2d division, vice Mr. Riley, who did not avail himself of the appointment.

J. STUART, Depy. Secy. to Govt. Milly. Dept.

## GENERAL ORDERS

BY MAJOR GENERAL J. WATSON, C. B.

*Head Quarters, Calcutta, 1st May, 1834.*

The Cawnpore Division Order of the 19th ultimo, directing Supernumerary 2d Lieut J. C. Phillips to do duty with the 3d Battalion of Artillery at Cawnpore, is confirmed.

*Head Quarters, Calcutta, 2d May, 1834.*

The undermentioned officers have leave of absence:

8th Regt. N. I. — Ensign J. G. Gaitskell, from 16th April to 25th November, to proceed to Simla, on medical certificate.

22d Regt. N. I. — Captain G. Templer, from 10th May to 10th August, in extension, to remain at Goruckpore, on private affairs.

*Head Quarters, Calcutta, 3d May, 1834.*

ERRATUM.—In General Orders of the 25th ultimo, prescribing rules for the preparation of public documents for Head-Quarters, for “ $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the breadth of the sheet,” read “ $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the breadth of the page.”

The undermentioned officer has leave of absence:

2d Company 1st Battalion Artillery—2d Lieut. R. Smyth, from 27th April to 27th June, to visit Tirboot, on private affairs.

*Head Quarters, Calcutta, 5th May, 1834.*

The Major General in command of the Forces is pleased to direct, that the following General Order, which was issued to His Majesty's Regiments in India on the 2d instant, be published to the Army:

*Calcutta, 2d May, 1834.*

### GENERAL ORDER.

No. 797.—At a General Court Martial, re-assembled at Secrole, Benares, on Thursday, the 20th day of February 1834, Captain John Whittam, of His Majesty's 3d Regiment, (or Buffs) was arraigned on the following Charge:—

*Charge.*—“With conduct disgraceful to the character of an officer and a gentleman, in having been intoxicated, or considerably under the influence of liquor, so as to expose himself in the eyes of the men of the Regiment, on duty under arms, on the march of the Regiment from Suckree towards Gungapersard, on the morning of the 17th of December 1833.”

*Finding.*—“The Court, upon the evidence before it, finds the prisoner Captain John Whittam, of His Majesty's 3d Regiment, (or Buffs) guilty of being considerably under the influence of liquor, so as to expose himself in the eyes of the men of the Regiment, on duty under arms, on the march of the Regiment from Suckree towards Gungapersard, on the morning of the 17th December, 1833, but acquits him of the rest of the charge.

*Sentence.*—“The Court having found the prisoner Captain John Whittam, of His Majesty's 3d Regiment, (or Buffs) guilty of so much of the charge as stated above, sentences him to be cashiered.”

Approved and confirmed,

(Signed) W. C. BENTINCK, Commander in Chief.

Captain Whittam will be struck off the strength of His Majesty's 3d (Buffs) Regiment on the day his sentence shall be made known to him.

By order of His Excellency the Right Honorable the Commander in Chief.

(Signed) R. TORRENS, Col. Adj. Genl. H. M. Forces in India.

By order of Major General Watson,

J. R. LUMLEY, Col. Adj. Genl. of the Army.



*Head Quarters, Calcutta, 6th May, 1834.*

The Major General in command of the Forces is pleased to direct that the following General Order, which was issued to His Majesty's Regiments in India on the 5th inst., be published to the Army :

*Calcutta, 5th May, 1834.*

**GENERAL ORDER**

No. 798.—At a General Court Martial, re assembled at Secrole, Benares, on Wednesday the 12th day of February, 1834, Private Richard Shields, of His Majesty's 3d Regiment, (or Buffs) was arraigned on the following charge :—

*Charge.*—"With having, on the 1st of November, 1833, at Berhampore, struck with his clenched fist Color Sergeant Donald Morrison, of the same company; a violent blow, without the slightest provocation, when in the execution of his duty."

Upon which charge the Court came to the following decision :

*Finding.*—"The Court, upon the evidence before it, finds the prisoner Private Richard Shields, of His Majesty's 3d Regiment, (or Buffs) guilty of the charge preferred against him.

*Sentence.*—"The Court sentence the prisoner Private Richard Shields, of His Majesty's 3d Regiment, (or Buffs) to suffer solitary imprisonment for the period of eight (8) calendar months in such place as His Excellency the Right Honorable the Commander in Chief may be pleased to appoint."

Not confirmed,

(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Maj. Genl. in command of the Forces.

**REMARKS BY THE MAJOR GENERAL IN COMMAND OF THE FORCES.**

It appears by the proceedings that Captain Stewart, the Captain of the prisoner's company, sat as a Member of the Court; that he was challenged by the prisoner, who submitted that Captain Stewart had previously examined the witnesses on both sides, and had expressed a wish that the prisoner should be tried by a General Court Martial instead of a district one: this is not denied; but the Court overruled the objection, considering that Captain Stewart had only performed his duty in the examination.

The prisoner's challenge was no imputation against the integrity of Captain Stewart, but implied that such an examination might bring him to the Court with *preformed* opinions, and that his expressed wish for a General Court Martial on the prisoner, instead of a district one, that is, for a Court of the highest powers of punishment, was an indication of Captain Stewart's opinion of his guilt, inasmuch as it contemplated the extent of his punishment.

I concur with the prisoner; and admitting the force of the objection, cannot confirm the sentence of a Court thus constituted.

By order of Major General Watson,

(Sd.) R. TORRENS, Col., Adjt. Genl. H. M. Forces in India.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 7th May, 1834.*

The Major General in command of the Forces is pleased to direct, that the following General Order, which was issued to his Majesty's Regiments in India on the 6th instant, be published to the Army :

*Calcutta, 6th May, 1834.*

**GENERAL ORDER.**

No. 799.—At a General Court Martial held in continuation at Berhampore on the 29th March, 1834, Private James Prior, of His Majesty's 38th Regiment, was arraigned on the following charge :—

*Charge.*—"For unsoldier-like conduct, in striking Sergeant Major Richard Whitehead, 73d Regt. N. 1., a blow on the head, at Berhampore, on the 11th March, 1834, the Sergeant Major being his superior officer, in the execution of his office."

Upon which charge the Court came to the following decision :

*Opinion.*—"The Court, upon the evidence before them, are of opinion, that the prisoner Private James Prior, of His Majesty's 38th Regiment, is guilty of the charge preferred against him; but the Court find, that the offence was not committed on the 11th, but on the 10th of March 1834.

*Sentence.*—"The Court sentence the prisoner Private James Prior, of His Majesty's 38th Regiment, to suffer solitary imprisonment for the period of (2) two years, in such place as the authority confirming this sentence shall be pleased to direct."

Approved: the solitary imprisonment reduced to eight months.

(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Maj. Genl. in command of the Forces.

Before the same Court, on the same day, Private William Moors, His Majesty's 38th Regiment, was arraigned on the following charge :—

*Charge.*—"For unsoldier like conduct, on the evening of the 18th inst. in striking Corporal Wm. Nicklinson several blows, his superior officer, in the execution of his office."

Berhampore, 20th March, 1834.

Upon which charge the Court came to the following decision :

*Finding.*—"The Court upon the evidence before them, are of opinion, that the prisoner Private William Moors, of the 3d company, His Majesty's 38th Regiment, is guilty of the charge preferred against him.

*Sentence.*—"The Court sentence the prisoner private William Moors, of No. 3 company, His Majesty's 38th Regt., to suffer solitary imprisonment for the period of twelve calendar months, in such place as the authority confirming this sentence shall be pleased to direct."

Approved: the solitary imprisonment reduced to eight months.

(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Maj. Genl. in command of the Forces.

Before the same Court, on the 21st March 1834, Private John Ashcroft, of His Majesty's 38th Regiment, was arraigned on the following charge:—

*Charge.*—"For unsoldier-like conduct, on the evening of the 18th instant, in striking Sergeant T. McGuire, of the same Regt, his superior officer, in the execution of his office."

Upon which charge the Court came to the following decision :

*Finding.*—"The Court upon the evidence before them, are of opinion, that the prisoner Private John Ashcroft, of No. 4 company, His Majesty's 38th Regt. is guilty of the charge preferred against him.

*Sentence.*—"The Court sentence the prisoner Private John Ashcroft, of No. 4 company, His Majesty's 38th regiment, to suffer solitary imprisonment for the period of (18) eighteen calendar months, in such place as the authority confirming this sentence shall be pleased to direct."

Approved: the solitary imprisonment reduced to eight months.

(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Maj. Genl. in command of the Forces.

By order of Major General Watson,

(Signed) R. TORRENS, Col. Adj. Genl. H. M. Forces in India.

By order of Major General Watson,

J. R. LUMLEY, Col. Adj. Genl. of the Army.

#### *Head Quarters, Calcutta, 8th May, 1834.*

The rules laid down in General Orders by the Commander in Chief of the 9th June 1832, and in the memorandum published in General Orders of the 25th of the same month, having been attended with inconvenience, are revoked, under instructions from the Right Honorable the Commander in Chief; and the Major General in command of the forces is pleased to direct, that, in future, the proceedings of all General Courts Martial shall be transmitted, sealed, by the Deputy Judge Advocate General, or person officiating as such, to the Judge Advocate General, agreeably to the instructions contained in General Orders by the Commander in Chief of the 7th April, 1834.

All Casualty Rolls of European Non-Commissioned officers or soldiers intended for the Adjutant General's office, are to be prepared according to the form laid down in General Orders by the Commander in Chief of the 16th October last, with the substitution of the words "*Term of service*," for "*Term of Contracted Service*," in the sixteenth column.

Assistant Apothecary Thomas Nulty (new promotion) is directed to join and do duty at the General Hospital, until further orders.

Assistant Apothecary Marcus Hackerdon, (new promotion) will continue at Meerut, and do duty under the orders of the Superintending Surgeon, until further orders.

Hospital Apprentices James Sheels and John Burns, at present attached to His Majesty's 44th Foot, having been reported unfit for the Service from their dissolute and disorderly habits, are to be struck off the strength of the Subordinate Medical department, from the date of the publication of this Order at Chinsurah.

The undermentioned officers have leave of absence.

26th R. N. I.—Ensign T. H. Hunter, from 15th January to 30th March, in extension, to enable him to rejoin his Regiment at Hussingabad.

1st Regt. Light Cavalry—Assistant Surgeon G. Anderson, from 15th April to 15th Oct., to visit Musoorie, on medical certificate.

2d Brigade Horse Artillery—Brevet Captain W. R. Maidman, from 1st March to 31st August, to visit Calcutta, on urgent private affairs. N. B.—This cancels the leave granted to Captain Maidman, in General Orders of the 12th December last.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 9th May, 1834.*

Under instructions from the Right Honorable the Commander in Chief, the Major General Commanding the Forces directs, that all applications for Regimental Staff Appointments in the Honorable Company's Service be addressed to the Adjutant General of the Army.

The Meerutt Division Order of the 22d ultimo, directing Assistant Surgeon T. Scott, on being relieved from the medical charge of the 40th Regt. N. I., to proceed to Agra, and place himself under the orders of the Superintending Surgeon at that Station, is confirmed.

The Dinapore Division Order of the 29th ult., appointing Shaikh Asmut Allee, Native Doctor, to 64th Regiment Native Infantry, to fill a vacancy, is confirmed.

The Presidency Division Order of the 28th ult., directing Assistant Apothecary J. Marshall to act as Assistant Apothecary and Assistant Steward to a Detachment of His Majesty's 38th Foot, proceeding from Fort William to Berhampore, is confirmed.

Assistant Apothecary J. Marshall is posted to the Hospital of His Majesty's 38th Foot, vice Woodward deceased.

Sub Conductor Joseph Vyall, lately promoted, is posted to the Arsenal, and directed to join.

Corporal George Falchnie, Laboratory man in the Delhi Magazine, is promoted to Sergeant.

Gunner John Fitzpatrick, of the Invalid Veteran Company, is permitted to reside at Mirzapore, and draw his pay from the Benares Pay Office.

Shaik Hussen Alli, late a patient in the Insane Hospital at Benares, and formerly a Sepoy in the 33d Regt. N. I., is transferred to the Pension Establishment, from the 1st instant.

The Cawnpore Division Order of the 28th ultimo, sanctioning an exchange of situations between Shaikh Tegh Allee and Kaley Khan (2d) Native Doctors, by which the former is appointed to do duty with the 6th Regt. Light Cavalry at Cawnpore, and the latter is posted to the 58th Regt. N. I. at Sultanpore, Oude, is confirmed.

The leave of absence granted to Capt. E. Marshall, of the 71st Regt. N. I., in General Orders of the 10th Feb. last, is cancelled, from the 15th instant, at his request.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence :

Infantry—Unposted Ensign S. W. Buller doing duty with 14th N. I., from 20th April to 20th Dec., to visit the Hills North of Deyrah Dhoon, on medical certificate.

1st Local Horse—Local Lieut. and Adjutant J. Skinner, from 1st May to 31st Oct., to visit Simla, on medical certificate.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 10th May, 1834.*

The Saugor Division Order of the 26th ultimo, directing Assistant Surgeon J. H. Dallas, M. D., to do duty, on his arrival at Baltool, with the 18th Regt. N. I., is confirmed.

The leave of absence, for six months, granted to Lieut. J. Sisimore, of the 23d Regt. N. I., in General Orders of the 28th Feb. 1833, is to be considered as having commenced on the 23d, instead of the 15th March 1833, and ended on the 22d, instead of the 15th September last.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence :

20th Regt. N. I.—Ensign A. B. Morris, from 20th April to 20th November, in extension, to visit the Hills North of Deyrah, on medical certificate.

27th Regt. N. I.—Major R. Fernie, from 15th May to 25th November, to visit Simla, on medical certificate.

61st Regt. N. I.—Ensign W. H. Ryves, from 1st March to 5th April, in extension, to enable him to rejoin.

36th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. T. F. Flemming, from 1st May to 15th December, to remain at Benares, on medical certificate, and to enable him to rejoin.

61st Regt. N. I.—Capt. R. Stewart, from the 20th June to 20th Dec., to visit the Presidency, preparatory to applying for furlough.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 12th May, 1834.*

Ensign C. E. Goad, of the 45th, is removed to the 67th Regt. N. I. at his own request.

The Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased to make the following Promotions :

64th Regiment Native Infantry.—Jemadar Gyadeen Pattuck to be Subadar, and Havildar Dyahram Opudea to be Jemadar, from the 14th March 1834, vice Girwar Sing, deceased.



Shaik Jaffer Ally, Trooper, 5th Light Cavalry, having been pronounced a Malingerer by a special Medical Committee, is to be discharged the service, from the date of the publication of this Order at Muttra.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence :

40th Regt. N. I. — Ensign J. T. Wilcox, from 25th May to 25th October, in extension, to remain at the Presidency, on private affairs.

Ramgurrh Local Battalion. — Local Lieut. R. Dring, from 1st May to 1st July, to visit Calcutta, on urgent private affairs.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 15th May, 1834.*

At a European General Court Martial, re-assembled at Dinapore on the 9th day of March 1834, of which Major J. Thomson, 81st N. I., is President, Private Edward Setchfield, of the European Regt. was arraigned on the following charge :—

*Charge.*—"With highly unsoldier like conduct as follows :

"With malingering, in having, at Dinapore, between the fifteenth (15th) day of November, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three (1833) and the fifth (5th) day of February, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, (1834) feigned that he was suffering under paralysis, and aberration of mind ; such being mere pretence for the purpose of evading the performance of his duty as a soldier."

Upon which charge the Court came to the following decision :

*Finding and Sentence.*—"The Court have maturely weighed and considered the evidence produced on the part of the prosecution, together with what the prisoner has urged in his defence, and the evidence in support of it, is of opinion, that he, Private Edward Setchfield, European Regiment, is guilty of all and every part of the charge preferred against him, and do therefore sentence him to suffer imprisonment for six (6) calendar months."

Approved : the imprisonment to have effect from the date of the sentence.

(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Major Genl. in Command of the Forces.

At a European General Court Martial, assembled at Secrole, Benares, on Monday the 3d day of February, 1834, of which Lieut. Col. W. Nott, 38th Regt. N. I., is President, Gunner Patrick O'Brien, of the 1st company 1st battalion of Artillery, was arraigned on the following charge :—

*Charge.*—"With having, in the Military cantonment of Sultaupore, Benares, on the night of the first (1st) or morning of the second (2d) day of January, one thousand eight hundred and thirtyfour, (1834) unlawfully, wilfully and maliciously poisoned and murdered Julia O'Brien, camp follower, and wife, or reputed wife of the said Gunner Patrick O'Brien, by unlawfully, wilfully and maliciously administering to her opium, which caused her death at the time and place aforesaid."

Upon which charge the Court came to the following decision :

*Finding.*—"The Court, upon the evidence before it, finds the prisoner Gunner Patrick O'Brien, of the first (1st) company first (1st) battalion of Artillery, not guilty of the charge preferred against him, and acquits him accordingly."

Confirmed.

(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Major Genl. in Command of the Forces.

The prisoner to be released and to return to his duty.

By order of Major General Watson.

J. R. LUMLEY, Col. Adjt. Genl. of the Army.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 16th May, 1834.*

At a European General Court Martial, assembled at Saugor on Monday the 3d day of March, 1834, of which Major D. Dowle, 2d Regt. N. I., is President, Park Sergeant Thomas Smith, of the Ordnance Department, attached to the Saugor Magazine, was arraigned on the following charge :—

*Charge.*—"With manslaughter, in having, at Saugor, on the evening of the 16th of January 1834, feloniously and wilfully killed Futteea, a native camp-follower, by striking and beating him repeatedly with his hands, and pushing him violently against a wall, of which striking, beating, and pushing, the said Futteea then and there immediately died."

Upon which charge the Court came to the following decision :

*Finding.*—"The Court having maturely considered the evidence before it, is of opinion, that the prisoner Park Sergeant Thomas Smith, of the Ordnance Department, Saugor Magazine, is guilty of manslaughter, in the manner and instances mentioned in the charge, with the exception of the following 'and pushing him violently against a wall,' of which excepted instance the Court acquits him.

*Sentence.*—"The Court having found the prisoner guilty to the extent above mentioned, sentences him, Park Sergeant Thomas Smith, Ordnance Department, Saugor Magazine, to receive a punishment of imprisonment for the period of three (3) Calendar months, in such place as His Excellency the Commander in Chief, or Officer Commanding the Forces, may direct."

**Recommendation of the Court.**—"From the alleviating circumstances apparent in this case, the Court strongly recommends the prisoner to the merciful consideration of the Commander in Chief, or officer commanding the forces."

Approved: the imprisonment to be calculated from the date of the Sentence.  
(Signed) JAMES WATSON, Major Gen. in command of the Forces.  
Park Sergeant Smith is to undergo the imprisonment awarded at Saugor.

The following removals and postings are made in the Regt. of Artillery:

1st Lieut G. H. Dyke, from the 4th Company 6th, to the 4th Company 8d Battalion, vice G. H. Swinley, from the latter to the former.

Pensioned Havildar Dhamoo is permitted to reside and draw his Pension at Barrackpore, instead of Chittagong, and Pensioned Sepoy Sanoolah at Chittagong, instead of Barrackpore.

#### *Head Quarters, Calcutta, 17th May, 1834*

The Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased to make the following removals and postings:

Lieut Col T. Murray, (on Furlough) from the 12th to the 58d Regt N. I.

Lieut Col. W. W. Moore (new promotion) to the 12th Regt N. I.

Lieut. Col J. A. Hodgson, from the 49th to the 68th Regt. N. I.

Lieutenant Colonel C. R. Skardon, from the 68th to the 49th Regt N. I.

Under the orders of Government, the following individuals are to be struck off the Town Major's List, being present with their Corps, and considered available for Regimental duty whenever required.

Sergeant Joseph Hannagan, Head Writer, Asst Adjt Genl's Office, Artillery, Sergeant William Deare, 1st Asst ditto ditto ditto Sergeant J. S. 1st, 2d Asst. ditto ditto ditto. Gunner Francis Moore, 8d Asst ditto ditto ditto Sergeants Richard Molloy and Henry Speare, Writers in the Office of the Select Committee of Artillery Officers.

Meer Koodrut Allee, Native Doctor, attached to the 65th Native Infantry, having been reported unfit for his situation, is to be discharged the service, from the date of the publication of this Order at Mhow.

The undermentioned Officers have leave of absence:

9th Regt. N. I. - Major J. Fagan, from 22d April to 15th Nov, to remain at Nusseerabad, for the purpose of adjusting the accounts connected with his late appointment of Deputy Pay Master.

63d Regt N. I. - Lieut. and Adjutant R. Houghton, from 30th April to 30th Oct, to proceed on the river and eventually to the Presidency, on medical certificate, preparatory to applying for leave to sea.

67th Regt N. I. - Ensign C. E. Goad, from 30th April to 31st May, to remain at Agra, on medical certificate.

European Regt. - Lieut. Intl. and Qr. Master J. G. Gerrard, from 1st June to 31st July, to visit Bhaugulpore and Purneah, on private affairs.

#### *Head Quarters, Calcutta, 19th May, 1834.*

The Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased to direct, that no Native Non Commissioned Officer or Soldier shall, on any occasion, be discharged from the Service after having suffered Corporal punishment, until he shall be reported thoroughly recovered from the effects of it by the medical officer of the Regiment.

With reference to General Orders by the Commander in Chief of the 21th Sept. 1829, the Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased to direct, that in all cases of suicide, the opinion of Courts of Inquest, as to the sanity or insanity of the individuals, be invariably recorded.

The Major General in Command of the Forces is pleased to direct, that the following General Order, which was issued to His Majesty's Regiments in India, on the 17th inst., be published to the Army:

*Calcutta, 17th May, 1834.*

#### GENERAL ORDER.

No 803.—At a General Court Martial, held at Barrackpore on Tuesday the 22d day of April 1834, private Patrick Byrne, of Captain Ainsworth's Company, His Majesty's 44th Regiment, was arraigned on the following Charges:—

1st.—"With having been drunk and riotous in Barracks at Chinsurah, on the 2d of April 1834, and struck Private Garret Comerford, and Sergeant Edward Behan, of His Majesty's 44th Regiment: this being the fifth instance of drunkenness since the 1st of May 1833 inclusive, and thereby constituting an act of habitual drunkenness—the previous instances having taken place as follows, viz.

1st May 1833—Drunk on evening Parade.

12th June 1833—Drunk at the Commanding Officer's Quarters.

17th July 1833.—Drunk and striking private Starr, and drunk and making a noise at dinner hour.

21st November 1833—Drunk and absent from Parade.

2d —“ With unsoldier like and insubordinate conduct at Chinsurah on the 13th of April 1834, while a Prisoner in the Guard, in having on the first Charge being read to him by Regimental Sergeant Major, snatched the Copy of the Charge out of the Sergeant Major's hand, and torn it to pieces, saying, 'I will have a General Court Martial, and you may go and tell the Commanding Officer I have torn up the Crime,' or words to that effect ”

Upon which Charges the Court came to the following decision :

*Finding.*—“ The Court, upon the evidence before them, and the Prisoner's plea of guilty, are of opinion, that the prisoner Private Patrick Byrne, of Captain Ainsworth's Company, His Majesty's 44th Regiment, is

“ On the first charge, guilty.

“ On the second charge, guilty.

*Sentence.*—“ The Court sentence the Prisoner Private Patrick Byrne, of Captain Ainsworth's Company, His Majesty's 44th Regiment, to be deprived of the allowance in lieu of Beer or Liquor, for the period of (12) twelve months ; and further to suffer solitary imprisonment for period of (6) six Calendar months, in such place as the authority confirming this sentence shall be pleased to direct.”

Approved and Confirmed,

(Sd.) JAMES WATSON, Maj. Gen in command of the Forces.

By order of Major General Watson,

(Sd ) R. TORRENS, Col., Adj. Gen. H. M. Forces in India.

By order of Major General Watson,

J. R. LUMLEY, Colonel, Adj. Genl. of the Army.

The Mhow Station Order of the 30th September last, appointing Lieutenant W Macgeorge, of the 71st Regt. N. I., to officiate as Deputy Judge Advocate at a European General Court Martial, is confirmed.

The General Order of the 24th ultimo removing Conductor E Treston from the Magazine at Agra to that at Delhi, is, at the recommendation of the Military Board, cancelled ; and he will accordingly continue permanent Conductor in the Agra Magazine. This cancels the leave granted to Mr. Treston in General Orders of the 24th ultimo.

The undermentioned officers have leave of absence :

15th Regt. N. I.—Lieut Interpreter and Quarter Master W Hunter, from 15th April to 20th December, to visit Simla, on medical certificate.—N. B This cancels the leave granted to Lieut. Hunter, in General Orders of the 19th ultimo.

60th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. C. R. Brown, from 2d May to 2d September, to visit Delhi, on private affairs.

#### *Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 26th May, 1834.*

The Presidency Division Order of the 12th instant, directing Assistant Apothecary John Pitts, of His Majesty's 44th Foot, to act as Apothecary, in the room of Apothecary Hodgkinson, appointed to the Medical Depot at Agra, is confirmed.

The District Order by Brigadier J. Tomba, Commanding the Rajpootanah Field Force, directing Gubun Chand Patuck, Native Doctor, invalided from the 1st May, to continue to do duty with the 32d Regt. N. I., is confirmed.

Assistant Surgeon G. C. Rankin, at present attached to the 38th Regt N. I. is directed to proceed to Cawnpore, and do duty under the Superintending Surgeon at that station.

Surgeon J. F. Royle (on furlough) is removed from the 38th, and posted to the 26th Regt. N. I. Surgeon E. Hurl, M. D. is removed from the latter, and posted to the former Corps, which he will join forthwith at Benares.

The leave of absence granted to 2d Lieut. G. H. Fagan, of the Corps of Engineers, in General Orders of the 2d ultimo, is cancelled from the 26th of April, at his request.

The Major General in command of the forces is pleased to make the following promotion.

7th Battalion of Artillery.—Havildar Adjem Khan to be Jemadar, from the 22nd April 1834, vice Saffer Allie, deceased.

The undermentioned officers have leave of absence :

41st Regt. N. I.—Capt. G. Watson, from 15th May to 15th September, to visit the Presidency, on urgent private affairs.



70th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. and Adj. P. Harris, from 15th May to 15th November, in extension, to remain at Mussoorie, on medical certificate.

29th Regt. N. I.—Ensign C. A. Morris, from 12th May to 1st August, to remain at the Presidency, on medical certificate.

18th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. Interpreter and Quarter Master C. Brown, from 2d June to 15th December, in extension, to remain at Jubbulpore, on private affairs.

*Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 21st May, 1834.*

It is to be considered as a standing Order, that the Brigadier or Officer commanding the Troops at Delhi shall have his Quarters in the cantonment.

The attention of Commanding Officers is called to the General Orders by the Commander in Chief, of the 29th January last, and it is to be distinctly understood, that, with exception to periodical Reports and Returns, all documents whatever from Commanding Officers of Regiments, &c. are to be transmitted through the prescribed channel of Officers commanding stations, brigades, and divisions.

The nature of any emergencies rendering a deviation from this Order necessary, is to be fully explained in transmitting an application direct.

Brigadier J. Tomb's District Order of the 3d instant, appointing Sudhie, Lascar, late of the 1st Company of Pioneers, and now doing duty with the 3d N. I. to the 4th Regt. Light Cavalry, from the 1st instant, to fill a vacancy, is confirmed.

The services of Lieut. H. Vetch, of the 54th N. I. being no longer required with the Assam Light Infantry, that officer will proceed and join the Regiment to which he belongs at Nusseerabad.

The leave of absence granted to Cornet R. J. Hawthorne, of the 7th Regt. Light Cavalry, in General Orders of the 26th February last, is cancelled at his own request.

The Major General in command of the forces is pleased to make the following Appointment.

*55th Regiment Native Infantry.*—There being no qualified Officer present, Ensign R. G. George, of the 11th Regt. N. I., to act as Interpreter and Quarter Master, during the absence of Lieut. J. Awdry, on civil employ.

By order of Major General Watson.

J. R. LUMLEY, Colonel, Adj. Gen. of the Army.



## **GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATIONS, &c.**

### **ORDERS BY THE HONORABLE THE VICE PRESIDENT IN COUNCIL.**

**JUDICIAL AND REVENUE DEPARTMENT, 2D JUNE, 1834.**

The following officers have obtained leave of absence from their stations:

Mr. D. Pringle, Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of the Central Division of Cuttack, to the 6th instant, on medical certificate, in extension of the leave granted to him on the 5th ultimo.

Mr. H. W. Torrens, Head Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of Meerut, for one month, on private affairs.

The order of Mr. A. Campbell, Commissioner of Circuit of the 5th or Bareilly Division, directing Mr. D. Timms to assume charge of the offices of Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Pillibheet, in consequence of the indisposition of Mr. W. R. Timms, is approved.

**9th JUNE, 1834.**

*Rule to enable Civil Servants on leave of absence within the limits of the Presidency to obtain remittance bills for their salary on the treasuries nearest to their places of residence.*

The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to direct that, Collectors or other officers in charge of public treasuries shall, on the application of covenanted Civil Officers of Government, on leave of absence within the limits of the Presidency, authorized to draw their pay from any such public treasuries, grant remittance bills for the amount of the allowances of such absent officers upon the Revenue Treasuries nearest the place at which they may reside on leave, the bill so granted being, however, restricted to the net amount of pay due, i. e. minus the several deductions which may be made by the Civil Auditor in favor of Government or on account of funds &c. which are to be credited in the accounts in which the allowances may be chargeable to Government, viz. those of the divisions or zillahs to which the officers on leave stand appointed.

The bills granted under this rule to officers who may be on leave on account of private affairs, will be subjected to a premium of one per cent. Bills granted to officers who may be absent on medical certificate, will be exempted from such premium.

The Honorable the Vice President in Council has been pleased to make the following appointments:

Mr. T. A. Shaw Civil and Session Judge of Rungpore.

Mr. A. W. Begbie to officiate as Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit of the 7th or Humeerpore division.

Mr. J. Lewis ditto as Civil and Session Judge of Chittagong.

Mr. W. Crawford ditto as Magistrate and Collector of the Southern division of Bundelcund.

Mr. C. Bury ditto as Magistrate and Collector of Rajeshahye.

Mr. J. C. Dick ditto as Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Patna.

The order of the officiating Commissioner of Circuit of the 12th or Monghyr division, directing Mr. H. C. Hamilton to assume charge of the office of Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Monghyr from Mr. F. O. Wells, is approved.

The following officers have obtained leave of absence from their stations:

Mr. C. Smith, additional Judge of Chittagong, for 18 months, on medical certificate, to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope.

Mr. R. Barlow, Civil and Session Judge of Rajeshahye, for one month, on private affairs. Mr. W. H. Elliott has been directed to relieve Mr. Barlow from the current duties of the office of Civil and Session Judge.

Mr. H. C. Tucker, assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of Azimgarh, for two months, on private affairs.

The leave of absence for one week granted by the Judge of Jessore to Hurnarain Ghose, the principal Sudder Ameen of that district, is approved.

**16TH JUNE, 1834.**

The following officers have obtained leave of absence from their Stations:

Mr. J. Morris, Civil and Session Judge of Shahabad, for one month, on medical certificate. Mr. Morris has been authorized to make over charge of the current duties of his offices to a junior assistant.

Mr. R. Macan, Officiating Civil and Session Judge of Bundelcund, for three months, on ditto. Mr. Macan has been authorized to make over charge of the current duties of his offices to Mr. H. C. Halkett.



Mr. W. St. Quintin Quintin, head assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of Sarun, for one month, on ditto, in extension of the leave granted to him on the 7th April last.

Mr. H. C. Metcalfe, assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of Ghazee-pore, for one month, on ditto.

Mr. G. N. Cheek, Assistant Surgeon, attached to the Civil Station of Burdwan, for three months on private affairs.

23D JUNE, 1834.

Mr. H. T. Owen to be Magistrate and Collector of Allyghur. Mr. Owen will continue to officiate as Civil and Session Judge of Cawnpore until further orders.

Mr. James Davidson to officiate as Magistrate as well as Collector of Allyghur.

Mr. D. C. Smyth to officiate as a Judge of the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut at the Presidency.

Mr. H. W. Torrens to officiate as Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Meerut.

The following officers have obtained leave of absence from their stations :

Mr. J. Curtis, officiating additional Judge of Burdwan, for ten days, on private affairs.

Mr. J. W. Templer, additional Judge of Tirhoot, for two months, on medical certificate.

Mr. A. H. Trench, Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of Mozuffernuggur, from 12th June to 1st November next, on medical certificate.

The leave of absence for one month granted to Mr. R. Barlow, Civil and Session Judge of Rajeshahye, under date the 7th instant, is cancelled at that officer's request.

30TH JUNE, 1834.

The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following appointment :

Mr. D. Pringle to officiate, until further orders, as Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Monghyr.

The following officers have obtained leave of absence from their stations :

Mr. E. J. Harrington, Civil and Session Judge of Ghazee-pore, to remain at the Presidency, for two months, on medical certificate.

Mr. R. Hampton, Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of Ghazee-pore, for six months, on private affairs.

Mr. W. L. M. Toone, Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of Patna, for one month, to visit the Presidency, on private affairs.

C. MACSWEEN, Secy. to Govt.

### FORT WILLIAM, GENERAL DEPARTMENT, 2D JUNE, 1834.

Mr. J. B. Ogilvy is appointed to officiate as Deputy Opium Agent in Behar, ordinarily stationed at Sheerghatee, during the absence of Mr. R. Trotter, or until further orders. The appointment is to take effect from the 26th ultimo.

16TH JUNE, 1834.

The Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following Appointments :

Mr. W. P. Palmer to be Superintendent of the Salt Golahs at Sulkea.

Mr. S. G. Palmer to be First Assistant to the Secretary to the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, Superintendent of Sulkea Salt Ghowkies, and Collector of Calcutta Stamps.

23RD JUNE, 1834.

Mr. A. C. Bidwell is appointed to officiate as Assistant to the Collector of Customs at Calcutta, until Mr. Donnelly's return or till further orders.

Mr. Edmund Ford Radcliffe has reported his arrival as a Writer on this Establishment on the 17th instant.

30TH JUNE, 1834.

Mr. H. Palmer is appointed second Assistant to the Secretary to the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, Superintendent of the Western Salt Chokies, and Assistant to the Superintendent of Stamps.

Mr. George Alexander embarked for the Cape of Good Hope, on the private ship *Bussorah Merchant*. The vessel was left by the pilot at sea on the 19th instant.

Mr. G. M. Batten took charge of the duty of officiating Deputy Secretary to Government, in the General Department, on the 12th instant, the date of Mr. Alexander's embarkation.

H. T. PRINSEP, Secy. to Govt.

**FORT WILLIAM, POLITICAL DEPARTMENT, 5TH JUNE, 1834.**

On the 17th May, the Right Honorable the Governor General was pleased, to appoint Lieut.-Col. Cubbon to be sole Commissioner for the Government of the territories of H. H. the Rajah of Mysore, in succession to Lieut. Col. Morison, c. B.

**ECCLESIASTICAL.**

**FORT WILLIAM, ECCLESIASTICAL DEPARTMENT, 16TH JUNE, 1834.**

The Reverend James Charles, Junior Minister of St. Andrew's Church, is permitted, under medical certificate, to be absent from the Presidency for six weeks, commencing from the 20th instant.

The Reverend George William Crawford, late a Chaplain on this Establishment, has been permitted by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, to resign the Company's Service. His resignation takes effect from the 11th June 1833.

H. T. PRINSEP. Secy. to Govt.

**GENERAL ORDERS**

**BY THE HONORABLE THE VICE PRESIDENT IN COUNCIL.**

FORT WILLIAM, 5TH JUNE, 1834.

No. 118 of 1834.—The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following promotion and appointments :

48th Regt. N. I.—Ensign John Bunce to be Lieut. from the 23d May 1834, vice Lieut. G. Byron, deceased.

Lieut. John Handcock Low, of the 39th Regt. N. I. to be a Junior Assistant to the Governor General's Agent in the Sangor and Nerbudda Territories.

2d Lieut. Henry Marion Durand, of the Corps of Engineers, to be Assistant Superintendent Feroze Shah's Canal, in succession to Major Ramsay, rendered ineligible by his promotion to a Regimental Majority, and consequently placed at the disposal of the Commander in Chief.

Assistant Surgeon James Richard Brien, of the 25th Regt. N. I., to officiate as Civil Surgeon at Akyab, during the absence of Assistant Surgeon Macintyre, or until further orders.

Lieut. Henry Roche Osborne, of the 54th Regt. N. I., is promoted to the rank of Captain by Brevet, from the 29th May 1834.

Lieutenant James Remington, of the 12th Regiment Native Infantry, is permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough, on medical certificate.

The permission granted by the acting Governor of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore and Malacca, to Assistant Surgeon John James Boswell, of the Bengal Establishment, attached to the medical duties of the settlement of Malacca, to proceed thence to Europe on furlough, on account of his health, is confirmed.

Assistant Surgeon F. H. Brett, attached to the civil station of Moradabad, has obtained, in the Judicial and Revenue Department, on the 26th ultimo, leave of absence for two months, on private affairs.

Captain James Gouldshawke, of the Invalid Establishment, is permitted to retire from the service of the Honorable Company, on the pension of his rank, from the date of sailing of the ship on which he may embark for Europe.

The Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following promotion :

Subordinate Ordnance Commissariat Department.—Acting Conductor George Forrest, to be Conductor, and Serjeant Henry Michell, of the Arsenal Establishment, to be Sub Conductor : from the 26th May 1834, in succession to Conductor G. Orton, deceased.

Subordinate Medical Department.—Hospital Apprentice James Hefferan to be Assistant Apothecary, from the 26th May 1831, vice Assistant Apothecary J. Marshall, deceased.

The undermentioned Non-Commissioned Officers are appointed Assistant Overseers in the Department of Public Works, on the salaries allowed for that rank, and placed under Captain G. Thomson, of Engineers, Superintendent of Roads from Bancoorah to Benares :

Quarter Master Serjeant R. Handcock, of the 56th Regt. N. I.

Serjeant D. Ryan, of the Town Major's Department.

No. 119 of 1834.—In consideration of the faithful services of Soobadar Major Bowanny Deen, late of the 4th Regiment of Native Infantry, extending to the long period of 56 years, during which he was repeatedly, and once dangerously, wounded, the Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased, as a mark of the favor of Government, to grant to that meritorious veteran the additional invalid pay of a Soobadar, and to continue to him for life the brevet pay of his rank, from the date of his transfer to the Invalid Establishment.

10TH JUNE, 1834.

No. 120 of 1834.—Lieut. James Stanley Harris, of the 30th N. I. is permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough, on medical certificate.

12TH JUNE, 1834.

No. 121 of 1834.—The Hon'ble the Vice President in Council is pleased to direct, that the following paragraphs of a letter from the Honorable the Court of Directors, in the Military Department, No 1, dated the 15th January 1834, be published in General Orders:

"Para. 2. Surgeon T. S. Child, of your establishment, has been permitted to remain six months longer in this country.

3. We have granted Lieut. J. Poett, of your establishment, an extension of his furlough for the space of six months.

4. We have permitted Major Henry C Sandys, late of your establishment, to retire from the Company's Service. His retirement takes effect from the 6th Nov. 1832."

No. 122 of 1834.—The Hon'ble the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following promotions:

15th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. John Evans to be Capt. of a company, and Ensign William Pitt Robbins to be Lieut.; from the 31st May 1834, in succession to Capt. A. H. Wood deceased.

27th Regt. N. I.—Ensign Walter Richard Barnes to be Lieut., from the 22d May 1834, vice Lieut. A. B. Ogilby deceased.

62d Regt. N. I.—Ensign Charles Edward Grant to be Lieut., from the 23d May 1834, vice Lieut. A. Horne deceased.

The undermentioned officers are permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough:

Capt. Robert Henry Miles, of the 1st Regt. N. I., and Lieut. John Dixon Nash, of the 33d Regt. N. I., on medical certificate.

Captain Robert Menzies, of the 31st Regt. N. I., having been declared incapable of performing the active duties of his profession, is, at his own request, transferred to the Invalid Establishment from the 1st instant.

Conductor John Sperrin, of the Ordnance Commissariat Department, has returned to his duty on this establishment, without prejudice to his rank, by permission of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors. Date of arrival at Fort William, 9th June 1834.

Gunner John Miller, of the 2d battalion of Artillery, is admitted to the benefits of the pension sanctioned by Minutes of Council of the 11th January 1797, and General Orders dated 5th February 1820, subject to the confirmation of the Honorable the Court of Directors, with permission to receive his stipend in Europe. The Gunner is entitled to one shilling (1s.) per diem.

The undermentioned Native Doctors are placed at the disposal of the Major General in Command of the Forces:

Kunhera Laul Dhoby, Shaikh Moorad Bukhsh, Brij Laul Singh, Shaikh Jan Moohammad, Shaikh Gholam Alee, Hosain Bukhsh, Laula Jhubboo Laul, and Noor Khan.

No. 123 of 1834.—Imaum Bukhsh, Native Doctor, attached to the establishment of the Commissioner in Arracan, is appointed Native Doctor to the civil station of Futtehpore, vice Deenah discharged.

No. 124 of 1834.—In consideration of the gallant and faithful services of Subadar Major Kisanah Ram, late of the Pioneer Corps, the Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to sanction the brevet pay of his rank being continued to him, from the date of his transfer to the Invalid Establishment.

Mohammad Ibrahim is appointed Native Doctor to the Commissioner in Arracan, vice Imaam Bukhsh transferred to the civil station of Futtehpore.

18TH JUNE, 1834.

No. 125 of 1834. The Pay, Batta, and other Allowances for May 1834, of the Troops at the Presidency, and at the other Stations of the Army, will be issued on or after Thursday the 19th proximo.



19TH JUNE, 1834.

No. 126 of 1834.—The Hon'ble the Vice President in Council is pleased to direct, that the following Paragraph of Letter, No. 113, from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, in the Military Department under date the 17th Dec. 1833, be published in General Orders:

"Having determined upon sending some Cadets of Infantry direct to your Presidency, we take the earliest opportunity of apprising you, that we have deemed it expedient that some general principle as to their rank should be established, to protect the interests of those who are pursuing their Studies at the Company's Military Seminary; we have accordingly Resolved,

That those Cadets who may pass their Public Examination at the Seminary on the 13th of December, instant, do take rank of all the direct Cadets on the present season 1833, although the latter may have actually sailed for their respective destinations prior to the 13th December, provided the said Seminary Cadets embark and sail for their destinations within three months of passing their Examination as abovementioned. And in order to preserve to the Seminary Cadets a due advantage of rank over the Cadets appointed direct for India at any future period, we have further Resolved.

That all direct Cadets appointed or sworn in before the Committee for passing Military Appointments between the 10th of March and the 10th of June, or between the 10th of September and 10th of December, (or the days fixed on for the Public Examinations,) do rank after the Seminary Cadets, who may pass their said Examinations, provided the latter sail for their destination within three months from the date of their passing such Examinations."

No. 127 of 1834.—The Honourable the Vice President in Council is pleased to direct, that the following Extracts from Letters from the Honourable the Court of Directors, in the Military Department, Nos. 109, 112, 114, and 115, dated the 4th, 17th, 20th, and 27th December 1833, also Nos. 4 and 6, dated the 22d and 29th January, 1834, be published in General Orders:

*Letter No. 109, dated 4th December, 1833.*

"Para. 2 Lieutenant Edmund Honside, of your Establishment, has been permitted to remain six months longer in this country"

*Letter No. 112, dated 17th December, 1833.*

"Para. 2. We have permitted Captain James P. Macdougall, late of your Establishment, to retire from the Company's Service. His retirement takes effect from the 12th June 1833."

*Letter No. 114, dated 20th December, 1833.*

"Para. 1. We have appointed Mr. William Kelly Wollen, now at your Presidency, a Cadet of Infantry on your Establishment, provided he is not the Son of Parents of whom either one or both are of pure unmixed Native extraction; that he is not under the age of sixteen or above twenty two years, or exceptionable in any other respect.

"2. On your being satisfied as to the above particulars, we direct you to admit him a Cadet of Infantry, and administer to him the usual Oath of Fidelity to the Company. His Order of Rank will be forwarded to you at an early opportunity."

*Letter No. 115, dated 27th December, 1833.*

"Para. 2. We have permitted Lieut. E. C. Archbold to return to his duty on your Establishment, overland via Egypt: This officer has been informed that his Pay will commence only from the period of joining his Regt. or reaching the Presidency to which he belongs"

*Letter No. 4, dated 22d January, 1834.*

"Para. 2. The undermentioned Officers, belonging to your Establishment, have been permitted to remain, in this country for the further periods stated against their respective names:

Surgeon William Hamilton, six months.

Lieutenant A. C. Dewar, until May next.

"3. Lieutenant Joseph Greene, late of your Establishment, having informed us that he is precluded by ill health from ever returning to India, we have considered him to have resigned the Service: You will accordingly remove his name from the Army List from the 23d November 1832"

*Letter No. 6, dated 29th January, 1834.*

"Para. 1. We have appointed Mr. Henry Fortens Daniell, (now abroad) a Cadet of Infantry on your Establishment, provided he is not the Son of Parents of whom either one or both are of pure unmixed Native extraction, and that he is not under the age of sixteen or above twenty two years, or exceptionable in any other respect.

"2. Upon your being satisfied as to the above particulars, we direct you to admit him a Cadet of Infantry, and administer to him the usual Oath of Fidelity to the Company.

"3. His Order of Rank will be forwarded at an early opportunity."

**No. 128 of 1834.**—The Hon'ble the Vice President in Council is pleased to confirm the following Appointment:

Assistant Surgeon James Steel, M. D., to the Medical charge of the Civil Station of Gorruckpore, vice Assistant Surgeon J. Colvin, proceeded to Europe on Furlough.

The undermentioned Officers have returned to their duty on this Establishment, without prejudice to their rank, by permission of the Honorable the Court of Directors:

Captain Benjamin Trirell Philips, of the 7th Regt. Light Cavalry, date of arrival at Fort William, 10th June 1834.

Lieutenant John Joseph Poett, of the 27th Regt. N. I., ditto 16th June 1834.

Assistant Surgeon William Scott, of the Medical Department, ditto 13th June 1834.

Mr. William Christopher Lloyd is admitted to the service, in conformity with his appointment by the Honorable the Court of Directors as a Cadet of Infantry on the Establishment, and promoted to the rank of Ensign; date of arrival at Fort William 10th June 1834.

The following promotions made by the Right Honorable the Governor General, are published in General Orders:

Calcutta Native Militia.—Jemadar Shaik Rudjbulle and Auland Rhaout to be Sobadars, from the 1st May 1831, vice Subadars Pertaub Sing and Kewal Sing invalided.

Havildar Deendial Sing and Soba Manton to be Jemadars, from the 1st May 1831 in succession to Jemadars Shaik Rudjbulle and Auland Rhaout promoted.

**No. 129 of 1834.**—The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following promotions and alterations of rank;

Regt. of Artillery.—6th Lieutenant Zachary Mudge Mallock to be 1st Lieutenant, from the 7th June 1834, vice 1st Lieut T. E. Sage deceased.

28th Regt. N. I.—Capt. John Thornton Lewis (retired) to be Major, from the 6th Nov. 1832, vice Major H. C. Sandys retired.

Capt. Christopher Dixon Wilkinson to be Major, Lieut. John Assey Fairhead to be Captain of a Company, and Ensign Peter Nicolson to be Lieutenant, from the 26th June, 1833; in succession to Major J. T. Lewis retired.

Ensign George Neville Clayton Hall (deceased) to be Lieutenant from the 6th Nov. 1832, vice Lieut. H. C. Boileau promoted.

3rd Regt. N. I.—Lieut. William Sartin to be Captain of a Company, and Ensign Wm. Barnabas Legard to be Lieutenant, from the 1st June, 1831, in succession, to Capt. R. Menzies transferred to the Invalid Establishment.

#### ALTERATION OF RANK.

28th Regt. N. I.—Capt. H. C. Boileau to rank from the 6th Nov. 1832, vice Capt. J. T. Lewis promoted.

Lieut. I. D. Martin to rank from 24th March, 1833, vice Lieut. G. N. C. Hall deceased.

Lieut. Anthony Highmore Jellicoe, of the 55th Regt. N. I. is promoted to the rank of Captain by Brevet, from 10th June 1834.

The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted to the service, in conformity with their appointment by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, as Cadets of Cavalry and Infantry on this Establishment, and promoted to the rank of 2d Lieutenant and Ensign respectively.

Artillery.—Mr. George Penrice, date of arrival at Fort William 16th June 1834.

Infantry.—The Hon'ble Robert Barlow Palmer Byng, ditto 16th, June 1834.

**No. 130 of 1834.**—The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to direct, that the following paragraphs of letters Nos. 105 and 108, from the Honorable the Court of Directors, in the Military Department, under dates the 19th and 27th November 1833, be published in General Orders:

*Letter No. 105, dated 19th November, 1833.*

"Para. 1. The undermentioned officers, belonging to your establishment, have been permitted to remain in this country for the further periods stated against their respective names:—

Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Barron, six months.

Lieutenant colonel J. Nesbitt, until January next.

Capt. T. M. Campbell, until December next.

*Letter No. 108, dated 27th November, 1833.*

"Para. 2. The undermentioned officers, belonging to your establishment, have been permitted to remain in this country for the further periods stated against their respective names:—

Lieut. J. Holham, six months.

Lieut. William James, three months, from the 16th Oct. last.

3. We have granted Surg. A. Henderson, of your establishment, another year's leave of absence.

4. We have permitted Lieut.-Col. Philip C. Gillman, late of your establishment, to retire from the Company's service. This retirement takes effect from the 28th Sept. 1831.

No. 131 of 1831.—The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following promotion :

16th Regt. N. I.—Ensign Robert Steward to be Lieut, from the 4th June 1834, vice Lieut. W. G. McConnell deceased.

Assistant Surgeon G. N. Cheek, attached to the civil station of Burdwan, has obtained leave of absence in the Judicial Department, under date the 16th instant, for three months, on private affairs. Mr. Cheek is not to quit Burdwan till relieved by the medical officer who may be appointed to act for him during his absence from the station.

The unexpired portion of the leave of absence granted to Captain Alexander Wright, of the Invalid Establishment, in General Orders No. 134, of the 27th August 1832, is cancelled from the 30th ultimo.

#### FORT WILLIAM, 26TH JUNE, 1831.

No. 132 of 1834.—The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following promotions and alteration of rank :

Infantry.—Major Henry Burney to be Lieut.-Col, vice Lieut. Col. P. C. Gilman retired, with rank from the 30th April 1834, vice Lieut. Col. T. C. Watson deceased.

25th Regt. N. I.—Capt. Henry Digby Coxe to be Major, Lieut. Frederick Beven Rocke Oldfield to be Captain of a company, and Ensign Arthur Crowe Rainey to be Lieutenant, from the 30th April 1834, in succession to Major H. Burney promoted.

#### *Alteration of Rank.*

27th N. I.—Lieut. Col. A. Roberts, Major C. Savage retired, and Capt. W. Grant. To rank from 28th Sept. 1831, vice Lieut.-Col. P. C. Gilman retired.

51st N. I.—Lieut.-Col. G. Hawes, Major J. Frelawney, and Capt. J. T. Somerville. Ditto 3d November, 1831, vice Lieut. Col. A. Stewart promoted.

37th N. I.—Lieut. Col. C. A. G. Wallington, Major J. Herting, Capt. W. S. Prole, and Lieut. M. T. White invalided. Ditto 4th April 1832, vice Lieut.-Col. P. T. Comyn deceased.

15th N. I.—Lieut.-Col. R. L. Dickson retired, Major R. Mackenzie and Capt. Z. H. Turton. Ditto 3d May 1832, vice Lieut.-Col. J. L. Gale deceased.

31st N. I.—Lieut.-Col. A. Shulldham, Major J. Thomson, and Capt. J. W. Rowe deceased. Ditto 14th May 1832, vice Lieut.-Col. W. Skene retired.

56th N. I.—Lieut.-Col. A. Hardy, Major G. R. Pemberton, and Capt. D. L. Richardson invalided. Ditto 25th June, 1832, vice Lieut.-Col. W. R. Gilbert promoted.

3d N. I.—Lieut.-Col. T. Oliver, Major S. D. Riley, and Captain D. Downing. Ditto 1st Oct. 1832, vice Lt. Col. C. J. Doveton deceased.

89th N. I.—Lt.-Col. F. Palmer, Major F. Grant, Capt. W. Clifford, and Lieut. G. Pengree. Ditto 15th Oct. 1832, vice Lt.-Col. T. P. Smith promoted.

17th N. I.—Lieut.-Col. S. Hawthorne, Major J. W. Jones, deceased, Captain D. P. Wood, and Lieut. R. McKean. Ditto 29th Oct. 1832, vice Lt.-Col. A. T. Watson deceased.

11th N. I.—Lieut.-Col. D. G. Scott, Major R. Benson, and Captain J. R. Birrell. Ditto 14th Nov. 1832, vice Lieut.-Col. G. Engleheart retired.

1st N. I.—Lt.-Col. B. Sissmore, Major P. Tenlon retired, and Capt. J. Corfield. Ditto 1st Dec. 1832, vice Lt.-Col. J. C. B. Parke retired.

18th N. I.—Lt.-Col. T. A. Cobbe, Major R. Ross, Captain C. Gale, and Lieut. W. Hore. Ditto 9th Jan. 1833, vice Lt.-Col. J. Ward retired.

33d N. I.—Lt.-Col. H. Hall, Major C. D'O. Aplin deceased, Capt. G. Irvine, and Lieut. J. Macadam. Ditto 10th Jan. 1833, vice Lieut. Col. J. Robertson promoted.

10th N. I.—Lieut.-Col. T. Maddock, Major D. Pringle, Capt. W. Foley, and Lieut. F. Samler. Ditto 4th Feb. 1833, vice Lt. Col. R. L. Dickson retired.

52d N. I.—Lieut.-Col. D. Presgrave, Major G. Kingston, and Capt. T. P. Ellis. Ditto 14th March 1833, vice Lieut. Col. W. H. Wood promoted.

41th N. I.—Lieut.-Col. T. J. Anquetil, Major O. Stubbs, Capt. T. Des Voeux, and Lieut. H. Abbott. Ditto 20th April, 1833, vice Lieut.-Col. R. T. Seyer deceased.

47th N. I.—Lieut.-Col. T. Dundas, Major R. W. Pogson, Capt. J. S. Winfield, and Lieut. D. Pott. Ditto 14th June, 1833, vice Lieut.-Col. W. C. Baddeley, C. B., promoted.

36th N. I.—Lieut.-Col. H. L. White, Major C. Godby, Capt. H. Lloyd, and Lieut. C. U. Tripp. Ditto 29th Aug. 1833, vice Lieut.-Col. E. H. Simpson promoted.

46th N. I.—Lieut. Col. A. Speirs, Major A. Horsburgh, Capt. W. Brownlow, and Lieut. H. S. Grimes. Ditto 15th Sept. 1833, vice Lieut.-Col. W. W. Davis deceased.

9th N. I.—Lieut.-Col. M. C. Paul, Major J. Fagan, Capt. J. Woodburn, and Lieut. L. P. D. Eld. Ditto 19th Sept. 1833, vice Lieut. Col. C. Frye deceased.



Ditto—Capt. W. Beckett, and Lieut. R. St. J. Lucas. Ditto 25th Sept. 1833 vice Capt. J. D. Herbert deceased.

24th N. I.—Lieut. Col. C. F. Wild, Major M. Ramsay, Capt. A. S. Singer, and Lieut. A. Q. Hopper. Ditto 26th Sept. 1833, vice Lieut. Col. S. P. Bishop deceased

61st N. I.—Lieut. Col. G. P. Wymer, Major W. Gregory, Capt. J. Macdonald, and Lieut. J. C. Innes. Ditto 19th Oct. 1833, vice Lieut. Col. F. Newton promoted

12th N. I.—Lieut. Col. W. W. Moore, Major J. Campbell, Captain W. A. Ludlow, and Lieut. J. R. Abbott. Ditto 13th Jan. 1834, vice Lieut. Col. W. Nott promoted

57th N. I. Lt.-Col. H. Morrison, Major J. Martin, Captain W. A. Smith, and Lieut. H. Henchman. Ditto 17th Jan. 1834, vice Lieut.-Col. T. Taylor retired.

No. 133 of 1834.—The Honorable the Vice President in Council is pleased to make the following promotions and alteration of rank :

21st Regt. N. I.—Lieutenant and Brevet Captain Charles Farmer to be Captain of a company, from the 12th June, 1833, vice J. P. Macdougall retired. This cancels the rank of Captain by brevet assigned to Lieut. Farmer, in General Orders No. 100, of the 1st ultimo.

Ensign Richard Lowry to be Lieut., vice Lieut. C. Farmer promoted, with rank from the 27th Feb. 1834, vice Lieut. C. Cook invalided.

Alteration of Rank.—Lieut. T. James to rank from the 12th June 1833, vice Lieut. C. Farmer promoted.

43d Regt. N. I.—Supernumerary Lieut. Osborne Campbell is brought on the effective strength of the Regt. in the room of Lieut. H. Mackintosh deceased, 3d April 1834.

The following promotions are made in the Subordinate Ordnance Commissariat Department :

Acting Conductor Gerard Irvine to be Conductor, and Serjeant Major Joseph Wilson, of the 4th Regt. N. I. to be Sub Conductor. From the 29th May 1834, in succession to Conductor W. Thorpe deceased.

No. 134 of 1834.—The Hon'ble the Vice President in Council is pleased to assign rank to the undermentioned officer from the date expressed opposite to his name :

Artillery.—2d Lieut. Geo. Penrice, 16th June, 1834.

Lieut.-Col. Geo. D'Aguilar, of the Invalid Establishment, Regulating Officer of Invalid Tannahs in the Districts of Bhaugulpore and Tirhoot, has two months' leave of absence, from the 14th inst., on private affairs.

Assistant Surgeon F. H. Brett is removed from his situation of Civil Assistant Surgeon of Moradabad, and placed at the disposal of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

Quarter Master Sergeant John Rooney, of the 68th Regt. N. I., is appointed an Assistant Overseer in the Department of Public Works on the salary allowed for that rank, and attached to the 2d division, instead of Mr. J. Duncan, appointed in General Orders No. 117 of the 29th ultimo.

The appointment of Station Staff at Ghazeepore is abolished at the recommendation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

J. STUART, Depy. Sec. to Govt. Milly. Dept.

# SHIPPING REGISTER,

FOR APRIL, 1834.

## ARRIVALS.

- March* 27 Ship *Fame*, J. Richardson, from Ceylon 28th February.  
— French ditto *Egide*, Le Cour, from Bourbon 31st January.  
— H. C. steamer *Ganges*, W. Warden, from Moulmein (date not mentioned.)  
— Ditto *Diana*, W. Lindquest, from ditto (date not mentioned.)  
28 Bark *Vesper*, J. Attwood, from the Mauritius 1st February, and Madras 19th March.  
29 Bark *Will Watch*, Wm. Barrington, from Singapore 18th February, Malacca (date not mentioned,) and Penang 4th March.  
30 Ship *Pearl*, J. Sanders, from the Mauritius 9th Feb.  
— Burmese schooner *Chas. Stuart*, D. Ross, from Rangoon 14th March.  
31 Bark *Sophia*, J. Bluett, from Madras 23d March.  
— Brig *Jessy*, J. Auld, from Madras 21st March.  
— Brig *Harding*, J. Thornton, from London 19th June, Cape of Good Hope 27th October, the Mauritius 7th February, and Madras 22d March.  
— Ship *Hydroose*, Nacoda, from Bombay 9th, Cannanore 27th, and Tellicherry 31st January.
- April* 2 Brig *Belhaven*, M. Crawford, from Madras 28th February, and Coringa 27th March.  
6 Schooner *Independence*, J. Bowman, from Chittagong 18th March.  
9 Bark *Sylph*, R. Wallace, from China 26th February, and Singapore 12th March.  
10 Bark *Resource*, R. Smith, from Madras 9th March and Coringa 4th April.  
11 Brig *Concordia*, J. Ewers, from Moulmein 1st March and last from Amherst.  
13 French brig *Nestor*, A. Thibault, from Bordeaux 30th October, and Madras 3d April.  
— French ship *Admiral Hugon*, Lefrancois, from Bourbon 31st January.  
— Brig *Cecilia*, P. Roy, from Singapore 11th March, and Penang 23d ditto.  
— Schooner *Bassein Merchant*, J. Donahoy, from Rangoon 9th February, and Moulmein 2d March.  
14 Ship *Mountstuart Elphinstone*, G. Richardson, from London 13th November, Cape of Good Hope 25th January; and Madras 6th April. •

- 15 Bark *Haidee*, J. Taylor, from Madras (date not mentioned) and Coringa 9th April.
- Schooner *Mary*, J. Daniels, from Rangoon 26th March.
- 17 Ship *Argyle*, A. McDonald, from Point Pedro 6th April.
- 19 Brig *Harriet*, G. Solomon, from Penang 10th March.
- 21 H. C. steamer *Ganges*, W. Warden, from Chittagong 17th April.
- 22 Bark *Annie*, J. Tindale, from London 18th November.
- Bark *Red Rover*, Wm. Clifton, from China 14th March, Singapore (date not mentioned,) and Madras 14th April.
- American ship *Edward*, John Land, from Philadelphia 2d November, Batavia 1st, and Singapore 21st March, and Madras 15th April.
- 23 Schooner *Sweet*, G. Robinson, from Moulmein 22d March.
- 25 Bark *Betsey*, G. S. Jones, from Rangoon 10th April.
- Ditto *Phœnix*, A. Bane, from Coringa 19th ditto.
- Ship *Ceres*, J. Blanpied, from the Mauritius 25th Feb.
- 26 Bark *Virginia*, J. Hullock, from Vizigapatam 22d April.
- Bark *Skimmer*, J. Randall, from China 13th March, and Singapore 2d April.
- 27 Ship *John Bannerman*, John Watt, from Bombay 14th March, and Cochin 26th ditto and Madras 20th April.
- Schooner *Young Rover*, J. Baker, from Moulmein (date not mentioned.)

### DEPARTURES.

- March 24 Ship *Hindustan*, G. J. Redman, for London.
- 31 Bark *Sterling*, John Burnett, for the Mauritius.
- April 3 Bark *Resolution*, G. Jellicoe, for Arracan and Madras.
- Ship *Java*, J. Todd, for the Mauritius.
- 4 French ship *Victoire et Lise*, C. Villebogard, for Bourbon.
- 5 Ship *Edward*, R. Heaviside, for the Isle of France.
- 11 Ship *Mulgrave*, J. Coulson, for London.
- Ship *Waterloo*, John Cow, for ditto.
- American ship *Margaret*, W. Stotesbury, for Philadelphia.
- Ditto ship *Gibraltar*, W. Foster, for Boston.
- French ship *Egide*, Le Cour, for Nantes.
- 13 Ship *Indian Oak*, W. Worthington, for the Mauritius.
- Ditto *Emerald*, John Johnson, for Liverpool.
- Bark *Isabella Robertson*, J. Hudson, for China.
- 14 Bark *Emily Jane*, Boothby, for China.
- 15 Ship *Karl of Eldon*, John Burnett, for Bombay.
- 16 Ship *Wm. Wilson*, J. H. Miller, for the Mauritius.
- Ship *Indiana*, J. Webster, for Hobart Town.



- 18 Bark *Will Watch*, W. Barrington, for Penang and Singapore.
- Brig *George and Mary*, J. Roberts, for the Mauritius.
- Ship *Ann*, J. Adler, for ditto.
- 20 Ship *Alfred*, R. Tapley, for London.
- 21 Bark *Burrell*, J. Metcalfe, for Rangoon.
- 23 Ship *General Hewett*, J. Bankier, for London.
- 26 Bark *Agnes*, P. Holmes, for Singapore and China.
- Brig *Hardings*, J. Thornton, for the Mauritius.
- 27 Ship *Ruby*, W. Warden, for Singapore and China.

### ARRIVAL OF PASSENGERS.

*Per Mountstuart Elphinstone for London*:—Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Tottenham, Miss Golightly, Captain Jones, 46th N. I., Lieut. Tottenham, 3d Light N. Cavalry, Lieut. Turner, 38th N. I., Messrs. Osborne, Barrister, Wetson, Merchant, Henry Smith, and Edward Smith. *From Madras*:—Mr. Harding, Merchant and Mr. Mooratt, Banker.

*Per Vesper, from Madras*:—Alexander Steuart, Esq. and Oliver Sproule, Esq., Surgeons R. N.

*Per bark Fame, from Ceylon*:—Mr. Edward Smith, late Commander, and 2 Lascars part of the crew.

*Per H. C. steamer Diana*:—Mrs. Lindquest; Mrs. Stone; Captain Dobson, Country Service; 1 Corporal, 3 Privates, H. M. Regt.; and 1 European Convict.

*Per H. C. steamer Ganges*:—Sir Charles and Lady D'Oxley; Rev. Mr. Dealtry; C. Macsween, Esq. Chief Sec. to Govt.; Mr. Harding; and Mr. Hoff.

*Per bark Will Watch, from Singapore*:—W. S. Quinton, Esq., B. C. Service; and J. Hamilton, Esq., Merchant.

*Per Pearl*:—Mr. Dominick Lawgras; Mr. Edward Friend, Ship Master; and Mr. John Robinson.

*Per Chas. Stuart*:—E. W. C. Hessing, Esq., Surgeon; A. J. Camarats, Esq. and Mogul Aga Sahab, Merchants.

*Per Admiral Hugon, from Bourbon*:—Monsr. Graudidier, Merchant; and Monsr. Roussies, Law Officer.

*Per Nestor, from Madras*:—Mr. Groves, Missionary,

*Per Sophia, from Madras*:—Mrs. Beaddock and 2 children; R. Walpole, Esq., Civil Service; Lieut. Beaddock; and Mr. P. Dwyer.

*Per H. C. Steamer Ganges, from Chittagong*:—Mr. Walters, Misses Smith and Walters, H. Walters, Esq., Commissioner; C. Smith, Esq. C. S.; G. Harding, Esq., S. Crawford, Esq., K. McKenzie, Esq.; and 2 Masters Walters.

*Per Sylph, from China*:—Captain W. Warden; and T. Goldsworthy, Esq. *From Singapore*:—W. Crane, Esq.; and Mr. Joseph Yacob.

*Per brig Belhaven, from Vizagapatam*:—Rev. Mr. Ailsahie,

*Per Edward, from Singapore*:—C. Jameson, Esq. Merchant.

*Per Virginia from Coringa*:—J. B. Miller, Esq., Merchant.

*Per John Bannerman, from Bombay*:—Master Sutherland.

## DEPARTURE OF PASSENGERS.

*Per Emily Jane, for China*:—Morieson, Esq.; J. Goblett, Esq.; and J. B. Higginson, Esq.

*Per Indiana*:—Mrs. Learmouth; Miss Learmouth; James Learmouth, Esq.; John Livingston, Esq.; James Livingston, Esq.; Fergusson, Esq.; Fergusson, Esq.; Burt, Esq.; W. G. Chieue, Esq.; Captain Margrave, B. A.; and James Watson, Esq.

*Per Emerald*:—Masters Hinder and Wall.

*Per Waterloo, for London*:—Doctor Francis; Captain Johnson; Doctor Sprole, R. N.; Miss Ambrose; Masters Ambrose and Tattle.

*Per Isabella Robertson, for China*:—Francis Mendes, Esq.; L. Pereira, Esq. and—Avrick, Esq.

*Per General Hewett, for London*:—Mrs. Hunter, Mrs. Pringle and 2 children, Col. Hunter, and Lieut. Webster.

*Per Enchantress, for London*:—Mr. Mathew Boyd.

## DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

(WHERE THE PLACE IS NOT MENTIONED, CALCUTTA IS TO BE UNDERSTOOD.)

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## MARRIAGES.

*Nov. 7* At Malacca, Robert Diggles, Esq., to Eliza, only daughter of Samuel Garling, Esq., Resident Councillor at Malacca.

*Dec. 26* At the Mission Chapel Singapore, Charles Ross Mackenzie, 46th Regiment M. N. I., to Rachel Rhoda, eldest daughter of the Rev. Thomas Beighton, Protestant Missionary.

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*Feb. 8* At Goa, Mr. R. Morgan, son of the late Captain R. Morgan, I. N. late Master Attendant of Bombay, to Senhora Donna Luiza Flor Texeira De Boamonde, daughter of the late Captain Joze Agostinho Delfim De Boamonde, of the Portuguese Military Service.

*March 2* At Buxar, Quarter Master Serjeant Thomas Cox, 18th Regt. N. I., to Miss Maria Thomas, eldest daughter of the late Joseph Thomas, Storekeeper and Overseer, Stud Department, Ghazeepore.

*11* At Trichinopoly, Samuel Philips, Esq., H. M. 54th Regt., to Anne Malvina, youngest daughter of the late Lieut. Byrn, of the Madras Army.

— At Secunderabad, Mr. Senior Assistant Apothecary Augustin Greated Wilson, to Miss Frances Maria Williams, daughter of the late Capt. Raymond Williams, of the 25th Regiment Light Dragoons.

- 12 At Poonah, David Dempster Chadwick, Ensign in the 8th Regt. N. I., on this Establishment, to Miss Caroline Wilhelmina Stokoe, second daughter of Thomas Wellden Stokoe, Esq. of the Bombay Military Establishment, third son of the late William Stokoe, Esq., of West Acomb, near Hexham, Northumberland.
- 13 At Joypore, the Rev. Edward White, A. M., Joint District Chaplain of Cawnpore, to Barbara, the second daughter of Lieut.-Colonel J. A. Biggs, Commanding Artillery, Rajpootann.
- 17 At Jaunpore, William Mathews, Esq., to Miss Eliza Allen, sister of the late J. J. Forbes, Esq., M.D.H.C.S.
- 18 At Trichinopoly, Mr. C. R. McMahon, son of the late B. McMahon, Esq., of the Madras Medical Establishment, to Maria, daughter of D. A. Rehe, Esq.
- At Meerutt, John R. Holden Rose, Esq., of His Majesty's 11th Light Dragoons, to Emilia Hall Jackson, eldest daughter of the late Major J. N. Jackson, C. B.
- 21 At Madras, Rowland Wensley Chitfield, Esq., to Gertrude Trevor, youngest daughter of George P. Tyler, Esq., Madras Civil Service.
- 26 At Dinapore, Ambrose Cardew, Lieutenant Artillery, to Emma Maria, second daughter of J. Marshall, Esq. Superintending Surgeon.
- 31 At Cawnpore, Mr. John Law Turnbull, to Amelia, third daughter of the late Mr. Samuel Greenway.
- April* 3 Captain John Scott, 55th Regt. N. I., to Harriet, eldest daughter of the late Captain G. Hunter, Bengal Commissariat.
- 7 Mr. Conductor Edward Townsend, Department of Public Works, Berhampore Division, to Miss Maria Campbell Hamilton.
- 9 Mr. E. Goodall, junior, to Miss C. Somerville, second daughter of the late Captain James Somerville, of Commercally.
- Mr. E. C. Kemp, to Miss Esther Charlotte Davis.
- 10 Alfred Oram, Esq., Indigo-planter, to Mary, eldest daughter of the late R. B. Lloyd, Esq., one of the Commissioners of the Court of Requests.
- 15 Mr. William Vant Hart, to Miss Lavenia Henrietta Rodrigues.
- 19 At the Principal Roman Catholic Caurch, Mr. Edward Robent, to Miss Elizabeth Julian.
- 21 At the Cathedral, Patrick Chiene, Esq., 34th Regt. N. I., to Eliza, daughter of the late Lieut. Cunningham, of the Bengal Army.
- 22 Mr. C. Owen, to Miss Letitia Mildred Maclean.
- George Templer Graham, Lieut. Artillery, to Miss Frances Margaret Golightly.



1834

## BIRTHS.

- Jan.** 10 A Macao, the lady of John C. Whiteman, Esq., of a daughter.  
 14 At Singapore, the lady of Lieutenant Alexander John Begbie, Madras Artillery, of a son.
- Feb.** 1 At Macao, the lady of Thomas R. College, Esq., of a son.  
 11 At Canton, the lady of James N. Daniell, Esq., of a son.  
 22 At Sultanpore, Mrs. A. K. Agnew, of a son.  
 23 At Cawnpore, Mrs. Webster, of H. M. 16th Lancers, of a daughter.  
 24 At Campong Glam, the lady of Captain H. Prior, 23d Light Infantry, Commanding the Troops at Singapore, of a daughter.  
 26 At Singapore, on board the *Hannah*, the lady of Captain Jackson, Commander of the said ship, of a son.  
 28 At Dharwar, the lady of Archibald Spens, Esq., Civil Service, of a son.
- March** 1 On the river towards Cawnpore, the lady of Lieut. John Bruce, of His Majesty's 16th Foot, of a daughter.  
 5 At Trichinopoly, the wife of Captain Walch, 54th Regiment, of a son.  
 7 At Madras, the wife of the Rev. Edward Dent, of a daughter.  
 — At Aska, the wife of Mr. Assist. Apothecary Spratt, of a daughter.  
 — At Mominabad, the lady of Captain Strange, H. H. the Nizam's Cavalry, of a son and heir.  
 9 At Madras, the lady of J. F. Thomas, Esq. of the Civil Service, of a daughter.  
 — At Macao, the lady of J. B. Thornhill, Esq., of a son.  
 17 At Meerut, the lady of Lieut.-Colonel J. P. Boileau, Horse Artillery, of a son.  
 — At St. Thomas's Mount, the lady of Captain Ley, of the Artillery, of a daughter.  
 21 At Kamptee, the lady of Captain J. F. Bird, 22d Regt. N. I., of a daughter.  
 — At Neemuch, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Duffin, Commanding 2d Light Cavalry, of a son.  
 22 At Madras, the lady of Captain Keighly, Judge Advocate General of the Army, of a son.  
 23 At Madras, the lady of T. O'Neill, Esq., of a daughter, still-born.  
 — At Ghazeepore, the wife of Assistant Apothecary Simmonds, of a daughter.  
 — At Cawnpore, the lady of John Dempster, Esq. Acting Surgeon H. M. 16th Regt. of Foot, of a son.  
 24 At Hurnee, Mrs. James Scott, of Bancote, of a daughter.  
 26 At Ghuprah, the lady of W. A. Pringle, Esq. of a son.  
 — Emily, the wife of Charles Brownlow, Esq. of a son.

- 26 In the Fort of Bombay, the lady of Commander Houghton, India Navy, of a son.
- 27 At Bombay, the lady of W. C. Bruce, Esq., Civil Service, of a son.
- 29 At Bolundshuhut, the lady of G. M. Bird, Esq. C. S., of a daughter.
- 30 Mrs J. Patten, of a daughter.
- Apr 1* At the H. C. Botanic Gardens, Mrs. F. S. Bruce, of a daughter.
- 2 At Singapore, the lady of Andrew Anderson, Esq., of a daughter.
- Mrs John Gray, of a daughter.
- 3 At Mahabuleshwar Hills, the lady of Major Havelock, His Majesty's 4th Light Dragoons, of a daughter.
- 4 At Palaveram, the lady of Lieutenant Richard Harlock, 29th Regt. N. I., of a daughter.
- At Madras, the lady of Captain John Monson Boyes, 38th Regiment Madras Native Infantry, of a daughter.
- 5 At Meerut, the lady of Lieut. Sibley, His Majesty's 26th Regt., of a daughter.
- At Dinapore, the lady of John DeFountain, Esq., 56th Regt. N. I., of a son.
- 6 At Hawul Bagh, the lady of Lieut. Chas. Campbell, Commanding Kumaon Local Battalion, of a son.
- 7 In Chowringhee, the lady of Ross D. Mangles, Esq., of a daughter.
- 9 The wife of Mr. J. J. Hyppolite, of a son.
- 10 The Wife of Mr. W. Barrett, of a son.
- Mrs. Roe, wife of Captain R. A. J. Roe, of a daughter.
- Mrs. W. G. McCarthy, of a daughter.
- 12 At Kurnaul, the lady of Lieut. C. H. Naylor, 8th N. I., of a son.
- 13 At Mozufferpore, Tirhoot, the lady of T. J. Dashwood, Esq., of the Civil Service, of a daughter.
- Mrs. M. Locken, wife of Mr. R. Locken, of the H. C. Bengal Marine, of a son.
- 14 At Allahabad, Mrs. T. Davis, of a son.
- Mrs. J. Wells, wife of Mr. Mate Pilot Wells, of a daughter.
- The wife of Mr. Richard Deefholts, of a son.
- 15 Mrs. Mark D'Cruze, of a son.
- The lady of J. B. Ogilvy, Esq., Civil Service, of a son.
- 18 The lady of Johannes Ardall, Esq., of a daughter.
- 24 The wife of Mr. W. Dickson, of a son.

1833

## DEATHS.

- Dec.* 7 At Bercoolen, James Grant, Esq., of that place; deeply and sincerely regretted.
- 16 At the Cape of Good Hope, P. Y. Lindsay, Esq.: of the Bengal Civil Service, second son of the Lord Bishop of Kildare.

1834

- Jan. 2** At Singapore, at the house of J. S. Clark, Esq., Alexander Page, Esq., late of Calcutta.
- No date** At Sea, of a fever contracted at Muscat, Captain Frank Gore Willock, R. N.
- Feb. 8** At Campong Glam, Hester Sophia, the beloved wife of Captain H. Prior, of the 23<sup>d</sup> Light Infantry, Commanding the Troops at Singapore.
- 13** At Sea, shortly after leaving Batavia harbour, Captain Mackie, late Commander of the brig *Lucy*.
- 23** At Horsloe, Archibald, son of Lieut. A. Woodburn, 25th Regt. N. I., aged 6 weeks and 2 days.
- March 3** At Poonah, John Burnett, Esq., of the Bombay Civil Service, aged 30 years.
- b** In camp at Rajapoor, Bridget Priscilla Jones, the only daughter of Mr. Assistant Apothecary John Jones, of the Superintending Surgeon's Department, Northern Division, aged 2 years, 6 months and 13 days; deeply regretted by her disconsolate father and mother.
- 6** At Trichinopoly, Henry Boyce, the infant son of Captain Walch, 54th Regiment.
- 9** At Dharwar, Ensign William Claudius Erskine, of the 18th Regiment Native Infantry, from the effects of a fall from his horse, which he had whilst hunting near that place the day before.
- 13** At Banda, Brevet Captain the Hon'ble Patrick Campbell Sinclair, of the 70th N. I.
- 17** Mr. Joseph De Monte, aged 65 years, late an assistant in the Police Office.
- 20** At Cawnpore, Charlotta, the infant daughter of Lieut, and Riding Master Webster, of the 16th Lancers; much regretted by her dear parents.
- 23** At Cannanore, Henry Lobbren, Esq., in the 34th year of his age; deeply lamented by his afflicted brother.
- Mrs. Ann Nichols, widow of the late Captain G. Nichols, of the Country Service, aged 37 years.
- 25** At Dum-Dum, Mr John Watson, Assistant Commissary, aged 62 years, 8 months and 25 days.
- At Ghazeepoor, William Henry, the eldest son M. Ferrier, Esq., aged 3 years, 3 months and 25 days.
- Nazareth, the infant son of Mr. G. F. Bowbear, aged 8 days.
- 26** At Akyab, in Arracan, J. Duff, Esq., Adjutant Arracan Local Battalion, aged 34 years.
- At Cawnpore, H. Wardroper, Esq., Lieutenant of His Majesty's 16th or Queen's Lancers; most deeply and sincerely lamented.
- 31** Mrs. Mary Neries, aged 40 years.
- At Lucknow, the infant daughter of Lieutenant Macvitie, Artillery, aged 5 months and 18 days.



- 31 Mrs. Elizabeth Shillingford, widow of the late James Shillingford, Esq., aged 27 years and 10 months.
- April* 1 Master George May, son of Captain John Frederick May, 72d Regiment Native Infantry, aged 8 years.
- 3 Mrs. T. Paul, senior, aged 47 years.
- At Akyab, of jungle fever, Lieutenant Henry Mackintosh, 43d N. I., Junior Assistant to the Commissioner of Arracan.
- 4 Mrs. Emelia Budge, widow of Mr. Nicholas Budge, aged 53 years.
- 5 Thomas Richardson, Esq., Magistrate of the 24 Pergunahs, aged 34 years.
- 6 Mr. Wm. Samuel Elias, aged 22 years.
- Mr. Abraham Matthew, aged 90 years.
- 10 At Cawnpore, Lieut. Archibald, Kennedy 67th Native Infantry.
- 11 Ann, the lady of Edward Mullins, Esq., aged 50 years. No wife could be more worthy, no mother more affectionate.
- 12 Mr. Jones Hammond, 1st Officer of the American ship *Margaret*, aged 25 years.
- 13 Master George Thomas Boyd, son of Mr. George Boyd, aged 3 years.
- 18 At Berhampore, Mr. Charles James Woodward, Apothecary H. C. Subordinate Medical Establishment.
- 19 At Chinsurah, Mrs. Feliciana D'Cruze, the wife of Mr. M. DeCruze, aged 20 years.
- 22 Mr. Charles Gooderham.
- Mrs. Mary Miller.
- Mrs. Chill, widow of the late Conductor Chill.
- 23 Master H. H. Gill, son of Mr. Gill, aged 1 year, 6 months, and 1 day.
- 25 John Robert Fitzpatrick, Esq. aged 17 years, 4 months and 15 days.

# ADMINISTRATIONS TO ESTATES,

UP TO APRIL 28, 1834.

<i>Estates of</i>	<i>Executors, Administrators, &amp;c.</i>
Benson, George (Major.).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Cornick, John (Surgeon.).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Croft, Rozina (late of Howrah.)	S. Damzen, executor.
Gargory, Thoroose (late of Dacca.).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Lardner, Thomas.....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Macdonald, Sir John, K. C. B. (General.).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Melhuish, John, (Chemist and Druggist.).....	H. O. Melhuish, administratrix.
Richards, Goddard (Colonel.)..	W. Blunt, executor.
Richardson, Thomas, (Civil Service.).....	E. A. Richardson, administratrix.
Ross, James (late of Great Britain.).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Smith, Wm. Tower (Civil Service.).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Watson, John (Assist Com. Ord)	Ann Watson, executrix.
Wood, Wm. Warren (late of Tinnet.).....	J. W. Yule, J. Howell, and H. Hill, executors.

## THE MONEY MARKET.

GOVERNMENT SECURITIES,—APRIL 28, 1834.

	TO BUY.	TO SELL.
Remittable Loan, 6 per Cent....	24 0 a	23 0 Prem.
Old 5 per Cent. {	1st Class.....	1 8 a 1 0 „
	2d Class.....	0 12 a 0 4 „
	3d Class.....	0 4 a 0 0 „
Second or Middle 5 per Cent. Loan..	3 0 a	0 4 Prem.
New 3½ per Cent. Loan.....	3 0 a	2 8 „
4 per Cent. Loan.....	0 8 a	1 0 Disc.
Bank of Bengal Shares..	Sa. Rs. 3,200 Prem. 3,100	

## BANK OF BENGAL RATES.

Discount on Private Bills,.....	6 0
Ditto on Government and Salary Bills,.....	4 0
Interest on Loans on Deposit.....	4 0
Do. on open accounts, the Bank lending on Deposit Security	5 0

## COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

BUY ]	CALCUTTA.	[ SELL.
1 9½	Government Bills, 12 months' date, per Sa. Rs.	1 10
1 11	Other Public Bills, per Sa. Rs. ....	2 1
2s 1d a 2s 2½d	Private Bills, 6 months' sight, 2s 3d a 2s 4d	

## PRICES OF BULLION.

	TO BUY.	TO SELL.
Dollars, ..... per 100 Sa. Rs.	209 12	208 8
Sovereigns, ..... each	10 10	10 8
Guineas, ..... ditto	11 0	10 12
Old Gold Mohurs, ..... ditto	17 9	17 8
New Gold Mohurs, ..... ditto	16 11	16 5

# SHIPPING REGISTER,

FOR MAY, 1834.

## ARRIVALS.

- April* 30 Bark *Indus*, Wm. Hagart, from Glasgow 25th November, and Land's End 11th December.
- May* 2 Brig *Westoe*, J. Scurr, from the Mauritius 26th December, and Solomon's Island 5th April.
- 6 Bark *Dalla Merchant*, James Weir, from Rangoon 15th April.
- 7 Ship *General Gascoyne*, J. Fisher, from the Isle of France 23d February, Madras 14th April, and Coringa 3d May.
- 8 Steamer *Forbes*, J. M. Forth, from Madras 1st May.
- Ship *Carnatic*, D. Proodfoot, from Coringa 4th May.
- Brig *Minerva*, L. Esteve, from Canada 30th April.
- 10 Ship *John Adam*, J. Roche, from Point de Galle 11th, and Trucomalee 19th April, and Point Pedro 3d May.
- Ditto *Spartan*, J. Webb, from Point Pedro 30th April, and Madras 3d May.
- Ditto *Captain Cook*, W. Thompson, from Point Pedro 1st, and Madras 3d May.
- 17 Bark *Water Witch*, A. Henderson, from China 27th March, and Singapore 14th April.
- 18 French ship *Bordelais*, Le Porte, from Bordeaux 10th September, Mauritius and Bourbon (dates not mentioned.)
- Ship *Adelaide*, R. D. Guthrie, from the Isle of France 19th April.
- 21 Bark *Bengal*, D. Ritchie, from Glasgow 28th January and Madeira 20th February.
- Ditto *Crown*, J. Cowman, from Liverpool 26th December.
- Ditto *Addingham*, J. Sedgwick, from the Mauritius (date not mentioned,) and Coringa 12th May.
- Ship *John MacLellen*, D. McDonald, from Greenock 13th December.
- 23 Bark *William Thompson*, J. Wight, from the Mauritius 3d April, and Point Pedro 8th May.
- 24 Bark *Herculean*, M. King, from Liverpool 13th Dec.
- Ditto *Austen*, J. Ricketts, from China 31st March, Singapore (date not mentioned) and Acheen 13th May.
- Ditto *Westmoreland*, J. Brigstock, from Point Pedro 13th ditto.
- Ditto *Tancred*, P. Blues, from Ceylon 5th ditto.
- 27 Bark *Swallow*, W. Adam, from Madras 18th May.



- 28 Ship *Heroine*, R. McCarthy, from Madras 4th May,  
'and Gogoolapully 20th ditto  
— H. C. brig *Henry Meriton*, from Madras 22d May.  
29 Schooner *Syeed Khan*, J. P. Griffeth, from London 10th  
February.  
— Ship *Princess Vittoria*, J. Bisset, from Sydney 4th  
March.  
— Ship *Nusrat Shaw*, J. Pierse, from Bombay 7th May.  
— Ship *Aurora*, D. Dawson, from Penang 8th May.

### DEPARTURES.

- April* 27 Ship *Ruby*, W. Warden, for Singapore and China.  
28 Bark *Sophia*, J. Blunett, for Akyab.  
30 Ship *Alexander*, W. Sanderson, for the Mauritius.  
— Bark *Vesper*, T. T. Attwood, for the Mauritius.  
— French brig *Sirius*, T. F. Grillet, for Bourbon.  
*May* 4 Bark *Red Rover*, Wm. Chilton, for China.  
— Brig *Belhaven*, M. Crawford, for China.  
5 Brig *Harriet*, G. Solomon, for Penang.  
— Schooner *Charles Stewart*, D. Ross, for Moulmein.  
— Bark *Edina*, J. Norris, for Moulmein.  
7 Bark *Sylph*, R. Wallace, for China.  
11 Ship *Ceres*, J. Blampied, for Isle of France.  
— Brig *Cecelia*, P. Roy, for the Straits and Malacca.  
13 Ship *Elizabeth*, C. Blenkinsop, for Bombay.  
— American ship *Eclipse*, A. Perry, for Salem.  
13 H. C. C. ship *General Palmer*, W. Thomas, for London.  
— Ship *Argyle*, McDonald, for Madras.  
15 American brig *Apthorp*, H. G. Bridges, for New York.  
16 Brig *Richard Bell*, J. Wardle, for China.  
— Schooner *Young Rover* J. Baker, for Moulmein.  
18 Ship *Parsee*, E. McKellar, for London.  
21 Bark *Ann*, J. Tindale, for London.  
25 French ship *Victoire et Lisse*, C. Vellebogard, for Bor-  
deaux.  
27 French ship *Admiral Hugon*, Lefrancois, for Bourbon.

### ARRIVAL OF PASSENGERS.

*Per General Gascoyne, from Isle of France*:—Lient. Hopper.  
*Per Spartan, from Madras*:—Mrs. Taylor and infant child,  
Mr. M. G. Muchin, and Mr. D. W. Hill.  
*Per Young Rover, from Moulmein*:—C. J. Sutherland, Esq.,  
J. Tomlin, Esq., F. P. L. Chamber, Esq., Messrs. T. Bently and J.  
Bently, Mariners, and T. Aratoon, Armenian.  
*Per Bengal, from Glasgow*:—Mrs. J. Thompson, Miss  
Graham, Captain Campbell, 29th N. I., Dr. W. Buchanan, Cornet  
W. Waugh, 16th Lancers, Mr. M. Campbell, and Mr. Thos.  
Urquhart.

*Per John MacLellen, from Greenock:—*Mrs. Bowie and Mr. Andrew Bowie.

*Per Herculean, from Liverpool:—*William Mitchell, Esq.

*Per bark Austen, from China:—*Mrs. Ricketts and child; and Mrs. Lathrop.

*Per Tancred, from Ceylon:—*Mr. J. D. Brand.

*Per Swallow, from Madras:—*Mrs. Adam, Capt. Johnstone, R. N. Infantry, Lieut. Scate, Madras Artillery, Lieut. Bower, ditto Infantry, G. Adam, Esq. and J. Dowell, Esq. Merchants.

## DEPARTURE OF PASSENGERS.

*Per Cecelia, for Singapore:—*Messrs. J. Blackburn and Farquhar.

*Per Parsee:—*Mrs. Colvin, A. Colvin, Esq., Dr. John Colvin, Montefiore Joseph, Esq., and two children.

*Per bark Vesper, for the Mauritius:—*Pringle, Esq. Civil Service.

*Per ship Bolton, for the Cape:—*Mrs. Halhead, Mrs. Thomson, Mrs. McGeage, Mrs. Ekins, Miss Reddish, N. Hudson, Esq. Civil Service, and R. Wallpole, Esq. Civil Service.—*For London:—*Lieut. Ekins, Bengal Cavalry, Lieut. Southhall, H. M. 38th Regiment, and six children.

*Per Ann:—*Mr. G. R. Richardson, R. H. McNees, Esq. and child.

## DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

(WHERE THE PLACE IS NOT MENTIONED, CALCUTTA IS TO BE UNDERSTOOD.)

1834

### MARRIAGES.

*April 9* At Madras, Mr. Charles Stewart, Assistant Apothecary, to Miss Jane Orton, only daughter of the late Mr. Griffin Orton, Livery Stable-keeper.

11 At Tripassore, Acting Staff Serjeant Major Samuel Hilton, to Mrs. Sarah Ince, widow of the late Mr. Silvester Ince.

12 At Poona, Mr. Robert Xavier Murphy, Mahratta Interpreter and Translator to the Supreme Court, to Charlotte Bellew, only daughter of Mr. John Bellew, Deputy Assistant Commissary of Ordnance, on this establishment.

15 At Trichinopoly, Mr. Edward Jarrett Jones, Missionary, S. P. G. F. to Charlotte Eliza, daughter of the Rev. D. Schreyvogel.

— Lieut. William Cautis, of the 15th Regt. N. I., to Mary Jane, eldest daughter of Capt. O'Connell, Commissary of Ordnance.

- 16 Mr. Clark Cater, to Miss Margaret Eliza Brady.  
 18 At Madras, Lieut. R. S. Dobbs, 9th Regt. N. I., to Jane Margaret, youngest daughter of the late Robert Cathcart, Esq., of Durham, North Britain.  
 — Mr. J. H. Taylor, of the Herald Office, to Miss Catherine Kelly.  
 19 At Bombay, Mr. Robt. Walter, to Miss Anne Blowers.  
 21 At Mullie, Capt. Ninian Lewis, of the 63d Regt. N. I., to Eliza Mary Anna, eldest daughter of Captain Reynolds, of the same Regt.  
 22 At Futtehghur, Sergeant John Convey, 2d troop 2d brigade Horse Artillery, to Miss Frances Farrel, of Etawah.  
 23 At Bombay, Richard Spooner, Esq., Civil Service, to Mary Anne, eldest daughter of L. Hathway, Esq., Surgeon of the Artillery.  
 25 At Delhi, Mr. E. Kinsey, to Miss Eliza McPherson.  
 26 Mr. George Bowers, to Mrs. Elizabeth Hobson.  
 — Mr. M. Gonsalves, to Miss Anna Gomes.  
 29 At Dinapore, Lieut. R. Smyth, Artillery, to Ann, fourth daughter of James Gibbon, Esq.  
 — Mr. W. F. Gomes, head gardener of the H. C. Botanical Garden, to Miss Pamela Fenwick.  
*May* 6 At Cawnpore, Lieut. Thomas Bradridge Studdy, of the 8th Regt. of Light Cavalry, to Louisa Elizabeth, daughter of William Bishop, of Grey's Wood, Haslemere, and North Bank, Regent's Park.  
 13 Mr. J. H. Hatton, to Miss Anna Williams.  
 21 Mr. James Fordyce, to Miss Caroline Williams.  
 24 Mr. William Price, to Miss Amelia Sophia Pritchard.  
 26 Capt. Sutton, H. M.'s 49th Regiment, to Miss Sarah Louisa Barnes.

1834

## BIRTHS.

- Jan.* 22 At Wynburgh, Cape of Good Hope, the lady of Captain E. Willoughby, Assistant Quarter Master General of the Army, of a daughter.  
 24 At Campang Glam, the lady of Capt. Henry Prior, of the 23d Light Infantry, Commanding the Troops at Singapore, of a daughter.  
*March* 17 At Port Louis, Mauritius, the lady of Wm. Ainslie, junior, Esq. of a son.  
 21 At Bangalore, the wife of Mr. J. Hamnett, of the Ordnance Department, of a daughter.  
*April* 6 At Rhio, the lady of M. A. Borgen, Esq. Master Attendant, of a son.  
 9 At Byculla, Mrs. A. W. Elliott, of a son.  
 11 At Madras, the lady of Lieut. E. Willis, 28th N. I., of a daughter.



- 13 At Surat, the lady of Captain Brucks, Indian Navy, senior Naval Officer on the station, of a son.  
 — At Vepery, the wife of Mr. J. O'Hara, of a son.  
 — At Allahabad, Mrs. William Johnson, of a son.  
 17 At Madras, Mrs. Catherine Purcell, wife of Mr. J. A. Purcell, senior Asst. Apothecary, of a son.  
 — At Muttra, the lady of Capt. W. Martin, 57th Regt. N. I., of a son.  
 18 At Surat, the lady of J. Vibart, Esq. Civil Service, of a daughter.  
 — At Aurungabad, the lady of Captain George Twemlow, Bengal Artillery, of a daughter.  
 20 At Simla, the lady of Lieut. Chester, of a son.  
 — At Kurnaul, the wife of Overseer John Shaw, D. P. Works, of a son.  
 — At Bellary, Mrs. George S. F. Ross, of a son.  
 21 At Bogwangolah, Mrs. Charles Rose, of a son.  
 — At Secunderabad, the lady of Capt. P. Hamond, Artillery, of a son.  
 — At Ootacamund, the lady of Capt. Lawe, of the Engineers, of a son.  
 22 The wife of Mr. John Christon, of a daughter.  
 23 At Bellary, the lady of Lieutenant Lawford, Engineers, of a daughter.  
 25 At Randal Lodge, Bombay, the lady of J. H. Dunster-ville, Esq. 12th Regt. N. I., of a daughter, still-born.  
 — The lady of W. T. Dawes, Esq., of a still-born son.  
 26 Mrs. Jacob Hoff, of a son.  
 — The lady of F. O. Wells, Esq., of a daughter.  
 27 At Delhi, the lady of Captain Ramsay, Brigade Major, of a son.  
 28 At Benares, the lady of Lieut. C. I. Lewis, D. A. C. G., of a daughter.  
 — At Malcolm Peyt, Bombay, the lady of Ensign J. Morphey Browne, Bombay European Regt., of a son.  
 29 At Sea, on board the *Isadora*, the lady of Lieut. John Grimes, of the 8th Regt. N. I., of a son.  
 — At Bancoorah, the lady of Lieut. Col. Shuldham, Commanding 31st Regt. N. I., of a daughter.  
 — At Cawnpore, the lady of Lieut. Wm. Ashmore, of a daughter.  
 — The lady of G. M. Batten, Esq. C. S., of a daughter.  
**May** 1 At Gya, the lady of D. W. Fraser, Esq. of a daughter.  
 — At Bombay, the lady of H. B. Turner, Esq., of a son.  
 2 At Bombay, Mrs. J. H. Reel, of a daughter.  
 3 At Bheundy, the lady of Capt. Farrell, 6th N. I., of a daughter.  
 5 At Meerutt, Mrs. G. P. Lumley, of a son.  
 — At Sultanpore, Benares, the lady of Lieut. R. P. Pooni father, 3d Light Cavalry, of a daughter.

- 6 At Dacca, Mrs. George Dixon, of a daughter.  
 8 At Delhi, the wife of Mr. E. Parsons, of a still-born son.  
 — At Chunar, the lady of Assistant Surgeon Barber, of a daughter.  
 9 Mrs. R. S. Strickland, of a son.  
 — Mrs. A. Fleming, of a son.  
 10 Mrs. J. D'Santos, of a daughter.  
 — At Burdwan, the lady of Henry Millett, Esq., of the Civil Service, of a son.  
 11 At Madras, the lady of John Carnac Morris, Esq., of the Civil Service, of a son.  
 12 At Bancoorah, the lady of J. W. Ricketts, Esq., of a son.  
 13 In Fort William, the wife of Garrison Pay Serjeant Gray, of a son.  
 — At Boolandshuhar, the lady of Capt. Rd. Wilcox, of a daughter.  
 14 The lady of John Farley Leith, Esq., Barister at Law, of a son.  
 15 At Baraset, the lady of Richard Herbert Mytton, Esq., Civil Service, of a son.  
 18 At Purneah, the lady of F. Gouldsbury, Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter.  
 21 At Barrackpore, the lady of Lieut. Van Heythuysen, of a son.  
 22 Mrs. James Dufholts, of a son.  
 25 Mrs. James Ogilvie, of a daughter.  
 26 At Cossipore, the lady of Major G. Hutchinson, of the Engineers, of a daughter.  
 27 The lady of Captain A. B. Clapperton, officiating First Assistant Master Attendant, of a daughter.  
 (No date) Mrs. R. Gordon, of a son.  
 (No date) At Benares, at the house of R. Bernard, Esq., the lady of R. Taylor, Esq., of twins.

1834

## DEATHS.

- Jan.* 16 At Maderia, Isabella, wife of Capt. David Ewart, of Artillery, and daughter of the late Major Richard Hodgson, of this establishment, aged 23.  
 24 At Lucknow, the lady of Capt. G. Templer, 22d Regt. N. I.  
*Feb.* 8 At Campang Glam, the beloved wife of Capt. H. Prior, 23d Light Infantry.  
*March* 5 At Batavia, at the house of Richard Melbourn, Esq., Pidara Tjina, William John Greig, Esq., of Lerwick, Shetland, nephew to John Deans, Esq., late of this city, of a lingering consumption, at the early age of 22 years.  
 20 At Penang, Mr. George Yonge, aged 35 years.

- April*    2    At Stony River, killed whilst on a reconnoitring party, at the 25th year of his age, Lieutenant James Andrew Erskine, His Majesty's 48th Regiment, deeply and sincerely lamented both by the officers and men.
- 3    At Mhow, Nicholas Joseph, second son of Nicholas Rielly, Qr.-Mr. Serjt. 16th Regt. N. I.; aged 5 years, 2 months and 24 days.
- At Somanaphett, Ensign C. D. Babington, of the 31st Regt. N. I.
- At Somanaphett, Ensign J. Robertson, of the 9th Regt. N. I.
- At Madras, whilst serving with an advance party from Colonel Jackson's force on the N. W. Coorg Frontier, Ensign David Johnston, of the 51st Regiment Native Infantry, Acting Quarter Master to the 40th Regiment.
- 5    At Shekarpoor, Ensign David MacDuff Bridges, of the 2d Regt. N. I.
- In Camp at Kimeddy, Lieut. J. P. Power, of Engineers.
- 10    At Bolaram, the wife of Mr. Sub-Assistant Surgeon Joseph Vital, Nizam's Service; aged 23 years and 6 months.
- 13    At Secunderabad, William Nerhudda, son of Qr. Master Serjeant and Anne Swinscoe, H. M. 45th Regt. aged 2 years and 1 month.
- 15    At Allahabad, Samuel Willoughby, the fourth son of Mr. J. Horn, aged 1 year, 8 months and 11 days.
- At Camp Dubhaee, Sarah Julia, the infant daughter of C. C. Foy, Sub-Assistant Surveyor, aged 10 months.
- 16    At Lucknow, Henrietta, youngest daughter of Sergeant Major Knight, 22d Regt. aged 6 years and 4 months.
- 25    At Kavel, the wife of Mr. Charles Marshall, Clerk of St. Thomas's Church, aged 27 years.
- 26    At Berhampore, Major George Macarthey Greville, of His Majesty's 38th Regt.
- At Bellary, Letitia Mary, only child of Lieut. John Horner, H. M. 55th Regt.; aged 2 years and 4 months.
- 27    At Kamptee, Lieut. C. Messiter, of the 22d Regt. N. I.
- 28    Thos. Lockier, Esq., formerly of the Honorable East India Company's Naval Service.
- 30    At Dacca, Lieut.-Col. Watson, late Commanding 53d Regt. N. I.; most deeply and deservedly regretted by the Officers and men under his command, as well as by that society, of which he was a distinguished ornament.
- May*     1    Mrs. Maria McNees, wife of Mr. R. K. McNees; aged 19 years.



- 2 Mrs. Elizabeth Susanna Shippey, aged 25 years, 6 months and 12 days.
- 3 Mr. William Montgomery, son of Mr. James Montgomery.
- At Dacca, John Hollow Esq., aged 80 years. Sincerely lamented by his family and friends.
- 4 Mr. Alexander Moreiro, proprietor of the East Indian Press, aged 43 years and 2 months.
- Mr. John Bryce Melville, nephew of the Revd. D. Bryce, aged 25 years; much and sincerely regretted.
- At Akyab, William Angelo, son of Capt. W. Limonds, commanding at that place, aged 2 years, 3 months and 26 days.
- 6 Virginia Adelaide, the infant daughter of Mr. Thomas Victor, aged 1 year, 9 months and 15 days.
- At Trichinopoly, W. Valemme, Esq., aged 37 years; leaving a disconsolate widow and 4 children to bemoan their irretrievable loss.
- 7 Mrs. Catherine Walker, wife of Mr. William Walker, Provisioner, aged 30 years.
- At Bombay, Elizabeth Mary, daughter of Mr. Sub-Conductor Trenn, Commissariat Department, aged 1 year.
- 8 Miss Eliza Gould, daughter of the late Mr. R. Gould, Auctioneer, aged 28 years.
- 9 Miss Margaret Victoria Vauquin, daughter of the late Mr. John Vauquin, aged 13 years, 8 months and 19 days.
- Miss Anna Irene Strettell, daughter of Charles George Strettell, Esq., Attorney at Law, aged 2 years and 2 months.
- In London Buildings, aged 13 years and upwards, Henry Leach, of the *Englishman* establishment, eldest son of Garrison Serjeant-Major Leach. He was an intelligent and industrious lad, and is much regretted by his employer.
- 10 Monsieur Frederic Detours, Avocat; aged 27 years.
- At Madras, Mary Ann, the infant daughter of Serjeant-Major J. Davis, of the late Carnatic Ordnance Artificers, aged 13 months and 10 days.
- 12 Mrs. Caroline Lydia Wood, wife of Capt. W. P. Wood, of the Country Service; aged 23 years, 5 months and 3 days.
- William Macleod, Esq., Attorney at Law; aged 43 years and 8 months.
- At the Sand Heads, on board the *Asseerghur* pilot brig, Mr. Mathew William Newcomb, H. C. Marine; aged 22 years; deeply and sincerely regretted.

- 14 At the Goolie Bazar, Richard, son of Mr. R. Haviland, Commissariat Department; aged 4 years and 6 months.  
— Miss Mary Dogherty, of the European Female Orphan Asylum, aged 13 years.
- 15 Miss Charlotte Robam; aged 19 years, 4 months and 19 days.  
— Mr. Bartholomew Hunt Daunt, of the Court of Requests, aged 28 years.  
— Mr. Richard Crockford, of the Police Establishment, aged 41 years.
- 16 Miss Agnes Disandt, daughter of D. Disandt, Esq., Assistant to Messrs. Lyall, Matheson and Co. aged 4 months and 3 days.  
— Mrs. Sophia Brampton, aged 38 years.
- 17 At Benares, Georgiana, daughter of Mr. William Rawstorne, aged 13 years.
- 18 At Howrah, James McNeight, Esq., aged 56 years.
- 19 The infant son of Mr. and Mrs. A. D'Souza; aged 5 months.  
— Mr. Jaques Conolley; aged 40 years.
- 20 Mrs. Elizabeth Kiernander, the wife of Mr. J. Kiernander, aged 27 years, 6 months, and 1 day.  
— Mrs. Luisa DeRozario; aged 45 years.  
— William Thompson, Esq., late of the ship *Captain Cook*.
- 21 Mr. Thomas Maudsley Hartshorn, Engineer; aged 43 years, 7 months, and 11 days.  
— Mr. Thomas Walker, of the ship *Royal George*; aged 27 years.  
— Lucy Ellen, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Carbery, of Government Place, East; aged 16 months and 7 days.  
— Of pulmonary consumption, Carrol Humphry, Esq., M. D., of Albany, New York, and Surgeon of the American ship *Edward*; aged 31 years.  
— Mrs. Mary Atkins, relict of the late Mr. Robert Atkins, of the Honorable Company's Marine; aged 61 years.
- 22 Miss Henrietta Grace Coles, daughter of Mr. C. G. Coles, aged 1 year, 1 month, and 21 days.  
— Captain James Browne Moore, formerly a Branch Pilot H. C. M. S.; aged 61 years.
- 23 Mr. John Taylor, proprietor of the Billard Rooms in Co-sitollah, aged 30 years and 4 months.  
— Mr. John Peter Marques, son of Mr. John Isaac Marques, aged 5 months and 11 days.
- 24 Mrs. Mary Hartshorn, aged 46 years, 7 months, and 11 days.

- 24 Miss Matilda Hamilton, a ward of the Free School,  
aged 12 years, 10 months, and 24 days.
- Mr. Frederick Cheltham, aged 38 years.
- Mr. Thomas John Wood, Accountant of the General  
Post Office, aged 33 years.
- At Malacca, Miss Minass, leaving her friends and a  
betrothed lover to deplore her loss.
- 26 Mrs. Sophia S. P. Bagram, the relict of the late S. P.  
Bagram, Esq., aged 26 years.
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# ADMINISTRATIONS TO ESTATES,

UP TO MAY 29, 1834.

<i>Estates of</i>	<i>Executors, Administrators, &amp;c.</i>
Ahmuty, R. (Civil Service.)....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Aplin, C. D'O. (Major.).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Bogle, George... ..	Registrar Supreme Court.
Boucher, S. E. (Spinster.).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Browne, M. W. (Colonel.).....	Clements Brown, as constituted attorney of A. A. Browne, sole administrator.
Burchell, W. J. (Indigo Planter.)	Wm. Carr, administrator.
Davidson, A. S.....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Delamotte, D. (Civil Service.)..	T. Watkins, as constituted attorney of P. Delamotte, executor.
Dowdeswell, W. (formerly of Ewell.) ... ..	Registrar Supreme Court.
Gibson, Susanah (Widow.).....	George Lamb and Matilda his wife, administrator and administratrix.
Hardy, Betty (Widow.).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Hodges, Eliza (Widow.)... ..	Registrar Supreme Court.
Lindsay, P. Y. (Civil Service.).	R. E. Blaney, as constituted attorney of Mrs. H. E. Lindsay, executrix.
Low, James (Major.).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Macdonald, A. (Indigo Planter.)	Registrar Supreme Court.
Marcas, Mary (Widow.)... ..	R. Kelsall, J. Williams, and Elizabeth Pereira, executors and executrix.
Michie, J. (Mariner.)... ..	Registrar Supreme Court.
Odell, J. C. (Major.)... ..	J. Herring and W. H. Halford, executors.
Richardson, T. (Civil Service.)..	R. D. Mangles, executor.
Ridge, C. J. (Captain.).....	D. Macintyre, as constituted attorney of J. Ainge and W. Gunner, executors.
Ridge, E. J. (Captain.).....	D. Macintyre, as constituted attorney of T. J. Ridge, executor.
Robertson, D. (Mariner.).....	T. Anderson, executor.
Rowe, J. W. (Captain.).....	Harriet Meredith, administratrix.
Sreemutty Bhedhoomoney Dossee (Widow.).....	Sreemutty Chooneemoney Dossee and Sreemutty Rungonmoney Dossee, executrices.
Wellesley, Gerald (Civil Service.).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Wynne, R. O. (Civil Service.)..	Registrar Supreme Court.

## THE MONEY MARKET.

### GOVERNMENT SECURITIES,—MAY 29, 1834.

	TO BUY.	TO SELL.
Remittable Loan, 6 per Cent.....	21 0 a	20 0 Prem.
Old 5 per Cent. { 1st Class.....	1 6 a	0 14 „
{ 2d Class.....	0 10 a	0 4 „
{ 3d Class.....	0 0 a	0 0 „
Second or Middle 5 per Cent. Loan..	3 0 a	0 4 Prem.
New or 3d 5 per Cent. Loan ....	2 12 a	2 4 „
4 per Cent. Loan.....	0 8 a	1 0 Disct.
Bank of Bengal Shares..	Sa. Rs. 3,200 Prem. 3,100	

### BANK OF BENGAL RATES.

Discount on Private Bills,.....	7 0
Ditto on Government and Salary Bills,.....	5 0
Interest on Loans on Deposit.....	5 7
Do. on open accounts, the Bank lending on Deposit Security	5 8

### COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

BUY.]	CALCUTTA.	[SELL.
1 9½	Government Bills, 12 months' date, per Sa. Rs.	1 10
1 11	Other Public Bills, per Sa. Rs. ....	2 1
2s 1d a 2s 2½d	Private Bills, 6 months' sight, 2s 3d a	2s 4d

### PRICES OF BULLION.

	TO BUY.	TO SELL.
Dollars, ..... per 100 Sa. Rs.	209 12	208 8
Sovereigns, ..... each	10 10	10 8
Guineas, ..... ditto	11 0	10 12
Old Gold Mohurs, ..... ditto	17 9	17 8
New Gold Mohurs, ..... ditto	16 11	16 5

# SHIPPING REGISTER,

## FOR JUNE, 1834.

### ARRIVALS

- May** 31 Bark *Tam O'Shanter*, William Coyde, from Ceylon 18th May.
- Bark *Cashmere Merchant*, W. Tingate, from Covelong 26th May.
- June** 1 Bark *Ann*, J. M. Bridwell, from Bombay 9th May, and Madras 25th ditto.
- 6 Bark *Research*, A. Ogilvie, from Madras 9th, and Vernee 28th May.
- 7 Bark *Fanny*, R. Edwards, from Madras 16th, and Ennore 30th May.
- 8 Ship *Roberts*, Henry Wake, from Portsmouth 7th February, Madras 25th and Ennore 31st May.
- Ditto *Marlon*, J. Richards, from Covelong 31st May.
- Bark *Donna Garmelita*, C. Gray, from Ennore 3d June.
- 10 Ship *Golconda*, W. H. Bell, from Madras 28th May and Eskapelly 4th June.
- Bark *Penelope*, P. Hutchinson, from the Mauritius 5th April and Ceylon 2d June.
- 11 Bark *Ganges*, J. Burgess, from Madras 30th May and Ennore 4th June.
- Ditto *Gaillardon*, W. Allen, from Marzanum 3d June.
- 12 Schooner *Elizabeth*, T. K. Morefadzen, from Moulmein 16th and Amherst 24th May.
- 14 Ship *Lord Lyndoch*, William Johnston, from Eskapelly 7th June.
- Brig *Euphrasia*, J. Lenepren, from the Mauritius 26th April and Covelong 5th June.
- 15 H. C. C. ship *Barossa*, P. J. Reeves, from London 1st and Plymouth 5th February.
- 16 Ship *Winscales*, G. Fisher, from Liverpool 1st Feb.
- Bark *Thetis*, C. Clark, from China 19th April and Singapore 22d May.
- Bark *Hindoo*, J. Askew, from Liverpool 5th February.
- 17 Sloop *Wase*, Tindale, from Madras 31st May.
- Ship *Drengan*, J. Mackenzie, from Madras 4th, and Ennore 11th June.
- Schooner *Attaram*, R. Richardson, from Moulmein 3d June.
- 19 Ship *Fattle Rohoman*, Hagee Jaffer, from Bombay 26th May.
- Brig *Janet*, J. Lotch, from Covelong 11th June.
- Bark *Lord of the Isles*, G. Histon, from London 6th December and Falmouth 9th February.
- Ship *Eliza*, Ed., Follins, from Point Pedro 8th June and Madras 18th June.





- 21 Ship *Layton*, G. Wade, from Madras 14th June.  
 — Brig *Ramchand Parson*, Nacoda, from Bombay 14th May.  
 23 Bark *Eamont*, John Seager, from Madras 3d, Coringa 16th and Vizagapatam 18th June.  
 25 Ship *Thalia*, W. H. Biden, from Chittagong 16th June.  
 26 Ship *Blakely*, Thomas Jackson, from Liverpool 11th March.  
 — Barque *Falcon*, D. Ovenstone, from China 8th May and Singapore 5th June.  
 27 Ship *La Belle Alliance*, Charles Arkcoll, from London 9th February. Cape of Good Hope (date not mentioned,) and Madras 21st June.  
 — Ship *King William the Fourth*, E. D. O. Eales, from Bombay 7th June.  
 28 Ship *Asia*, G. K. Bathie, from London 11th March and Madras 22d June.  
 30 Ship *Competitor*, G. B. Brock, from Rangoon 13th June.  
 — Schooner *Charles Stuart*, D. Ross, from Rangoon 14th June.

#### DEPARTURES.

- May 31 Brig *Jessy*, Jas. Auld, from Penang.  
 — Bark *Phoenix*, A. Baile, for Moulmein.  
 June 2 Bark *Prinsep*, J. Fergusson, for Madras.  
 6 Brig *Harriet*, G. Solomon, for Penang.  
 9 French ship *Bordelais*, M. Laporte, for Bourbon.  
 11 Ship *Bussorah Merchant*, J. Moncrief, for London.  
 — Bark *Ann*, J. Tuidle, for ditto.  
 — ditto *Water Witch*, A. Henderson, for Singapore and China.  
 12 Ship *Royal George*, W. Wilson, for London.  
 17 Bark *Swallow*, W. Adam, for Madras.  
 18 Bark *Nestor*, A. Thibault, for China.  
 23 Bark *Crown*, J. Cowman, for Liverpool.  
 — Bark *Haidee*, J. Randle, for Singapore.  
 26 Bark *Skimmer*, J. R. Gillan, for Penang, Malacca, and Singapore.  
 27 Bark *Addingham*, J. Sedgwick, for the Mauritius.  
 — ditto *Tancred*, R. R. Williams, for ditto.  
 — ditto *Research*, A. Ogilvie, for Masulipatam and Madras.  
 29 Bark *Donna Carmela*, C. Gray, for Penang.  
 — Ditto *Resource*, R. Smith, for Penang and Singapore.

#### ARRIVAL OF PASSENGERS.

Per H. C. C. ship *Barossa*, from London:—Mrs. Place, C. Radcliffe, Esq., Writer; Lieut. Peott, commanding recruits; Mr. Place, Engineer; Hon'ble R. Byng, Mr. Wiggins and Mr. Penrice, Cadets; 50 H. C. recruits, 3 women and 3 children.

*Per Roberts, from London*:—Mrs. Phillips; Mrs. Touissant; Miss Mary Touissant; Miss Margaret Touissant; Captain B. Phillips, N. Cavalry; Mr. Fras. Touissant; Mr. Wm. Lloyd, Cadet; Mr. Wm. Scott, Assistant Surgeon; Mr. Wm. White, Surgeon H. M. 16th Lancers; Mr. J. W. Grant Free Merchant; Mr. Wagratriber; and Mr. J. Spearing, Conductor. *From Madras*:—Dr. D. Stewart, M. D., Assistant Surgeon from the Cape; and Mr. Grant, Free Merchant, per ship *Claudine*.

*Per Donna Carmelita*:—Captain D. Wilson, Country Service; and an Armenian Priest.

*Per Marion*:—Mr. John Lyster, Country Service.

*Per Ganges, from Madras*:—Henry Spooner, Esq.; Dr. McIntire; and Mr. Frederick Hawkins.

*Per Gaillardon, from the Mauritius*:—Monsr. Grollier. *From Marcanum*:—Capt. G. B. Taylor and Master Taylor.

*Per bark Research from Madras*:—Mr. White, Mariner; and Mr. Wells, Merchant.

*Per schooner Attaram, from Moulmein*:—Mr. Sohn Darwood.

*Per Falcon, from Singapore*:—Mrs. D. L. Richardson and child.

• • *Per ship La Belle Alliance, from London*:—Dr. Dumbur, Assistant Surgeon; Dr. Campbell, ditto H. M. 49th; and Mr. Cochran. *From the Cape of Good Hope*:—Mrs. Col. Fagan, Mrs. Ross, Miss Fagan, Major Ross, Mr. Harrington, Civil Service, and Mr. Fagan, Cornet Light Cavalry. *From Madras*:—Miss Mareipeit, Ensign Blagrove and Mr. Martiu.

*Per ship Asia, from London*:—Mrs. Perceval Alleyn, Misses H. M. Macaulay, Catherine Haldane, Elizabeth Curtis, and Dorothy Curtis, Rowan Ronald, Esq., Messrs. James Curtis; J. T. Daycock, J. W. Carnagie, and W. Morrison, Cadets. *From Madras*:—F. Bathie, Esq. and Mr. H. F. Sildons, Madras Cavalry.

## DEPARTURE OF PASSENGERS.

*Per Royal George, for London*:—Mrs. Major Webb and 2 children; Captain Laird; Lieutenants Harris and Remington, and Lieut. I. Bates, commanding troops; 83 troops 2 women, and 3 children.

*Per ship General Gascoyne, for China*:—Mrs. Younghusband, Joseph Younghusband, Esq., and G. Jessop, Esq.

• *Per Indus, for Liverpool*:—Mrs. Ronald, Miss Dunn, Captain Goldhawke, and Mr. Montgomery.

*Per ship Bussorah Merchant, for London*:—Lieut. Backhouse. *For the Cape*: Mrs. Walter and 3 children; Mrs. Alexander;—Walter, Esq., George Alexander, Esq., and C. Smith, Esq., Civil Service; J. Miller, Esq.; and Major Barlow.

*Per Henry Meriton, for Khyouk Phyo*:—Captain Foley.



## DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

(WHERE THE PLACE IS NOT MENTIONED, CALCUTTA IS TO BE UNDERSTOOD.)

1834

### MARRIAGES.

- May* 6 At Malacca, by the Honorable S. Garling, Esq., Resident Councillor, the Revd. Charles Gutzlaff, to Miss Mary Wanstall.
- 12 At Mussoorie, Lieut. E. T. Tierney, 28th Regt. N. I., to Miss Christiana Clarke, niece of Major Ramsay.
- 15 At the Vepery Church, Mr. F. Pope, of the Military Pay Office, to Miss J. U. Deweltz.
- At Madras, Captain John Reid Brown, 6th Regiment Light Cavalry, to Margaret Mary, eldest daughter; and at the same time and place, Henry James Nicholls, Esq., 25th Regiment Madras Native Infantry, to Ann Lilly, youngest daughter of the late Captain David Inverarity.
- 19 At Bombay, John Skinner, Esq. to Mary Gavin Elizabeth, second daughter of Hope Stewart, Esq., of Balloch, Perthshire.
- 20 At Bangalore, Lieut. Frederick Chalmers, Assistant to the Commissioner for Mysore, to Eliza Sarah, fourth daughter of the late Revd. R. Smyth, Chaplain on this establishment.
- 23 At Futtighur, Mr. John Fitzpatrick, senior Sub-Assistant Revenue Surveyor, to Margaret Isabella, third daughter of the late Mr. John Mackling, H. C. Marine.
- 26 At Bombay, Nicolao Fernandes, junior, Esq., to Miss Anna Pulqueria Pereira, eldest daughter of Joseph Antonio Pereira, Esq.
- 27 At Purneah, Mr. William Noney, of the Judge's Office, to Miss Charlotte Morley.
- Mr. John Chertham Robertson, to Miss Harriet Taylor.
- Mr. John Andrews, to Miss Jane Cockburn.
- 28 L. M. DeSouza, Esq., of Bombay, to Miss Julia Clementina Dias.
- At Purneah, Mr. Thomas Mackenzie, to Miss Charlotte Thomas.
- At Purneah, Mr. Lewis D'Rozario, to Miss Dorothea Thomas.
- 30 At Purneah, (Nautpore), James Kilwick, Esq., to Miss Alice Sager.
- At Purneah, Mr. Joseph Francis D'Cruze, to Miss Mary Magdeline Noney.
- 31 At Purneah, Thomas Chapman, Esq., M.D., Assistant Surgeon, to Miss M. A. Palmer, daughter of Charles Palmer, Esq., of the same place.

- June** 2 At the Catholic Church in Durrumtollah, John Lackenstein, Esq., to Olivia Adeline, only daughter of the late Charles Edward Pinto, Esq.
- 3 At the Cathedral, Mr. Gent. Aviet, junior, to Miss Jane Eliza Wigrey, daughter of Capt. Charles F. Wigrey.
- At St. John's Cathedral, Serjeant Hugh S. Ross, of H. M.'s 49th Regt. to Mary Eliza Butter, a ward of the E. F. O. Asylum.
- 5 At Berhampore, Miss Meik, eldest daughter of James Meik, Esq. late of the Medical Board, Bengal, to Captain F. Boyd, of the Commissariat Department.
- At Bolarum, Capt. Alexander Adam, Commanding 7th Regt. Nizam's I., to Mary Anne, widow of the late Captain Puget, Madras European Regt.
- 9 Mr. William Skinner, to Miss Ann Gillespie.
- 10 At Madras, James Martin Jollie, Esq., to Catherine Alicia Wilson, fourth daughter of the late John Ewart, Esq., of Mullock, Galloway, N. B.
- 11 At St. John's Cathedral, Mr. William Morley, of Moorshedabad, to Miss Charlotte MacNeclance.
- 12 At Madras, Mr. P. H. Shaw, to Miss Anne Gunn.
- 14 Mr. Francis Myers, to Miss Frances Eleanor Frederick.
- 16 At the Cathedral, Mr. Frederick C. Blost, to Ellen, second daughter of the late Captain W. DeCluzen, of the Bengal Army.
- 17 At Berhampore, Mr. George Roots, to Mrs. Maria Rose.
- 25 At St. John's Cathedral, Mr. Henry Turner, of Edinburgh, Surveyor to the Canal Department, to Miss Frederica Mullins, of Tranquebar.

1834

## BIRTHS.

- April** 8 At Moulmein, the lady of Lieutenant Nott, His Majesty's 41st (or Welch) Regiment, of a daughter.
- 10 A Deesa, the lady of Capt. J. W. Watson, H. A. of a daughter.
- 27 At Penang, the lady of J. W. Maillardet, Esq., Madras Medical Service, of a daughter.
- At Baroda, the lady of Lieut. H. N. Ramsay, of a son.
- May** 8 At Singapore, Mrs. Annetta Melony, of a daughter.
- 11 At Cannanore, the lady of the Reverend J. C. Street, Chaplain, of a son.
- 12 At Bhewndy, the lady of Lieut. Carstairs, 6th Regt. N. I., of a daughter.
- At Bellary, the lady of James Smith, Esq., Garrison Surgeon, of a son.
- 14 At Mussoorie, the lady of Major R. E. Chambers, 9th Light Cavalry, of a daughter.
- 15 At Kotagherry, the lady of G. D. Drury, Esq., of a daughter.

- May** 16 At Poonah, the lady of Capt. George Jervis, of the Engineers, of a daughter.
- 17 At Lucknow Cantonments, the lady of Major C. J. C. Davidson, Engineers, Superintending Engineer of Canals in the Service of His Majesty the King of Oudh, of a son.
- 19 At Meerut, the lady of Revd. J. Whiting, of a son.
- 23 At Kamptee, the lady of Captain T. A. Duke, Madras European Regiment, of a daughter.
- At Madras, the lady of Dr. Campbell, Depot Surgeon of Poonamallee, of a daughter, who expired shortly after.
- 25 At Singapore, the lady of Captain W. S. Wilson, of the *Platina*, of a son.
- 26 At Mussoorie, the lady of M. Richardson, Esq. M. D., Assistant Surgeon, 65th Regt. N. I., of a daughter, *still born*.
- 30 At Bangalore, the lady of Captain Augustus Clarke, Assistant to the Commissioner in Mysore, of a daughter.
- 31 At Agra, the wife of Mr. George Edward Pool, Assistant Apothecary H. M. 18th Light Infantry, of a daughter.
- At Russapuglah, Mrs. Robert Browne, of a son.
- June** 1 At Dacca, Mr. George Wise, of a son.
- 5 At Bombay, the lady of Lieut. J. E. Persons, 11th Regt. N. I., of a daughter.
- At Bangalore, the lady of Lieut. S. R. Hicks, of the 35th Regt. N. I., of a son.
- 6 At Madras, the lady of D. Elliot, Esq., of the Civil Service, of a son.
- At Benares, the lady of R. N. Burnard, Esq., Civil Assistant Surgeon, of a daughter.
- 11 Mrs. W. Blackburn, of a daughter.
- At Bareilly, the lady of William J. Conolly, Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter.
- 15 Mrs. John Culloden, of a daughter.
- Mrs. William Philips, of a daughter.
- 18 At Hooghly, the lady of T. A. Wise, Esq. M. D. of a son.
- At Rampore Bauleah, the lady of R. Barlow, Esq., Civil Service, of a son.
- At Monghyr, the lady of J. F. D'Oyly, Esq., of a son.
- 21 At Allypore, the widow of the late Jas. Duff, Esq., of a son.
- 22 Mrs. J. W. Jolly, of a son.
- The lady of William Turner, Esq. of a daughter.
- 23 At Burdwan, the lady of A. Lang, Esq. Civil Service, of a daughter.
- 25 Mrs. John Wood, of a son.



1834

## DEATHS.

- Jan.* 26 At sea, Charlotte Maria, the beloved wife of Captain Vernon, Pay Master H. M. 38th Regt., aged 23 years.
- Feb.* 2 At the Cape of Good Hope, Mary Anne, youngest daughter of Dr. John Murray, Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals, aged 15 months.
- March* 22 At the Cape of Good Hope, Major George Jones, of the 32d Regt. N. I.
- April* 18 At Saugor, Mrs. Harriett McGlone, wife of Mr. Assistant Apothecary J. McGlone; aged 15 years.
- 21 At Singapore, Jessy Hay, daughter of Capt. D. L. Richardson, of the Bengal Army; aged 2 years and 7 months.
- 30 At Allahabad, Matilda Arrabella, daughter of Serjeant L. Reid, of the Ordnance Department.
- May* 5 At Ootacamund, Neilgherry Hills, Anne Boyd, the infant daughter of Captain McNeill, of the 6th Light Cavalry, aged 9 months and 5 days.
- 9 At Bellary, Mary Theodora, the beloved wife of Anthony Edward Angelo, Esq., Madras Civil Service, aged 30 years, and 8 months.
- 11 At Koorabalacottah, (Cuddapah District,) while on Survey, William Abraham Gillon, the only beloved son of Mr. A. Gillon, Sub-Assistant Surveyor of the 1st Division, aged 1 year and 22 days.
- 13 At Ootacamund, in the Neilgherry Hills, Capt. George Henry Milford Dalby, of the 68th Regt. Bengal N. I., Assistant Secretary to Government in the Military Department.
- 16 At Cuddapah, Lieut. and Adj. G. B. Marshall, of the 17th Regt. N. I.
- At Mangalore, Lieut. W. B. Dickinson, of the 40th Regt. N. I.
- At Madras, the infant daughter of Mr. R. Newbrigg.
- 17 At Mooharrie Bagh, Delhi, the infant daughter of Lieutenant J. Brind, of Artillery, aged 2 months and 8 days.
- 18 At Bombay, in Rampart Row, aged 27 days, John Pascal, the infant son of John Pascal Larkins, Esq.
- 19 At Saugor, Serjeant Samuel Gunton, Laboratory Man, Saugor Magazine, aged 43 years.
- 20 At Colar, 2d Lieut. R. Henderson, of Engineers.
- At Berhampore, the infant daughter of Mr. John Marshall Rose, aged 5 months.
- At Dharwar, Caroline Charlotte, infant daughter of E. H. Townsend, Esq., Civil Service, aged 11 months.
- 21 At Allahabad, Matthew Johnson, son of Mr. W. Thorpe, Conductor of Ordnance.

- May* 23 At Seetapore, Lieut. George Byron, 48th Regt. N. I.  
 — At Secrole, Benares, Lieut. E. Jackson, of the 65th Regt. N. I.  
 — At Bara, on his way from Loodiana to Simla, on medical certificate, Lieut. A. Horne, 62d Regt. N. I., in the 25th years of his age.  
 — At Benares, of apoplexy, at the residence of Major G. W. Moseley, 38th Regt. N. I.; aged 29 years and 5 months.  
 — At Barr, on his way to Siela, Lieut. Alexander Hoone, 62d Regt. N. I., aged 23 years.  
 25 Mr. John Aris, late an Assistant to Messrs. Cruttenden and Co., aged 33 years.  
 26 At Bombay, James Seton, Esq., of the Civil Service.  
 — At Purneah, John William, the infant son of Mr. William Botelho, aged 4 months.  
 — At Madras, Robert Cathcart, Esq., Acting Sub-Collector of Ganjam.  
 27 At Purneah, Mrs. H. Botelho, wife of Mr. William Botelho, aged 21 years and 8 months  
 — At Moalmyne, in the 24th year of his age, Lieutenant Amelius Fry, His Majesty's 41st or Welch Regiment.  
 27 At Trichinopoly, Henry William, son of the late W. Valantine, Esq., aged 6 years, 10 months and 18 days.  
 28 At Bellary, Captain C. Grant, of the Artillery.  
 — At Muttra, Mrs. Catherine Wren, the widow of the late Riding Master Wren, aged 50 years.  
 — At Etawar, William Cracroft, eldest son of J. C. Wilson, Esq., of the Civil Service, aged 3 years, 6 months and 29 days.  
 — At Almora, John William, son of Lieut. Glasfurd, Engineers; aged 2 years and 9 months.  
 — At Allahabad, of Cholera, Thomas, son of Mr. J. Tresham, Conductor of Ordnance.  
 — At Berhampore, Mr. John Marshall, Assistant Apothecary, aged 26 years and 8 months.  
 — At Allahabad, Edward Elson, son of Mr. A. Bethune, Sub-Conductor of Ordnance.  
 — At his residence in the Conductor's Barracks, of cholera, George Orton, Conductor Ordnance Department, aged 42 years.  
 — Mr. Alexander Urquhart, aged 36 years,  
 29 At Allahabad, of cholera, Mr. William Thorpe, Conductor of Ordnance.  
 — At Allahabad, Charles, son of Mr. D. Smith, of the Medical Department.  
 — Mr. John McFarlane, aged 20 years.  
 — Samuel Prattinton Stacy, Esq., Attorney at Law, aged 37 years, and 9 months.

- May** 29 Mr. John David, aged 17 years and 5 months.  
 — Miss Mary Bird, sister of R. M. Bird, Esq., of the Civil Service, aged 47 years.  
 — Masters Peter and Francis, the only sons of Mr. P. Dissent, the former aged 4 years, 7 months and 9 days, the latter 3 years, 3 months and 13 days.  
 — Mr. Thomas Hodgson, aged 21 years.  
 — Mr. William Whoole, aged 32 years.  
 31 Master Walter Charles Brown Williams, son of Mr. Walter Williams, aged 1 year and 16 days.  
 — Mr. John Lloyd, Chief Officer of the brig *Westoe*, aged 27 years.  
 — Mr. Richard Kaberry, of the ship *Princess Victoria*, aged 22 years.  
 — In Fort William, Captain James Sutton, H. M.'s 49th Regt., aged 38 years.  
 — In Fort William, Captain Henry Mansell, H. M. 39th Regt., A. D. C. to the Governor General; aged 40 years.  
 — At Futtelghurh, Ensign John William Tomkins, 1st Regt. N. I.  
 — At Humeerpoor, R. M. Tilgman, Esq., of the Civil Service.  
 — At Cawnpore, Captain Andrew Hunter Wood, of the 15th Regt. N. I.; aged 44.  
 — At Futtelghurh, Ensign J. W. Tomkins, of the 1st Regt. N. I.
- June** 1 At Gazeepore, Helen Sophia, daughter of Capt. Carmac, H. M. 3d Buffs, aged 6 months.  
 — David Mills, Esq. Watch-maker, aged 69 years.  
 — Theodosia Evelina Hill, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. George Hill, aged 2 years and 7 months.  
 — Mr. W. A. Young, of the H. C. Marine, aged 20 years, 10 months and 2 days.  
 — At Allipore, Lavinia Josephine, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Bowser, aged 1 year and 10 months.  
 2 Mrs. Isabella D'Costa, aged 63 years.  
 — David, the infant son of Mr. and Mrs. T. Baker, aged 1 year and 7 months.  
 — Mr. James Barrett, late of Sooterkin's Lane, aged 34 years and 6 months.  
 3 Mr. George Maffin, of the H. C. Marine, aged 29 years.  
 — Capt. Joseph Scurr, Commander of the brig *Westoe*, aged 27 years.  
 — Mr. Michael McManns, Chief Officer of the bark *Ann*, aged 34 years.  
 — Miss Mary Elizabeth Woollen, daughter of William Woollen, Esq., aged 9 months.



- June**
- 4 Mrs. Agnes Harrison, relict of the late Mr. John Harrison, aged 36 years and 8 months.
  - Mrs. Betsey Roberts, aged 25 years.
  - Mrs. Maria Higgins, widow of the late Mr. Higgins, aged 24 years.
  - Miss Sarah Edwards, aged 36 years.
  - Mrs. Louisa Gordon, wife of Mr. A. Gordon, junior, aged 37 years.
  - At the military station of Mhow, in Malwah, Lieut. William George McConnell, of the 16th Regt., Bengal N. I.
  - At Secunderabad, William Russell, youngest son of Troop Quarter Master Mr. Doyle, of the Horse Artillery, aged 13 months and 8 days.
  - 5 At Barrackpore, Amelia Jane, the infant daughter of Lieut. and Mrs. Hampton, 50th Regt. N. I., aged 11 months and 15 days.
  - At Secunderabad, Susan Roberts, infant daughter of the late R. T. Coxe, of the 12th N. I.
  - 6 At Bombay, Eliza Sophia, the infant daughter of Lieut. J. E. Persons, 11th Regt. N. I.
  - 7 At Meerut, in the 28th year of his age, Lieut. T. E. Sage, of the Horse Artillery.
  - Mr. Hugh Percy Moises, late Chief Officer of the *Water Witch*, aged 30 years.
  - 8 Mrs. Mary Thomas Jessop, the lady of George Jessop, Esq., aged 29 years, 2 months and 22 days.
  - At Berhampore, Margaret, the beloved wife of Serjeant Major Litchfield, H. M.'s 38th Regt.
  - Capt. Blues, Commander of the barque *Tancred*; aged 40 years.
  - 9 The Revd. William Carey, D. D., aged 72 years, 9 months and 21 days.
  - At the General Hospital, Captain Wm. Allen, of the barque *Bright Planet*, aged 35 years.
  - At Madras, Ensign J. Goolden, doing duty with the 9th Regt. N. I.
  - 11 Mr. Hugh Wray, Indigo-planter; aged 45 years.
  - 12 At Cherra Poonjee, the infant son of Capt. Havelock, of H. M. 13th Foot.
  - 13 H. M. Sterndale, Esq.; aged 40 years.
  - 16 Charles Hodgkinson, the infant son of Mr. William Ryland, of the Government Agency Office; aged 1 year, 5 months and 11 days.
  - 17 Mrs. Ann Meiselbach, lady of the late Col. Frederick Meiselbach, of the Mahratta Service, aged 49 years and 9 months.
  - 21 Mr. Anthony Francis Passeu, late a Pensioner in the Secret and Political Department; aged 64 years.

- June 22** At Dacca, Henrietta Maria, the infant daughter of Lieut. Ommanney, Engineers, aged 9 months and 16 days.
- 23** Agnese Jeannette, the infant daughter of Mr. and Mrs. W. Blackburn.
- 24** At Fairlie Place, William, the infant son of W. F. Fergusson, Esq., aged 9 months and 23 days.
- 26** At Serampore, Felix, the second son of Mr. Jabez Carey, of Serampore; aged 11 years 8 months, and 6 days.
- 27** At Chowringhee, the infant daughter of Capt. and Mrs. Sewell, aged 10 months and 22 days.
- 28** William Brae, the infant son of C. L. Pinto, Esq., aged 5 months and 18 days.
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# THE MONEY MARKET.

GOVERNMENT SECURITIES,—JUNE 30, 1834.

	TO BUY.	TO SELL.
Remittable Loan, 6 per Cent.....	22 0 a	21 0 Prem.
Old 5 per Cent. { 1st Class.....	1 6 a	0 14 „
{ 2d Class.....	0 10 a	0 4 „
{ 3d Class.....	0 0 a	0 0 „
Second or Middle 5 per Cent. Loan..	3 0 a	0 2 Prem.
New or 3d 5 per Cent. Loan.....	2 12 a	2 4 „
4 per Cent. Loan.....	0 8 a	1 0 Disc.
Bank of Bengal Shares.. Sa. Rs. 3,100		Prem. 3,000

## BANK OF BENGAL RATES.

Discount on Private Bills,.....	7 0
Ditto on Government and Salary Bills,.....	5 0
Interest on Loans on Deposit.....	5 7
Do. on open accounts, the Bank lending on Deposit Security	5 8

## COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

BUY.]	CALCUTTA.	[SELL.
1 9½	Government Bills, 12 months' date, per Sa. Rs.	1 10
1 11	Other Public Bills, per Sa. Rs. ....	2 1
2s 1d a 2s 2½d	Private Bills, 6 months' sight, 2s 3d a 2s 4d	

## PRICES OF BULLION.

	TO BUY.	TO SELL.
Dollars, ..... per 100 Sa. Rs.	209 12	208 8
Sovereigns, ..... each	10 10	10 8
Guineas, .... ditto	11 0	10 12
Old Gold Mohurs, ..... ditto	17 9	17 8
New Gold Mohurs, .. ditto	16 11	16 5



## ADMINISTRATIONS TO ESTATES.

<i>Estates of</i>	<i>Executors, Administrators, &amp;c.</i>
Allen, W. (Mariner).....	P. Foster and W. P. Wood, executors.
Atkins, R. (Mariner).....	Anna Atkins, spinster, daughter and next of kin, administratrix.
Bagram, S. S. P. (Widow)....	C. A. Cavorke, executor.
Bhangbut Dutt, (Shroff.).....	Govinchunder Dutt and Chintamoney Dutt, executors.
Brenan, A. (Major).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Broughton, R. (Lieut. Col.)....	J. Cowie, as constituted attorney of W. Nicoll, executor.
Cornish, M.....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Dalby, G. H. M. (Capt.).....	A. Beattie and R. J. H. Birch, executors.
Davidson, A. S. (Indigo Planter)	W. H. Smoult, administrator.
Duff, J. (Local Lieut.).....	H. A. Boscawen, executor.
Gibson, S. (Widow).....	G. Lamb & Matilda his wife, administrator and administratrix.
Hollier, Mary.....	G. Denton, executor.
Jackson, W. (Serjeant).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
John, Sophia, (Widow.).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Joyntarain Dutt.....	Chooney Dossee, administratrix.
Kassindal Nagasaw,.....	Ramchunder Mittre, executor.
Mackenzie, J. (Lieut. Col.)....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Meer Abdool Hye.....	Meer Abdool Nazir, administrator.
Meiselbach, A. (Widow).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Mills, D. (Watch-maker).....	R. Lyall and D. Andrew, executors.
Moises, H. P. (Mariner).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Muspratt, J. P. (Merchant)....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Nicolle, P. (Colonel).....	Registrar of the Supreme Court, as the constituted attorney of J. DeV. L. Bisson and H. Godfray, executors.
Ortan, G. (Conductor).....	T. Lithgow and W. Coles, executors.
Phipps, W. F. (Lieut.).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Ryder, C. (Major).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Sayer, George (Rear-admiral)..	Registrar Supreme Court.
Scott, Mary (Widow).....	J. Cowie, as constituted attorney of H. S. Turner and T. J. Turner, executors.
Scott, Wm. (Colonel).....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Stacy, S. P. (Attorney).....	N. B. E. Bailie, executor.
Strickland, C. J.....	R. S. Strickland, executor.
Taylor John (Hotel-keeper)....	Registrar Supreme Court.
Watson, T. C. (Lieut. Col.)....	Sally Watson, executrix.
Wilson, E. P. (Brigadier).....	Jane Wilson, L. R. Stacy, and C. Mattley, executors and executrix.
Wood, J. T.....	M. A. Wood, administratrix.

# SHIPPING REGISTER,

FOR JULY, 1834.

## ARRIVALS.

- June 30 Ship *Competitor*, G. B. Brook, from Rangoon 13th June.
- Schooner *Charles Stuart*, D. Ross, from ditto 14th ditto.
- July 3 Bark *Patriot King*, James Clarke, from Liverpool 11th March.
- Ditto *Frankland*, O. Edwards, from ditto 5th February.
- Ship *Edmonstone*, M. McDougall, from Bombay 11th June.
- 5 Brig *Yare*, H. W. Fawcett, from Isle of France 22d May.
- Bark *Edina*, J. Norris, from Moulmein 21st June.
- Brig *Daphne*, R. Todd, from London 14th March, and Point Pedro 26th June.
- 6 Ship *Neptune*, A. Broadhurst, from London 16th March, and Madras 30th June.
- Ditto *Dunvegan Castle*, R. Laws, from London 11th March and Portsmouth 13th ditto.
- 7 Ship *Recovery*, Thomas Wellbank, from London 9th Feb. Madras (date not mentioned,) and Ennore 29th June.
- Bark *Burrell*, J. Metcalf, from Rangoon 20th June.
- 9 Brig *Lady Normanby*, J. Teasdale, from London 5th December, and the Mauritius 5th June.
- 10 Brig *Mary*, J. Morton, from Bombay 19th June.
- 11 Bark *Exporter*, R. Anwyle, from the Mauritius 29th May, Hambentottee 23d June, and Madras 2d July.
- Schooner *Young Rover*, J. Lyons, from Moulmein 22d June.
- Ship *Orwell*, James Dalrymple, from London 14th March and Madras 4th July.
- 15 Brig *Ripley*, Richard Lloyd, from Liverpool 1st March.
- 16 Brig *Welcome*, C. Castles, from Greenock 14th March.
- Ship *Andromache*, J. Andrews, from London 11th February, Portsmouth 11th March, and Madras 8th July.

- July* 16 Bark *Lonach*, W. Leppon, from Madras 29th June.  
 — Bark *Broad Oak*, M. Hubbuck, from Liverpool 14th March.  
 — Ship *Majestic*, A. Lawson, from Bombay 25th June.  
 18 Ship *Allerton*, E. Gill, from Madras 11th July.  
 20 Bark *Sophia*, J. Bluett, from Periang 30th June.  
 21 Ship *King William*, W. Steward, from Bombay 25th June.  
 — French Brig *Agenor*, LeClerc, from Marseilles 27th December, and Madras 13th June.  
 22 Ship *City of Edinburgh*, D. Frazer, from London 23d November, Cape of Good Hope 16th May, and Madras 12th July.  
 — Brig *Thomas Dougal*, D. K. Brown, from Ennore 13th ditto.  
 23 Bark *Abgaris*, W. D. Lange, from Bombay 27th June.  
 — Brig *Hind*, R. Watt, from Sydney 25th May.  
 28 Brig *Pumie*, C. A. Harris, from London 27th January and Mauritius 23d June.  
 — Brig *Lady Hayes*, J. Burnett, from Sydney 3d April, Sourabay a 5th June, Singapore 21st ditto, and Penang 4th July.  
 — Ship *Forth*, C. Robinson, from China 1st June, and Singapore 6th July.  
 — Bark *Helvellyn*, W. B. Boadle, from Bourbon 4th June, and Mauritius 7th ditto.  
 — French ship *Casimir*, P. Saliz, from Bordeaux 19th April, Cape de Verde 8th May, Pondicherry 16th July and Madras 23th ditto.  
 29 Ship *Mary Ann Webb*, W. Viner, from Liverpool 13th April.  
 — Bark *St. Leonard*, J. W. Gurr, from Liverpool 12th March.  
 — Ship *Argyle*, A. McDonald, from Ennore 19th July.  
 30 Ship *Shahool Hamid*, E. Dumonts, from Bombay 27th June, and Madras 22d July.  
 — Brig *Kate*, John Young, from the Mauritius 17th June, and Ceylon 18th July.

## DEPARTURES.

- July* 1 Schooner *Syed Khan*, J. P. Griffith, for China.  
 2 Bark *Resource*, A. Ogilvie, for Masulipatam.  
 4 Ship *Hydross*, W. Hughes, for Madras.



<i>July</i>	4	Bark <i>Virginia</i> , J. Hullock, for Singapore and China.
	6	Bark <i>Herculean</i> , M. King, for Liverpool.
	7	Brig <i>Westoe</i> , J. Pierse, for the Mauritius.
	9	Brig <i>Euphrasia</i> , J. Leneyveu, for the Mauritius.
	12	Bark <i>Ann</i> , J. M. Budwell, for Moulmein.
	15	Ship <i>Elakely</i> , Thos. Jackson, for the Mauritius.
	16	Bark <i>Thetis</i> , C. Clarke, for Singapore and China.
	17	Bark <i>Austen</i> , J. Rickett, for Singapore and China.
	19	American ship <i>Edward</i> , John Land, for Philadelphia.
	20	Ship <i>Fattle Rohoman</i> , C. D. Rice, for Madras.
	21	Bark <i>Betsey</i> , G. S. Jones, for ditto.
	—	Bark <i>Dalla Merchant</i> , James Weir, for Singapore.
	22	Ship <i>Golconda</i> , W. H. Bell, for China.
	23	Brig <i>Janet</i> , J. Leitch, for the Mauritius.
	25	Brig <i>Lady Normanby</i> , J. Teasdale, for the Mauritius.
	27	Ship <i>Winscales</i> , G. Fisher, for Liverpool.
	—	Bark <i>Hindoo</i> , J. Askew, for ditto.

#### ARRIVAL OF PASSENGERS.

*Per Neptune, from London:*—Mrs. Udny, Misses E. Udny, J. Oake, L. Law, W. Law, and C. Leycester: Capt. Wm. Hope, Master Attendant; Revd. J. H. Rudd, Mr. M. F. Sandys, S. Ingram, Assistant Surgeon, H. M. 16th Regt., Lieuts. J. Lomax, H. M. 16th Regt., C. Graham, 55th B. N. Infantry, Ensign J. Elliot, 64th ditto, Mr. George Martin, Writer, Messrs. G. Oakes, G. Law, Cadets J. Chambers, S. Goad, and C. Hazett.

*Per Dunvegan Castle, from London:*—Mrs. Wyatt, Mrs. McQuhae, Mrs. Hobson, Misses Stephens, Wyatt, Hoggan, Muston, J. Muston, L. McQuhae, and McQuhae, H. Moor, Esq. Civil Service, Lieut. Bristow, H. M. 38th Regt., Mr. Smith, Country Service, Cadets Dodgson, Scott, Grimes, and Douglas, Messrs. Wyatt, Hudson, Wollen, W. McQuhae, and H. McQuhae.

*Per brig Yare:*—Mrs. Fawcett.

*Per ship Andromache, from Portsmouth:*—Mrs. Corrie and Mrs. Sheil, Misses Andrews, Aubert, Corrie, and L. Corrie; B. Roberts, Esq., J. Richards, Esq., Capt. J. Finnis, 51st Regt., Lieut. Sheil, and Ensign Cruise, H. M. 49th Regt., Ensign Sawyer, 3d Buffs; Ensign Thomas, 31st Regt., Mr. Sward, Cadet, and Mr. Aubert.

*Per Recovery:*—Lieut. Col. Nisbett, Bengal Army.

*Per Abjarris:*—Mr. J. J. Black, Mariner; and Captain T. S. Rogers, died on the 3d instant.

*Per ship Orwell, from London* :—Misses S. A. Carnegie, M. A. Roxburgh, C. Mackenzie, P. Mackenzie, J. Mackenzie, and H. Mackenzie; Mr. J. B. Forrestt, Cornet 11th Light Dragoons; Messrs. W. Egerton, R. A. Trotter, and D. Bristow, Cadets; Mr. Charles Mackenzie, Master F. Mackenzie; Captain Fairer, for China; Mr. John Morgan, carpenter, for Singapore. *From Madras*: S. J. Young, J. Johnstone, J. E. Arbuthnot, and—Scott, Esqrs. Civil Service; Mr. J. Tardwell, merchant.

*Per City of Edinburgh, from London* :—Mr. McDonnald, Civil Service; Messrs. Chas. Davidson and McDonnell, Assistant Surgeons; Mr. C. Pine, H. M. 26th Regt. Mr. F. N. Croft, Cadet; Messrs. Sims, Harris, and Grange. *From the Cape of Good Hope* :—Messrs. Davidson and Williams; Mr. Wyatt Civil Service; Col Cheap, Bengal Engineers; and Capt. Williams, H. M. 16th Lancers.

*Per bark Sophia* :—C. F. Durnaine, Esq., Mr. Jackson, country service; Messrs. Wilkins, chief officer, and Springer, 2d ditto, of the late bark *Edward and Eliza*, and Master Magnie.

• *Per King William* :—Mrs. Steward.

*Per ship Forth* :—Mr. Robinson, Miss Huttman, Capt. Imty, 50th N. I., Lieut. Walker, 1st N. I. and Mr. Turner.

*Per French ship Casimir* :—Mrs. Peychers, and infant child; Messrs. Peychers, C. Geraud, Valmels, and Essandie, merchants.

## DEPARTURE OF PASSENGERS.

*Per Mountstuart Elphinstone, for London* :—Mrs. Watson, and 5 children; Lieut. and Mrs. Cornish, Lieut. and Mrs. Lyons, A. Sconce, Esq., Civil Service; Capts. Paterson, Miles and Urtham, Lieuts. Rogers and Hay, and Major Purves and 2 children. *For the Cape* :—Major Pattie and Lieut. Macintyre.

## DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

(WHERE THE PLACE IS NOT MENTIONED, CALCUTTA IS TO BE UNDERSTOOD.)

1834

### MARRIAGES.

*April* . 3 In the English Church, Cape Town, J. H. Jackson, Esq., Bombay Civil Service, to Miss Catherina Johanna Rabe.

19 In the English Church, Cape Town, M. Ross, Esq., Captain of the 5th Regt. Madras N. I., to Miss Emma Amelia Seigruhu.

- April* 25 At the Cape of Good Hope, Lieut. John Hill, 24th Regt. N. I. and Deputy Assistant Commissary General, to Jane, second daughter of William Proctor, Esq., of Drooge Flie.
- May* 31 At Bolaram, S. A. G. Young, Esq., of the Madras Medical Establishment, to Miss Hannah Higginson.
- June* 11 At St Andrew's Church, Vepery, Mr. Charles La Rive, of the Gun Carriage Manufactory, to Miss Jane Armstrong.
- 13 At Ghazepore, Mr. W. Nowall, of Shahabad, to Miss Ellinor Maria Myles.
- 16 At Agra, Charles Elliott Goad, Esq., 67th Regt. N. I., to Harriett, youngest daughter of the late Bernard Reilly, Esq., Bengal Medical Service.
- 17 At Agra, Lieut. F. B. Boileau, Horse Artillery, to Sarah, youngest daughter of the late Major Durie, H. M. 11th Light Dragoons.
- 26 At Mhow, in Malwah, Augustus Master, Esq., Adjutant of the 7th Regt. of Light Cavalry, to Mary Anne, daughter of Colonel James Kennedy, Commanding the Corps.
- 30 Mr Joseph Rodrigues, Assistant in the Military Department, to Miss Margaret DeSilva.
- Mr. Moses Simeon, to Catherine Maria, the third daughter of Jacob Evoob, Esq.
- July* 1 Mr. A. G. Aviet, the fourth son of Mr. Gentloom Aviet, senior, to Miss S. A. David, the second daughter of the late Mr. A. M. David.
- 3 Mr. Richard Parmer to Miss Elizabeth Balfour.
- 5 At Chandernagore, Mr Samuel Hawkesworth, to Miss Caroline Phillips, the eldest daughter of Mr. Julian Phillips.
- At Madras, William Douglas, Esq., of the Madras Civil Service, to Caroline, eldest daughter of J. Hare, Esq.
- 7 Lieut. Henry Siddons, of the Bengal Engineers, to Harriot Emma, the second daughter of Mr. and Mrs G. J. Siddons.
- 8 At Madras, Robert Cole, Esq., to Frances, the second daughter of Capt. Gray, late of H. M.'s 30th Foot.
- 10 At Madras, Mr. T. D. W. Clark, to Miss Margaret Reynolds.



- July* 12 At Chinsurah, F. Montrossor Wade, Esq., H. M. 44th Regt, to Fanny, daughter of the late Captain Gordon, 20th Regt. B. N. I., and granddaughter to D. A. Overbeck, Esq., of the same place.
- Mr. John D'Costa, to Miss Amelia Pereira.
- 15 Daniel Jones, S. P. G. Missionary, to Miss Grace Templeton.
- Mr. Thomas Linton, to Mrs. Mary Ann Foote.
- Robert Henry Shuttleworth Reid, Esq. merchant, to Miss Jane Drummond.
- At Goruckpore, Captain Joseph Leverton Revell, 7th Regt., to Louisa, second daughter of the late Lieut. Col. Charles Wale Lamborn, Bengal Army.
- 19 At the Cathedral, Mr. M. Payne, to Mrs. E. Clements.
- 23 At the Cathedral, Henry Carre Tucker, Esq. C. S., eldest son of Henry St. George Tucker, Esq. of Portland Place, to Mary Anne, youngest daughter of the late Dr. Roxburgh.
- 26 Mr. John Robeiro, to Miss Rose Ann Damzen:
- Mr. Charles Augustus Hudson, to Miss Matilda Angelica Gomes.

1834

## BIRTHS.

- June* 8 At Bangalore, the lady of Lieut. W. H. Harris, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General Ceded Districts, of a son.
- 10 At Mandavie, the lady of Lieut. Colonel Pottinger, of a son.
- At Mynpoorie, the lady of T. R. Davidson, Esq. of a son.
- 11 At Coel, the lady of Edmund Tritton, Esq., Civil Surgeon, of a daughter.
- 19 At Meerut, Mrs. J. T. Hodgson, of a son.
- At Nusseerabad, the wife of Lieut. David Shaw, of the 54th Regt. N. I. of a daughter.
- 20 At Muttra, the lady of Capt. Cheape, Major of Brigade, of a daughter.
- 21 At Dinapore, the lady of Capt. J. D. Taylor, H. M. 13th Light Infantry, of a son and heir.
- At Chicacole, the lady of Lieut. and Quarter Master John Merritt, of the 41st Regt., of a daughter.

- June* 21 At Madras, Mrs. Caroline Jones, wife of Mr. Edward Jones, of Buddapah, of a daughter  
 — Mrs. King, of a daughter.  
 22 At Boolundshuhur, the lady of Mathew Tierney, Esq., Civil Service, of a son.  
 23 Mrs. Thos. Bason, of a daughter.  
 25 At Meerut, Mrs. E. F. Greenway, of a son.  
 26 At Poona, the lady of Capt. Charles Waddington, Engineers, of a son  
 27 At Secundrabad, the lady of Capt. Westrop Watkins, of a daughter.  
 30 Mrs. Joseph Young, of a son  
 — The lady of Longueville Clarke, Esq., of a daughter.  
 — At Dapoolie, the lady of Alexander Duncan, Esq., Surgeon, of a daughter.
- July* 1 At Madras, the lady of John Smith, Esq. Captain 2d Light Cavalry, of a son.  
 — At Madras, the lady of T. Oakes, Esq., of a daughter.  
 — At Benares, the lady of J. Row, Esq. Surgeon 73d N. I., of a son.  
 — At Rajahmundry, the lady of Capt. J. Garnault, 47th Regt. N. I., of a daughter.  
 2 At Kurnaul, the lady of Lieut. Wemyss, 9th Cavalry, of a son.  
 4 At Meerut, the Lady of Captain Roebuck, of a daughter.  
 — At Mhow, the lady of Lieutenant W. C. Carleton, 36th N. I. of a daughter.  
 6 At Bangalore, Eliza, the wife of Mr. Henry Foster, of a son.  
 — At Berhampore, the lady of J. D. Herklots, Esq., of a son.  
 7 Mrs. Charles Francis, of a son.  
 8 Mrs. J. P. Hains, of a son.  
 — At Meerut, Mrs. C. Billings, of a daughter.  
 — At Madras, the wife of Serjeant W. Taylor, of the Gun Carriage Manufactory, of a son.  
 9 Mrs. C. M. Hollingberry, of a son.  
 — Mrs. T. Black, of a son.  
 10 At Neemuch, the lady of Brigadier Fagan, C. B. Commanding the Meywar Field Force, of a daughter.

- July* 11 Mrs. Elizabeth Stark, the wife of Mr. John Stark, of a son.  
 14 At Humeerpoor, the wife of E. Currie, Esq., C. S., of a son.  
 — At Cawnpore, the wife of Mr. Conductor Wm. Raynor, of a daughter.  
 15 Mrs. G. R. Gardener, of a son.  
 17 Mrs. J. T. Pearson, of a son.  
 18 At Muttra, the wife of Mr. Assistant Apothecary D. W. Taylor, of a son.  
 — Mrs. Duff, wife of the Revd. Alexander Duff, of a son.  
 19 Mrs. G. H. Poole, of a daughter.  
 — At Mozufferpore, the lady of J. E. Wilkinson, Esq., of the Civil Service, of a son.  
 23 The lady of C. R. Barwell, Esq., of a son.  
 24 Mrs. H. Smith, of a daughter.

1834

DEATHS.

- March* 9 At the Cape of Good Hope, Mary, the wife of William Carstairs, Esq., Staff Surgeon, Poona; aged 25 years.  
 29 At the Cape of Good Hope, William Howard Peach, Esq., late of Felix Place, Cuttack.  
*April* 5 At Khyouk Phyoo, Captain John Swinton Brown, of the 66th Regt. N. I. and officiating junior assistant to the Superintendent of Arrakan.  
 25 Mr. Charles John Clarke Towers, late of the Calcutta Conservancy Office, and son of J. Towers, Esq., of Pinkney's Green, Berkshire; aged 22 years and 8 months.  
*May* 18 At Modeepore, Miss Catherine Robinson, the youngest daughter of the late William Robinson, Esq.  
 27 At Berhampore, Lieut. and Adj. A. M. Glas, 49th Regt. N. I.  
 31 At Madras, Capt. James Corrie, formerly of H. M.'s 89th Regt., and latterly Commanding the 2d Regt. of His Highness the Nizam's Infantry.  
*June* 5 At Neemuch, Charlotte, the much beloved wife of Bazar Serjeant John Herdon, aged 27 years and 5 months.  
 7 At Kurnaul, Mr. Richard Lockington, merchant, aged 22 years, 11 months and 19 days, the only son of Richard Lockington, Conductor of Ordnance Invalid Establishment.



- June*
- 7 At Trichinopoly, Mrs. D. Ross, aged 69 years.
  - At Poondy, Ensign and Adjutant C. H. Frith, of the 24th Regt. N. I.
  - 12 At Madras, Joseph William Rodgers, late chief officer of the ship *Mookbar*, aged 20 years and 12 days.
  - 13 At Dharwar. Lieut. Edmond Percy Prett, 5th Regt. Bombay N. I.
  - 14 At Surar, aged 7 months, Frederick William Cazalet, the infant son of William Parsons, Esq., Medical Establishment.
  - 15 At Black Town, in Jones' Street, Mr. Thomas D'Souza, Assistant to the Head Accountant in the Military Paymaster's Office, aged 37 years and 11 months.
  - 16 At Kissengunge, Purneah, George James, eldest son of Mr. and Mrs. George Pratt, aged 5 years and 11 months.
  - 18 At Masulipatam, in his 12th year, Joseph Samuel, only son of Commissariat Staff Serjeant Wood.
  - 19 At Madras, James Martin Jollie, Esq., aged 33 years.
  - At Agra, Mr. Robert Roote, English writer in the Office of the Adjutant 9th Regt. N. I.
  - 20 At Ootacamund, Neilgherries, on the 28th June, George Mackenzie, only son of H. M. Blair, Esq., aged 2 years and 9 months.
  - 21 At Datnaghur Factory, Jessore, Miss Octavie Deveria, infant daughter of T. Deveria, Esq. indigo-planter; aged 8 days.
  - 22 At Bancoorah, Mr. F. Greenwald, Band Master, 31 Regt. N. I.
  - 23 At Vizagapatam, the lady of Adjutant Hobart, of the C. E. V. B., daughter of the Rev. George Armstrong, Chancellor of Ross, in the diocess of that Cork, and niece of J. Besnard, Esq., late Mayor of that City, Ireland.
  - 25 At Pondicherry, the lady of A. DeBabick, Esq. Barrister of the Royal Court at Pondicherry.
  - At Dacca, Charles Dowcett, Esq.; aged 46 years and 6 months.
  - 26 At Mazagong, Margaret, the wife of Mr. Joseph Ball.

- June* 27 At Madras, the lady of Lieut. Col. Conway, C. B.  
 — At Allyghur, Agnes Eliza, the infant daughter of Lieut. A. De Fountain, 40th Regt., aged 1 year and 3 months.  
 — At Secundrabad, the infant daughter of Captain Westrop Watkins.  
 28 At Secundrabad, Catherine Amelia, the beloved wife of Captain Westrop Watkins, aged 21 years, 4 months and 19 days.  
 (No date) At Chinsurah, Edward Henry Hardwick, the beloved son of Colonel G. D'Aguilar; aged 2 years, 7 months and 15 days.  
 (No date) Edward John, youngest son of William Jackson, Esq., Attorney at Law; aged eleven months.
- July* 2 Samuel Jones, Esq., Deputy Register in the General Department, aged 61 years and 23 days.  
 — At Vizagapatam, W. Mason, Esq., Collector and Magistrate of that district.  
 3 At Meerutt, Ensign A. H. Barnard, of his Majesty's 26th Regiment.  
 — At Bombay, the wife of John Graham, Esq., Assistant Post Master.  
 — On board the *Hind*, Capt. T. S. Rogers.  
 4 Mrs. M. A. Crawford, wife of Mr. Thomas Crawford, aged 38 years.  
 — At sea, on board the *Bussorah Merchant*, John Birkmyre Miller, Esq. lately of the firm of Messrs. Cockerell and Co. of Calcutta.  
 5 At Madras, in child birth, in her nine-teenth year, Julia, the beloved wife of Mr. Assistant Apothecary John Forsyth, Garrison Hospital.  
 — In the Fort, Bombay, Matilda, the wife of Mr. H. St. Amour, of the Pilot Service; aged 19 years.  
 — At Colabah, (Bombay Presidency) Frances Margaret Barker, youngest child of the Rev. Joseph Laurie, senior Chaplain of the Scotch Church.  
 6 William Hudson, Esq., Miniature Painter, aged 54 years, 8 months and 19 days.  
 9 At Düm Dum, James, the infant son of Sergt. S. Cleary, of the Artillery; aged 1 year and 15 days.  
 — Mrs. Charlotte Hand, wife of Mr. Robert Hand, Master Pilot, aged 29 years.

- July*
- 9 Mr. William Collins, a Tavern-keeper; aged 35 years.
  - Mr. James Henry Lewis, Honorable Company's Marine; aged 28 years.
  - At Noakolly, the infant daughter of Mr. William Jackson, Superintendent in the Bullooah Agency; aged 4 months and 5 days.
  - 11 At Howrah, Mr. John Thomas Bagley, Master in the H. C. Marine, aged 39 years.
  - 12 At the General Hospital, Serjeant Hendrick Must, of the Expense Magazine attached to the Arsenal of Fort William; aged 57 years.
  - 13 Anne Eliza, the second daughter of Mr. W. Ryland, of the Government Agency Office. aged 3 years, 6 months and 4 days.
  - 15 Master Alexander Horatio Aldwell, son of Mr. Alexander Aldwell, aged 1 year, 3 months and 16 days.
  - Adam Gordon, Esq., junior, aged 46 years, 1 month and 28 days.
  - 16 Mr. Charles Been Boyce, Master Pilot, H. C. Pilot Establishment; aged 37 years and 11 months.
  - 17 The infant daughter of Mr. Thomas Watkins, of Kidderpore; aged 1 year, 8 months and 19 days.
  - At the Catgarrah Factory, Catchatoor Isaac Malchus, Esq., aged 38 years, 7 months and 10 days.
  - At Serampore, Mr. Adam Gordon, senior, aged 73 years, 7 months and 13 days.
  - 18 Mr. William Charles Abbott. aged 16 years.
  - At Kidderpore, Miss Caroline Hughes, aged 12 years.
  - 20 Mr. William Cowen Nicholson, of the ship *Hindoo*, aged 20 years.
  - Mrs. Elizabeth Abro, the wife of Mr. T. Abro, Assistant to the Government Lithographic Office; aged 20 years, 3 months and 7 days.
  - Mr. Alexander McDonald, Engineer, aged 20 years, 6 months and 6 days.
  - 21 Miss Denezia D'Souza, the eldest daughter of the late Mr. Lawrence D'Souza; aged 14 years, 8 months and 16 days.
  - Master Samuel Alexander Cohen Grillard, son of Mr. Charles Grillard; aged 8 years and 15 days.



- 21** George Maxwell Battyn, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service, aged 26 years.
- 22** At Serampore, Miss Marianne Trevor; aged 20 years and 29 days.
- 23** Harriet Jane Wall, the infant daughter of Mr. Richard Wall, Master in the Pilot Service, aged 2 years and 8 months.
- 24** Miss Caroline Rodrigues, aged 18 years and 4 months.
- 25** George Andrew, the infant son of F. Harris, Esq. Indigo planter, aged 8 months and 20 days.
- John Porteous, Esq., of Bausbariah, aged 30 years.
- Master Charles Adolphus Timms, aged 2 years, 5 months and 23 days.
- 26** Mrs. Betsey Bark, widow, aged 60 years.

# ADMINISTRATIONS TO ESTATES.

UP TO JULY 30, 1834.

<i>Estates of</i>	<i>Executors, Administrators, &amp;c.</i>
Bagley, J. T. (Master Pilot.)	Registrar Supreme Court.
Barlow, A.	Registrar Supreme Court.
Batten, G. M.	Dwarkanath Tagore, administrator, as bond creditor.
Beebee Khannum.	Registrar Supreme Court.
Beebee Sydee.	Registrar Supreme Court.
Braggs, Anna	C. Braggs, administrator.
Broughton, R. (Lieut. Col.)	J. Cowie administrator, as constituted attorney of Wm. Nicholl, executor.
Cotes, Wm. (Merchant.)	Registrar Supreme Court.
Davis, Sam	Registrar Supreme Court.
Eastman, T.	J. N. Vant Hart, executor.
Gordon, Adam.	Rev. W. Robinson, J. G. Phillips and R. Gordon, executors.
Johannes, Bagram (writer.)	Registrar Supreme Court.
Jones, Sam	P. Jones, executrix.
Kerr, A. S.	Registrar Supreme Court.
Kissen Ghose,	Colly Doss Ghose, administrator.
Lish, J. W.	Registrar Supreme Court.
Malhus, C. J. (Indigo planter.)	H. C. J. Malhus, executrix.
Marshall, Sir Dyson, (Lieut.-General.)	Registrar Supreme Court.
McHarg, J. (Captain.)	Registrar Supreme Court.
Meer Abdool Hye.	Registrar Supreme Court.
Miller, J. B. (Merchant.)	J. Allan and R. C. Paton, executors.
Peach, W. H.	S. H. Boileau, executor.
Petron, Chas. (General.)	Registrar Supreme Court.
Sanson Joseph.	Registrar Supreme Court.
Scott, Mary, (Widow.)	J. Cowie administrator, as constituted attorney of H. S. Turner and T. J. Turner, executors.
Smith, H. B. (Captain.)	Registrar Supreme Court.
Teema Rio Kalia.	Registrar Supreme Court.
Wakerell, Harriet.	Registrar Supreme Court.
White, Elizabeth.	Registrar Supreme Court.
Wregrave, J. H. (Lieut.)	Registrar Supreme Court.
Yule, Wm. (Colonel.)	Registrar Supreme Court.

## THE MONEY MARKET.

### GOVERNMENT SECURITIES,—JULY 30, 1874.

	TO BUY.	TO SELL.
Remittable Loan, 6 per Cent.....	24 8 a	23 8 Prem.
Old 5 per Cent. { 1st Class.....	1 8 a	1 0 „
{ 2d Class.....	0 10 a	0 4 „
{ 3d Class.....	0 0 a	0 0 „
Second or Middle 5 per Cent. Loan..	3 8 a	0 4 Prem.
New or 3d 5 per Cent. Loan.....	3 0 a	2 8 „
4 per Cent. Loan.....	0 8 a	0 1 Disct.
Bank of Bengal Shares..	Sa. Rs. 1,600 Prem. 1,400	

### BANK OF BENGAL RATES.

Discount on Private Bills,.....	7 0
Ditto on Government and Salary Bills,.....	5 0
Interest on Loans on Deposit.....	5 7
Do. on open accounts, the Bank lending on Deposit Security	5 8

### COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

	CALCUTTA.	[SELL.]
Government Bills, 12 months' date, per Sa. Rs.	1 10	
Other Public Bills, per Sa. Rs. ....	2 1	
Private Bills, 6 months' sight, 2s 3d a 2s	4d	

### PRICES OF BULLION.

	TO BUY.	TO SELL
Dollars, ..... per 100 Sa. Rs.	209 12	208 8
Sovereigns, ..... each	10 10	10 8
Guineas, ..... ditto	11 0	10 12
Old Gold Mohurs, ..... ditto	17 9	17 8
New Gold Mohurs, ..... ditto	16 11	16 5







